













THE  
WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW.

' Truth can never be affirmed enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep '

SHAKSPEARE

Wahrheitssuche geht sich darin, das man überall das Gute zu nutzen und zu schützen weiß.

GÖTHE.

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## REFORM IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

THE Public Service is a somewhat general term, and would probably include the Army, Navy, Police, and other services which administer to the safety or comfort of the public. We use it here as practically synonymous with "Civil Service": -a term which, in our opinion, has been crystallized into an objectionable individuality from which it were better freed. What with Civil Service Stores, Civil Service Bread Companies, Civil Service Clubs, *et hoc genus omne*, the members of this service have stamped themselves as a sort of Ishmaelites in the State, and done much to bring upon them the odium with which a large part of the public regard them. This individuality is the result of that strong self-supporting growth which is characteristic of all, or most, British institutions when once they have taken root. The Civil Service of the British Empire stands alone in the world; for, although not one, its different parts are homogeneous. Between the service of Great Britain itself and our Indian Empire there is nothing to choose in strength and independence; and the corresponding services in the colonies stand at varying, but never great, intervals behind. In other European countries there is nothing to compare with this: the service of the State is either purely bureaucratic or dwarfed into subservience to political factions. In the United States the jobbery and corruption which surround public appointments have for years been a crying evil which no Government has been strong enough to attack. Similar abuse was rampant in this country a century ago: the violence of placemen might overturn the Ministry of a Walpole or a Pitt. A service resting upon responsible permanent officials, unshaken by changes of Ministry, and preserving the continuity of a national policy, has strengthened the Government of Great Britain, and secured the interests of the public at large. The change did not come all at once; the last traces of pocket influence have by no means passed away; they may perhaps never die out; but they tend always to a minimum. The service is born of liberal principles, and it should remain a bulwark to the Liberal party. The only doubt as to its functions which can fairly arise is whether its established independence has not, to some extent made it the

master of the public rather than their servant. This is an idea which plays a part in recent efforts in the House of Commons to curtail the independence of the Civil Service. But the general impression will not fairly bear scrutiny, and the facts which appear to support it are the ample justification of the service as it exists. The apparent indifference to all rules and times which is generally alleged against public officers is a remanet from the past, and is steadily disappearing with the freedom of entry by competition. The integrity with which the modern official discourages jobs of all kinds is an assertion of independence which the public can ill afford to lose. It is well that the democrat who would play the master in this matter should beware lest he fall into the hands of the political jobbers. It is not always well to substitute the untried variety of a principle for the old well-established plant.

It is desirable to appreciate the causes of the bitterness or contempt with which public offices and affairs are too often spoken of.

Foremost is the antagonism of traders, who conceive that they have suffered from the institution of co-operative companies primarily intended to relieve or benefit the servants of the Government. Only a small portion of this is justified; it is all of it natural. The Civil Service Stores were the embodiment of part of a great principle. They aimed the first blow at profits that were either factitious or unfair. They set a great example of co-operation, although in a limited degree. This was all to their credit; but it was quite unnecessary to fide the poor Pegasus to death, by establishing a Civil Service Company for everything under the sun, till the whole nation wearied of the title.

Next in effect of the causes which make the Civil Service unpopular is the scant courtesy which the public receive at the hands of officials of an inferior grade in those offices which are best known to the public, notably the Inland Revenue. One day, a few years back, a private secretary to a Minister, himself a permanent official, went into the Stamp Office on some private business. A string of persons were waiting; a clerk was reading the papers. All waited patiently for a while longer, when our private secretary seized the situation. "You, sir," he began, "I am due at the — Office at eleven; if you have not the goodness to attend to me at once I will report the department at Headquarters." Up jumped the man with the paper, and was made to attend to each person in turn till their deliverer's proper turn arrived. We do not think such a case as this is likely to occur now—the offences are of a less degree. But the impression in the minds of the public is the same. "You'll just be kicked and sent about your business," was the account given to a young Scotch doctor of the treatment he was likely to receive from a great public

office from which he was anxious to obtain some important information.

Thirdly, there is the public sense that many departments are overmanned, and that the nation is unfairly taxed to support them. This allegation opens up the most crucial part of the question of reform which we are considering.

Then comes the idea, which is born of envy and all uncharitableness, that the servants of the Crown have fixed incomes, which cannot be diminished by bad times, whilst others must continually face anxiety. This complaint, at least under the modern conditions, will not hold water, as long as the official has plenty of work to do and does it well. Those who have fixed incomes give up that hope of accumulating wealth or making occasional large profits which is the greatest incentive to healthy work. There is no ground for attacking public servants on this account.

Lastly, the Public Service is divided against itself, and its internal discontent is largely reflected in a sense of aggravation outside.

Now, although these causes did not in the first instance produce the demand for Sir Matthew White Ridley's Commission, they obviously did to some extent influence the minds of the members of the Commission, so that their primary object was completely obscured. Herein is the Report of the Royal Commission on Public Establishments only not a complete failure. The Commission was primarily appointed to investigate the overgrown establishments of the War Office and Admiralty, and to satisfy the very general belief that the maintenance of a huge civil staff was not necessary to the conduct of the fighting services. This issue was very rapidly and carefully burked by extending the scope of inquiry to a wide generality which prevented any blow at particular abuses. The consequence was that a Report exhibiting great care and thought, and appearing to teem with suggestions, contains nothing which will help the country in coming to a practical conclusion upon the real cause of anxiety. There are a few recommendations which might at any time have commended themselves to any thinking Government without the signatures of a dozen men and the printing of four volumes of Blue Books; there are a few suggestions which are of doubtful expediency, and one or two which are actually mischievous.

Let us consider briefly what was to be done, and the general effect of the Report, coupled with the Treasury minute which has adopted so many of its proposals.

The War Office is divided into twelve departments, it has sixty distinct heads and assistant heads of those departments, and a permanent staff of 750 officers. It administers an army of between 60,000 and 70,000 men, and has material work in connection with



the Indian army of some 60,000 more. This administration includes all forts and dépôts in Great Britain and Ireland, and all the fortresses and commands throughout the colonies. This, no doubt, implies an immense amount of detail; and we admit that frequently an outsider cannot rightly estimate the value of questions of detail. But it must be remembered that in every dépôt, in every fortress, there are military officers who, with their present training, are capable of dealing with such questions, that the time of most of these officers is only partially employed, and that it is mere waste of strength to refer every petty question to a civil staff who are much less capable of judging of it. There might even be some justification for large separate staffs, if each sub-department "stuck to its last"; but it is notorious throughout the service that no one officer in the War Office can point to any other as being certain to have a given question in hand. The question of mounting a gun or providing a pulley will go from one hand to another, till the chances are the order is never carried out; some detail of administration will be referred to a second department, which will take up a secondary question, and send off to a third department, and a fourth, and a fifth, until the original matter has been lost sight of. And, as a consequence of all this, confusion reigns in the War Office when reference or search is required, and all system and continuity is lost.

The case of the Admiralty is not greatly different. It is divided into fifteen sub-departments with forty-nine heads or deputies, and 514 officers on the permanent staff in London. It presides over a navy consisting of 357 ships, manned by 90,000 men. It has numerous dockyards and coastguard establishments under its direct control. It is true that the nature of the life makes it more difficult to utilize naval officers in administrative work than it is to employ their military *confrères*; and the mass of detail is, if anything, greater in the case of the fleet than in that of the troops. Nevertheless, the want of centralization and organization is sufficiently perceptible at the Admiralty; decisions are slowly taken; they are often reversed; there is a contest between department and department; and in matters where military and naval interests run side by side there is no sufficient means of touch with the War Office.

Alike in Pall Mall and the Whitehall there is every symptom of unwieldy corpulence. Briefly compare the two fighting departments with the Treasury and the Colonial Office, which according to two or three witnesses before the Commission are the hardest working departments in the State. The establishments of these offices consist respectively of twenty-five and twenty-four men of the first grade, and a proportionately small number of "Lower Division" clerks. Yet the Treasury deals more or less with all the financial and administrative affairs of the nation, and the Colonial Secretary's

department has on its shoulders the correspondence relating to seven and a half millions of square miles of territory, and twenty millions of British subjects, besides dealing in many cases with the smallest details of administration. We may anticipate somewhat in remarking that the acknowledged efficiency of these two departments is due to the system of throwing responsibility upon a few picked men, who know their own business and stick to it.

Now this comparison is instructive, and the Commission should have appreciated it, whereas they have really not touched the fringe of the difficulty which meets us in the case of the overgrown departments. We have little hesitation in saying that no Commission of itself will ever effect a beneficial reform. Our experience of the working of such Commissions has led us to the firm opinion that at the most they may indicate blots on a system which ought to be expunged. They will hardly do so much unless they have had some practical experience of work similar to that which they are examining. Lord Lingen was certainly a man who ought to make a first-rate head of such an inquiry; but there is some indication that he was hustled along by less experienced and more impetuous inquisitors, and we distrust the acumen of the chance member of Parliament, even if he has served a Ministerial apprenticeship.

We should deeply regret doing any injustice to the exhaustive character of the Commission's investigations; to the ordinary eye their first Report plunges into all the official intricacies which the work of the War Office and Admiralty seems to imitate from their present labyrinthine offices; while their second Report touches all those questions of general reform in the Public Service which have been brought under notice for past years. But it will be found in fact that this diligence was set in motion along a beaten track with certain preconceived ideas leading to false conclusions. We cannot see how the public will rest satisfied with a statement which continues the present organization of the two great spending departments, when men with inner knowledge believe that organization to be wasteful and incompetent, and when charges of petty jobbery, peculations and corruption are whispered at the street-corners. These things ought the first Report to have dealt with, and "not to have left the other undone." The second Report errs in the other direction; taking up the popular cries, it works up to their requirements without any sufficient examination of the evidence on the other side. In fact, where the public demand was specific the Commission failed to appreciate it; where the cry was vague, they laboured to make it a concrete reality.

The most general form in which the error of the Commissioners can be put is that they assumed the paramount necessity of routine work in Government departments. But routine is a result, not an

essential element; or rather it is a necessary element constantly tending in lazy or ignorant hands to usurp the place of thorough work. *Vires acquirit eundo*. It is the result of inferior intelligence; the product of a time when it was more important to fill Government offices with the cronies of Ministerial supporters than to supply the public with able servants. Routine is a good servant if kept in its proper place; it is apt to become a bad master. The broad result of the Ridley Reports is to stereotype routine and perpetuate inefficiency. It is a result one would have looked for, because an external Commission cannot judge of the real value of work in any department of the State. It must to a great extent be satisfied with what it is told, and can hardly criticize the conduct of business which it only partially understands. Accordingly the present Commission has fallen into the hands of the so-called "Lower Division" men. We do not make any personal or collective reference to the merits of a body of public servants which numbers many deserving men amongst its ranks: we speak of the system only. The existence of the large "Lower Division" is based on the alleged mass of the simple routine work; the Commission have avowedly adopted the fallacy in accepting an improved "Lower Division" as the chief part of the future Government service.

We are glad that it is proposed to alter the designation of the "Lower Division" or Class in order the more effectually to remove any sense of difference between man and man. Public servants can at least learn this lesson with the rest of us—if fortune has endowed us more abundantly than other men, to let them feel it as little as may be. We are not in favour of class-divisions of any sort or kind; and we have never liked that distinction between the higher and lower divisions of the Civil Service: it has bred bad blood and fostered discontent which never existed in the old days when nominated men of different education worked side by side, usually severed in position throughout their career, sometimes rising together to the same degree of success; but either way doing what work they did with a cheerfulness and a contentment which is a lesson to modern grumblers. Yet when once the principle of examination is admitted, it is very difficult to get rid of that real difference of education, or rather of natural ability and industry, which is too often neglected nowadays in the crude generalizations of an imperfect socialism. We can never do more than give perfect equality of opportunity; in so far as we are continually widening the bounds of a liberal education, that opportunity is laid open to all men; if some men are capable of higher mental culture than others, they will attain a more prominent place in the race of life; and where examination is made the test of qualification for certain posts, whether the service be public or private, the standard of the examination (assuming that

the rewards are proportionate to the culture required) will determine the standard of men who obtain the posts. We are not here concerned to discuss the merits of examinations as classifiers; but as regards one of the two cases where such a system is defective—namely, where able men have had no opportunity of educating themselves for higher duties for which they prove eminently fitted—the regulations of the British Service for years past have provided for Lower Division Clerks special opportunities of subsequent entry to the higher service. So that on no side is it easy to find more reason for the recent complaints of certain classes of civil servants than for the bemoanings of any individual who is less blessed by Providence than his neighbours.

But to return to the practical question of reform. Even supposing a Commission to have pointed out real defects, or put its fingers on the true weakness of a system, we are as far as ever from having got rid of the obnoxious thing. Over and over again some such defect has been discovered, over and over again it has remained, or has been removed only after the lapse of years. No: real reform of a public department as constituted in this country must come from within: the straightest road to it is to place at the permanent headship of the office a man imbued with a spirit of reform, and one able to manage his fellow-men; but to make his work effective there must be behind him the few educated and well-paid servants, who will do a great deal of work, and do it well, because they have a high sense of duty and an interest or pleasure in their work.

In this opinion has a wide experience of Government departments at home and abroad confirmed us. The way to get work done is to lay responsibility on a few picked men, and to make them feel there is a reward for doing it. The failure to recognize this accounts for much that is unsatisfactory in our Public Service. The Report of the Ridley Commission goes wrong in sanctioning a further departure from this sound principle. To have raised the status and improved the prospect of the so-called "Lower Division" clerks is all in the right direction; to have made that improved division the pivot of the Public Civil Service is to have mistaken the noisy clamour of a discontented body of officials for the real interests of the State. We have but little hesitation in saying that on our principle of few men and good pay, there would rarely be needed more than one man of the present Lower Division for every clerk of superior grade; responsibility of the individual would reduce routine to its minimum, and that same sense of responsibility would usually check excesses of officiousness. In such offices as the Stamp Office or Customs Department this principle only partially applies; but we are chiefly concerned with the great administrative departments. If two men, each drawing six hundred pounds a year, do the work of four draw-

ing four hundred pounds, there is a clear gain of four hundred pounds a year; and this is the direction in which real economies might be made; reduce numbers, and attract good men. Under such a régime it would not be necessary to go to untold expense in building new offices; the idea that concentration of departments increases efficiency of work is very much overpressed. But a great deal can be done in the way of dropping inter-departmental formalities, letters, and acknowledgment of letters. A simple minute from one person in authority to another saves time and labour when compared with the machinery involved in writing directions for a letter, drafting a letter, copying a letter, and acknowledging receipt of the letter; and in nine cases out of ten the minute would do.

We believe, however, that much has been done of late by the open competition for the higher grade of offices. The men who have been brought in have been of the right type; they have usually brought with them from outside the current spirit of reform. We do not say that they are always better or more successful public servants than those who came in under a previous system; but apart from any special adaptability for their work they are more in touch with the public, and have a greater sense of their duty to the public.

There is one partial abuse, however, the removal of which is demanded alike by justice to the "competition" men and the interests of the nation. Certain valuable staff appointments are attached to many of the public departments; these are still the last stronghold of jobbery in the national service.\* In the days when incompetence was more frequent than merit in the officers of a department there was some little ground for reserving for outsiders of proved desert the places at the head of an office. With a system of public competition which brings in men of high attainments and wide education, all this is changed, and any closing of the staff appointments to the members of the permanent staff becomes gross abuse. It means that the heads of the office in nine cases out of ten are of inferior ability to the staff on which they rely; and that the abler men who have been disappointed by the intrusion of jobbery to their disadvantage are soured and discontented, and become less efficient at the very time when they should be at their best. We believe that the Foreign Office lately has set a good example in this respect, and that all the Under-Secretaries of State at this time have served their full apprenticeship in the department.

One word more. In the course of our remarks we have referred to jobbery and corruption in the conduct of the great spending departments. These are ugly words; we would gladly avoid them; but circumstantial tales (which we hope are out of date) of per-

centages received on orders of warlike stores, and allegations of officials that Admiralty dockyards are rarely free from peculations, leave an uncomfortable impression which it is at least fair to share with the public. Our Service should be above suspicion : we have always believed it so ; yet we know how jobbery, large or small, is always cropping up in the services and legislatures of most foreign countries and many British colonies.

## THE WRITINGS OF MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT.

THE story of Mary Wollstonecraft's life has been many times told, but it has not occurred to any one to show, by a careful study of her writings, that she deserves a niche in the cathedral of original thinkers, and that she was extraordinarily in advance of her age. Indeed, considering the position of women in the eighteenth century, we marvel that even a woman of surpassing genius was courageous enough to declare her opinions openly to the public. Toleration in its truest sense—that is, an acknowledgment of the good points in all sorts and conditions of beliefs and opinions—is seldom practised; and however much we may differ from the followers of Comte, we must greatly admire their love and reverence for those who, in the past, have benefited the human race. In the present day we have greatly to deplore a certain lack of reverence, or, as it has been aptly termed, “the miscellaneous self-assertion of the period.” It is a noteworthy sign of the times that we can hardly open any of the monthly magazines or reviews without finding an article concerning women and their position to-day. It may be that we are tired of the subject—the human mind likes variety—but perhaps it will be new to many to learn how very small an advance we have made since the last century. Mary Wollstonecraft's views and opinions on woman's position in the social economy, and on her education, are exactly the same as those put forward to-day by all thoughtful men and women. It must therefore be interesting to learn the kind of work done by the first woman who saw how great a necessity there was for the improvement of the condition of her sex. As Mr. Kegan Paul puts it, “she was the herald of the demand not yet conceded by all, that woman should be the equal and friend, not the slave and toy, of man.”

We owe the beginnings of most modern movements of progress and reform to the often-maligned eighteenth century. The small group of English Deists were the forerunners of the Huxleys and the Tyndalls of our day; to Adam Smith we owe our modern teachers of political economy; Richardson and Fielding made Thackeray and Dickens possible; Reynolds and Gainsborough were the beginners of our English school of painting; White's *Natural History of*

*Selborne* began the original observations since carried on to such great purpose by Darwin and others.

Mary Wollstonecraft was born into a most interesting world in the year 1759. By the great victories of this year the first English attempts at colonization were developed into the beginnings of a mighty empire. Washington resigned his military command this year, and two years later the first feeling against English government showed itself in what thirty years later were already the United States. France had all but forgotten the glory of Louis XIV., and already showed to the keen eye of Lord Chesterfield the symptoms that go before great revolutions. Sterne was setting the fashion of sentiment in prose fiction; Johnson was the king of literature. In France it was the age of Voltaire: Rousseau had not yet published his *Social Contract*. In Germany it was the year of Schiller's birth.

The Wollstonecraft family was originally Irish. Mary's father had been once rich, but he squandered his patrimony and fell into difficulties, from which, in consequence of his idle habits, he was never able to extricate himself. Needless to add, the home was very unhappy. After some wanderings, they came to live on a farm near Beverley, Yorkshire, where they remained six years. Mary went to such day-schools as the place afforded. Holding dolls in high contempt, and vastly preferring the active and hardy sports of her brothers, she delighted to be in the open air. In 1775 she made the acquaintance of Fanny Blood, a girl of her own age, whose home was equally unhappy from much the same cause. The acquaintance soon ripened into a friendship that was a very important element in Mary's life. In a letter, written long years after her friend's death, occurs this passage:—"When a warm heart has strong impressions, they are not to be effaced. Emotions become sentiments, and the imagination renders transient sensations permanent by fondly retracing them. I cannot, without a thought of delight, recollect . . . looks I have felt in every nerve, which I shall never more meet. The grave has closed over a dear friend—the friend of my youth; still she is present with me, and I hear her soft voice warbling as I stray over the heath."

In 1778, at the age of nineteen, Mary saw the necessity of earning her own living, and making herself independent. In these days this is no easy task for a woman; one hundred and twelve years ago the difficulties of such a step were well-nigh insurmountable. She went to Bath as companion to a Mrs. Dawson, a lady of most uncertain temper. Notwithstanding this inconvenience, Mary remained with her two years, and was only recalled home to soothe her mother's dying hours. In 1780 Mrs. Wollstonecraft died, and it then became quite impossible for Mary and her two sisters to remain at home. Eliza, one of the sisters, made a hasty and



unhappy marriage, and was forced to leave her husband. This made the third unhappy home that Mary had known. In 1783 she opened a regular school for girls at Newington Green. Two years later she went to Lisbon to nurse her friend, Fanny Blood, who had lately married. She was only in time to see her die. Coming home, she found the school had not prospered under her sisters' care. She, therefore, turned to literature. Her first pamphlet, entitled *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters, with Reflections on Female Conduct in the more important Duties of Life*, was published in 1787, and brought her ten guineas. It is very slight, but it serves to show us what direction her mind was taking; for many of the ideas and principles afterwards put forth in the famous *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* are found here in embryo.

Through a friend at Newington, Mary was now introduced to a Mr. Prior, a master at Eton, who had been commissioned by Lord Kingsborough to find a governess for his daughters. Mr. Prior suggested Mary Wollstonecraft, who was accordingly engaged at a salary of forty pounds a year. Before joining her employers, she stayed for a little while at Eton, and her opinion of public schools so fearlessly expressed in the *Vindication* was no doubt formed by what she saw then. She remained with the Kingsboroughs a year, and was only dismissed because her pupils came to love their governess better than their mother. Mary Wollstonecraft's views of aristocratic life, and her impressions of fine ladies, are worth noting; for these experiences gave rise to many of the passages in the *Vindication*. Dating from the Castle, Mitchelstown, Ireland, soon after her arrival, she writes to her sister:—"There was such a solemn kind of stupidity about this place as froze my very blood. I entered the great gates with the same kind of feeling as I should have if I was going into the Bastille. . . . Lady Kingsborough is a shrewd, clever woman—a great talker. I have not seen much of her, but I have seen half a dozen of her companions—I mean her dogs. The forms and parades of high life suit not my mind." Later she writes:—" . . . confined to the society of a set of silly females, I have no social converse, and their boisterous spirits and unmeaning laughter exhaust me—not forgetting hourly domestic bickerings. The topics of matrimony and dress take their turn—not in a very sentimental style—alas, poor sentiment! it has no residence here. Lady Kingsborough's passion for animals fills up the hours which are not spent in dressing. She rouges, and, in short, is a fine lady without fancy or sensibility." It is to be feared that this description would apply only too well to some of the fine ladies of our own day. At this time, the condition of the labouring classes in Ireland was most deplorable, and the contrast between their poverty and the luxury and display of the Castle no doubt excited Mary Wollstonecraft's indignation. Meanwhile, she

reads Rousseau, and in her letters speaks of the "Emile." She finds a certain likeness between Rousseau and herself:—"He rambles into that chimerical world into which I have too often wandered, and draws the usual conclusion that all is vanity and vexation of spirit."

In 1788 she deliberately chooses a literary life. Her friend, Mr. Johnson, the publisher in St. Paul's Churchyard, promised to give her work, principally translation from the French; but she also acted as his "reader." All this time she was giving what help she could to her family. The first original work in which she gave any indication of her political and social opinions was her answer to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, which she published in 1790. It was the first of the numerous replies that appeared, and shows that even in those days women and radicalism were closely allied. Its eloquence and fire earned it great success. Among the evils of an aristocracy, she points out the fact that the middle-class ape the manners of the great. She thinks property should be fluctuating, the only security of property being the right a man has to enjoy the acquisitions which his talents or industry has acquired. With regard to the land, she believes in small holdings. "Why cannot large estates be divided into small farms? These dwellings would, indeed, grace our land. Why are huge forests still allowed to stretch out with idle pomp and all the indolence of Eastern grandeur? Why do the brown wastes meet the traveller's view when men want work?" When we think of the constant horrors in the East End of London, and of the late strikes, how forcibly do we recognise the truth of what she says of London:—

"In this great city, boasting of its population and commerce, how much misery lurks in pestilential corners? How many mechanics, by a flux of trade or fashion, lose their employment? Where is the eye that marks these evils? Are these remediless evils?" She sums up by pointing out that if man was content to be the friend of man, and did not seek to be his master, if he was ever on the watch to shed abroad all the happiness which human nature could enjoy, the world would rapidly improve; for therein, she asserts, lies the whole duty of man. It is not necessary here to give the arguments by which she confutes Burke's views; it is only needful to remember that she was thoroughly in sympathy with the French Revolution and its promoters.

Next in order of publication comes her great work—a book which forms an epoch in the subject to which it belongs. It was written in six weeks, and raised a storm of acrimonious discussion. The book has grave faults, but its excellences are many and striking enough to lead us to forget its failings. As it is known to very few, a somewhat detailed account, with copious quotations, will, it is hoped, prove interesting.

The full title of the book is *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*:



dreary scene to the contemplative mind. One class presses on another; for all are aiming to procure respect on account of their property; and property, once gained, will procure the respect due only to talents and virtues. A great part of the book is devoted to pointing out the necessity of giving to women a wide and sensible education. According to Mary Wollstonecraft, "the most perfect education is such an exercise of the understanding as is best calculated to strengthen the body and form the heart, to enable the individual to attain such habits of virtue as will render it independent." She discusses at some length the arguments of the then known writers on woman's education, such as Rousseau, Dr. Gregory, Dr. James Fordyce, Madame de Genlis, Mrs. Chapone, Mrs. Catherine Macaulay, Lord Chesterfield. It is not possible to give in detail all the arguments employed by these writers and refuted by Mary Wollstonecraft. Rousseau feared, among other things, that women, if highly educated, would more nearly resemble men, and, consequently, would have less power over them. What Mary Wollstonecraft wished was, not that women should have more power over men, but over themselves. Without knowledge there is no morality; ignorance is a frail base for virtue. She does not believe that spending long hours with needle in hand is beneficial to women:—"This employment contracts their faculties more than any other that could have been chosen for them, by confining their thoughts to their persons. Men order their clothes to be made, and have done with the subject; women make their own clothes, necessary or ornamental, and are continually talking about them, and their thoughts follow their hands. It is not, indeed, the making of necessaries that weakens the mind; but the frippery of dress. For when a woman in the lower rank of life makes her husband's and children's clothes, she does her duty—this is her part of the family business; but when women work only to dress better than they could otherwise afford, it is worse than sheer loss of time. . . . Gardening, experimental philosophy, and literature would afford them subjects to think of, and matter for conversation, that in some degree would exercise their understandings."

What she says about education is in every way excellent. She declares that the good effects resulting from attention to private education will ever be confined: education must become a grand national scheme. This was written in 1792, and we had to wait till 1870 before such a scheme was realized. As she wisely remarks, "The fear of innovation in this country extends to everything." Her tirade against English public schools was no doubt caused by observation made while staying with Mr. Prior at Eton. She approves of mixed schools. "Both sexes ought . . . to be educated together. If marriage be the cement of society, mankind should all be educated after the same model, by the intercourse of the sexes

will never deserve the name of fellowship, nor will women ever fulfil the peculiar duties of their sex till they become enlightened citizens; till they become free, by being enabled to earn their own subsistence independent of men,—in the same manner, I mean, to prevent misconstruction, as one man is independent of another." Punishments should be awarded by the children themselves; a naughty child should be tried by his peers. Mr. Joseph Lancaster (1778–1828), the school-reformer, actually put this system into vogue, and, though ultimately abandoned, it became a valuable part of a child's education. Day-schools are to be preferred to boarding-schools. In them boys and girls, rich and poor, are to meet together, all dressed alike and obliged to submit to the same discipline. A large playground is absolutely necessary where gymnastic plays in the open air are to be carried on at intervals during the day, because between the ages of five and nine no sedentary employment should last for more than an hour at a time. The subjects of study are to be botany, mechanics, astronomy, taught in the way now employed in all kindergartens, "for many things improve and amuse the senses, when introduced as a kind of show, to the principle of which, dryly laid down, children would turn a deaf ear." Reading, writing, arithmetic, natural history, and simple experiments in natural philosophy are also to be included.

The elements of religion, history, the history of man and politics, should be taught by means of conversations in the Socratic method. At the age of nine, girls and boys intended for domestic employments or trades should be removed to schools where such things are taught. In this book, written in 1792, we have technical schools and education regarded as part of the national system of education, and yet, at the present day, our system of technical education leaves much to be desired. Children of superior ability or fortune should proceed to learn dead or living languages, elements of science, and should continue the study of history and politics on a more extensive scale, including polite literature. Humanity to animals must form part of the national education. Women should be taught the elements of anatomy and medicine, not only to enable them to take proper care of their own health, but to make them rational nurses of their infants, parents, and husbands. They should also be made acquainted with the anatomy of the mind. Mary Wollstonecraft anticipates Lord Brougham when she says that any kind of reading is better than leaving a blank still a blank: reading is the most natural employment, if people seek food for the understanding. Our present system of national education falls far below this one set forth, nearly a hundred years ago, and yet another point is insisted on which is still but dimly understood. All teachers know from experience how much more is expected from them than it is in their power to give: as Mary Wollstonecraft wisely remarks:—*"They*

can strengthen the body and sharpen the instruments by which the child is to gather knowledge, *but the honey must be the reward of the individual's own industry.*" Education is not all comprised in the school-room, and it is a vast pity that parents are not encouraged to take a more intelligent interest in the education of their children.

She continues to point out that women must become free and enlightened citizens. If they are denied all political privileges, and are not allowed a civil existence, they will have their attention naturally drawn from the interest of the whole community to that of the minute parts, although the private duty must always be imperfectly performed when not connected with the general good. To render woman really virtuous and useful, she must not, if she discharge her civil duties, want individually the protection of civil laws. Women should study the art of healing, and be physicians as well as nurses; they should study politics, and be careful not to read history as mere biography, but to observe the character of the times and regard it as the history of man, not of particular men. Women might pursue business of various kinds, if educated in a more orderly manner; and, in that case, attempts to earn their own subsistence would be regarded with respect, and women would be spared the misery of dependence on relatives.

We come now to the final point: what will be the effect of this improved state of things on women themselves, and humanity in general? Mary Wollstonecraft brings all her eloquence to bear on the important fact that, under such circumstances, women would become better wives and mothers; the heart, as well as the understanding, would be opened by cultivation, and marriages of affection would be the rule and not the exception. Should, however, a woman not marry, a well-stored mind would enable her to support a single life with dignity. Women would cease to be affected in their behaviour towards men: a woman would be the friend and companion of her husband. Mill also looked forward to a time "when each of two persons, instead of being a nothing, is a something . . . when two persons both care for great objects and are a help and encouragement to each other in whatever regards these." And he continues: "What marriage may be in the case of two persons of cultivated faculties, identical in opinions and purposes, between whom there exists that best kind of equality, similarity of powers and capabilities, with reciprocal superiority in them—so that each can enjoy the luxury of looking up to the other, and can have alternately the pleasure of leading and of being led in the path of development—I will not attempt to describe. To those who can conceive it, there is no need; to those who cannot, it would appear the dream of an enthusiast. But I maintain, with the profoundest conviction, that this, and this only, is the ideal of marriage." Here again we have Mill expressing views identical with those put forth so much earlier

by Mary Wollstonecraft. She continues to point out that in the regulation of a family, in the education of children, understanding is particularly required; to be a good mother, a woman must have sense and independence of mind. The only way to make women properly attentive to their domestic duties is to lead them to respect themselves, and to open political and moral subjects to them. An active mind embraces the whole circle of its duties, and finds time enough for all. No employment for the mind should, however, be a sufficient excuse for neglecting domestic duties; but Mary Wollstonecraft does not believe the two things incompatible. A woman may fit herself to be the companion and friend of man, and yet know how to take care of a family. If women are made rational creatures and free citizens, they will quickly become good wives and mothers. To sum up, we quote a passage from the concluding pages of this wonderful book:—

“To render women truly useful members of society, I argue that they should be led, by having their understandings cultivated on a large scale, to acquire a rational affection for their country, *founded on knowledge*; because it is obvious that we are little interested in what we do not understand. . . . Let woman share the rights, and she will emulate the virtues, of man; for she must grow more perfect when emancipated.”

Again, note Mill's words:—

“The mere getting rid of the idea that all the wider subjects of thought and action, all the things which are of general and not solely of private interest, are men's business, from which women are to be warned off . . . the mere consciousness a woman would then have of being a human being, like any other, entitled to choose her pursuits, urged or invited by the same inducements as any one else to interest herself in whatever is interesting to human beings, entitled to exert the share of influence on all human concerns which belongs to an individual opinion . . . this alone would effect an immense expansion in the faculties of women, as well as an enlargement of the range of their moral sentiments.”

It may be argued that there is nothing new in all this; that it has been said scores of times before. Such statements would be quite true to-day; but when Mary Wollstonecraft wrote her book, nearly a hundred years ago, such sentiments and ideas had never before been expressed. Reading them to-day, we are particularly struck with the modern ring of them. It is true that in More's *Utopia* (1516) men and women attend the public lectures on literature, &c., together. Defoe, in his *Essay on Projects*, published in 1697, in the division “Of Academies,” has a remarkable passage on an academy for women. He commences thus:—“I have often thought of it as one of the most barbarous customs in the world, considering us as a civilized and a Christian country, that we deny the advantages of learning to

women." His ideas as to what would form a right education for women are much the same as those of Mary Wollstonecraft and Mill. Defoe believes :—"They [women] should be brought to read books, and especially history, and so to read as to make them understand the world, and be able to know and judge of things when they hear of them. To such whose genius would lead them to it, I would deny no sort of learning." And he is as sanguine as Mill in regard to the result of this improved education. "A woman well bred and well taught, furnished with the additional accomplishments of knowledge and behaviour, is a creature without comparison; her society is the emblem of sublimer enjoyments; her person is angelic, and her conversation heavenly; she is all softness and sweetness, peace, love, wit, and delight; she is every way suitable to the sublimest wish, and the man that has such a one to his portion has nothing to do but to rejoice in her and be thankful."

But, while making full acknowledgment of the opinions held by More and Defoe on female education, we affirm that Mary Wollstonecraft's book remains the first formal plea for equality of education and social position, the first protest against a woman being considered merely the plaything of man, the first expression of the opinion that lasting happiness in marriage is best secured by intellectual intercourse; and, as such, the book deserves our most careful and serious consideration. Whether she had read Defoe, or whether Mill had read her, we cannot tell; but in these days of belief in evolution, it is not altogether out of place to apply that theory to the manner in which the all-important question of the condition of woman has been treated.

The next event in Mary Wollstonecraft's life was her visit to Paris, which took place in 1792. She arrived in the very midst of all the great events going on there: indeed, history was making before her eyes. A few days after her arrival, she witnessed from her window the king going to his trial, and she describes the strange scene most graphically in one of her letters. She wrote a *Letter on the French People*, which contains some keen criticism on their manners, not out of date even now. The following passage occurring in a letter dated Paris, 15th February, 1793, will serve for an illustration :—"When I first entered Paris, the striking contrast of riches and poverty, elegance and slovenliness, urbanity and deceit, everywhere caught my eye and saddened my soul. . . . The whole mode of life here tends indeed to render the people frivolous, and, to borrow their favourite epithet, amiable. Ever on the wing, they are always sipping the sparkling joy on the brim of the cup, leaving satiety in the bottom for those who venture to drink deep. On all sides they trip along, buoyed up by animal spirits, and seemingly so void of care that often . . . it occurs to me, they alone understand the full import of the term leisure and they trifle their time



away with such an air of contentment, I know not how to wish them wiser at the expense of their gaiety. They play before me like notes in a sunbeam enjoying the passing ray; whilst an English head, searching for more solid happiness, loses in the analysis of pleasure the volatile sweets of the moment."

In Paris Mary Wollstonecraft became acquainted with Captain Gilbert Imlay, an American; her connection with him, and his subsequent desertion of her caused her the acutest suffering. Her letters to him are those of a true and loving woman, and charm us by their beauty: we can only wonder exceedingly how such a woman could care for a man so utterly worthless. It is this unfortunate connection that has raised such a wall of prejudice against Mary Wollstonecraft; but with that it is not necessary to deal here. This is no modern biography, and therefore the details of Mary Wollstonecraft's private life, except those events in it that directly influenced her work, are touched on but lightly. Neither is this article intended to be an *apologia pro vita eius*. Mr. Kegan Paul has done so admirably all that was needful in that direction, that it would be mere impertinence to offer anything more of the kind to the public. We all know how difficult a thing it is to judge and understand rightly the lives of those nearest us—what totally unexpected developments they suddenly show us, what a problem to the spectator is the working of every human mind and soul; and thus how much more difficult must it be to judge the life of one so far removed from us by time!

In 1794 she published the first volume of *An Historical and Moral View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution, and the Effect it has produced in Europe*. It went very quickly through two editions, but was unfortunately never carried further, and ends with the journey of the king to Paris. The book shows that her intellectual power had made great strides; she reasons well, is always logical, and criticises in the wisest spirit the events of the revolution as they had passed before her. No doubt, to the student, a history is more valuable when the writer is at some distance from the events he is describing, when he can sit down quietly to his work, unmoved by the enthusiasm or indignation of the moment. But, to some, it is still more interesting to have history first-hand, struck from the anvil of events. In the preface she writes:—"To mark the prominent features of this revolution requires a mind, not only unsophisticated by old prejudices and the inveterate habits of degeneracy, but an amelioration of temper produced by the exercise of the most enlarged principles of humanity." She saw clearly what later philosophical historians have taught us, that the revolution was not produced by the abilities or intrigues of a few individuals, nor was it the effect of sudden and short-lived enthusiasm, but the natural consequence of intellectual improvement. And in a sentence

that is almost an aphorism she tells us that, "the complication of laws in every country has tended to bewilder the understanding of man in the science of government." The finest parts of the book are those dealing with the taking of the Bastille, the march of the women to Versailles, and the career of Marie Antoinette. Carlyle's famous descriptions of these things are well known, but it is quite worth while to contrast them with those of Mary Wollstonecraft.

In 1795 she went a journey, on some business of Imlay, to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; and the letters written during that period form perhaps the pleasantest part of Mary Wollstonecraft's literary work. It is not necessary to give long quotations from them here, since Messrs. Bentley have lately made them accessible to all. Her appreciation of the beauties of Nature penetrates through all these delightful letters, and her social and political opinions called up by the observation of new countries and peoples are fearlessly expressed. She thoroughly appreciates the blessings of civilization and culture; and so much does she believe in the cultivation of the mind, that she assures us it is even necessary for keeping awake affection and preventing the languishing of a friendship. Interest in politics is also most important; she declares that "men will only exert themselves for the good of their families, and not for that of mankind, till politics, becoming a subject of discussion, enlarges the heart by opening the understanding." She fears too much attention of nations to commerce. "England and America owe their liberty to commerce, which created a new species of power to undermine the feudal system. But let them beware of the consequence: the tyranny of wealth is still more galling and debasing than that of rank."

She was in favour of abolishing capital punishment, and inveighed against the prevailing custom that made executions scenes of amusement for the gaping crowd. She wisely tells us that most reformers run into an error in wishing to do immediately what can only be accomplished by time: they aim at destroying prejudices quickly, which only time can root out as public opinion becomes subject to reason. She confides to us that her favourite subject of contemplation was the future improvement of the world. How she appeared to the people she met in Scandinavia we learn from the following remark:—"At supper my host told me bluntly, that I was a woman of observation, for I asked him *men's questions*." These words let us into the secret of Mary Wollstonecraft's mind and character better than volumes of criticism.

In 1796 Mary Wollstonecraft separated for ever from Imlay, and returned to her literary life in London, to meet William Godwin, to become his wife, and through his love to spend the last year of her life in entire happiness. We are told that the most lasting affection often begins with a little aversion, and such was really the case with Mary Wollstonecraft and Godwin. They had met some years before,

but Godwin had not been attracted by Mary; she had talked so much, that some other member of the company whose conversation Godwin wished to enjoy had had little or no chance of speaking. Now, however, his mind had changed. Let him, in his own words, describe what took place:—"The partiality we conceived for each other was in that mode which I have always considered as the purest and most refined style of love. It grew with equal advances in the mind of each. It would have been impossible for the most minute observer to have said who was before and who was after. One sex did not take the priority which long-established custom has awarded it, nor the other overstep that delicacy which is so severely imposed. I am not conscious that either party can assume to have been the agent or the patient, the toil-spreader or the prey, in the affair. When in the course of things the disclosure came, there was nothing in a manner for either party to disclose to the other. . . . It was friendship melting into love."

Unfortunately, after giving birth to a daughter—destined to be the wife of the poet Shelley—Mary died at the age of thirty-seven, on September 10, 1797. She was buried in old St. Pancras Churchyard; and Godwin, when, in 1836, he too came to die, was laid by her side. The remains of both were removed by the late Sir Percy Shelley to the grave in which he laid his mother, in the churchyard of Bournemouth parish church.

Mary Wollstonecraft's death was followed by much discussion as to her work and character. Favourable notices appeared in the *New Monthly Magazine* for September 1797, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October of the same year. In 1798 Godwin himself published her posthumous works, prefaced by a memoir, whence our knowledge of her is chiefly derived. His opinion of her is, however, to be found in the character of Marguerite in his novel *St. Leon*, published in 1799. One or two passages may be quoted:—"The first time I saw her, she made a deep impression on me . . . the purity of her mind seemed to give a celestial brilliancy and softness to her person. . . . She is a treasure, the equal of which, perhaps, the world does not hold. I speak not of her personal attraction; but in understanding, accomplishments, and virtue I firmly believe no woman living can compare with her. . . . Marguerite was particularly distinguished by the justness of her taste and the vividness of her feelings. . . . The more she delivered herself up to Nature, the greater was her content. All superfluous appendages and show appeared to her as so many obstacles to enjoyment. *The story of her life is the best record of her virtues.* Her defects, if defects she had, drew their pedigree from rectitude of sentiment and perception, from the most generous sensibility, from a heart pervaded and *enervated with tenderness.*"

Her daughter, Mary Shelley, who had learned almost all she knew

of her mother from Mary Wollstonecraft's loving friends, Mrs. Revely (afterwards Mrs. Gisborne) and Miss Hayes, writes :—"She had been bred in the hard school of adversity ; and having experienced the sorrows entailed on the poor and the oppressed, an earnest desire was kindled in her to diminish those sorrows. . . . With a heart brimful of generous affection, yearning for sympathy, she had fallen on evil days, and her life had been one course of hardship, poverty, lonely struggle, and bitter disappointment." Shelley's reference to her, in the dedication to *The Revolt of Islam*, is too well known to need repeating here.

It is hoped that this sketch—all imperfect as it is—has served to point out how much Mary Wollstonecraft did for the advancement and improvement of her sex and of humanity in general, and how extraordinarily modern were the views she held. Detractors of the merits of her writings will advance two arguments in her disfavour : firstly, they will say that Mary Wollstonecraft's opinions, like those of most women, were drawn from her own experience, and not from a really wide knowledge of life. But with whom is this not the case ? Many of the world's greatest philosophers have drawn their systems of philosophy in great part from what they have suffered or enjoyed in their own persons. But the ills that Mary Wollstonecraft endured were, and are, those of very many women, and thus we can only be sincerely glad that her genius enabled her to give the result so eloquently to the world. Secondly, we shall be told that her writings are tinged throughout with sentimentalism. It is true that we cannot deny this ; but Mary Wollstonecraft lived and wrote in a highly sentimental age ; learned men and statesmen of the eighteenth century must plead guilty to the same charge. The condition of women has indeed greatly improved since 1797 ; things that were then mere dreams are now realities and hard facts ; but more even remains to be done for them and for all humanity. Let us not, however, be discouraged, but determine to go onwards in the cause of progress slowly but surely, "ohne Hast, ohne Rast."

## THE VIKING AGE.<sup>1</sup>

IF Mr. Du Chaillu has not in these volumes made any important contribution to the early history of the ancestors of the English, he has made a most valuable addition to antiquarian literature. His arguments in favour of his theory that the ancestors of the English were not those whom it is generally supposed they were, are of the slightest and most unconvincing character; and it seems almost doubtful if he can attach much importance to them himself, or he would have made a greater effort to sustain them by confirmatory evidence if it could have been procured. His argument amounts only to the conjecture that the Scandinavian branch of the Germanic race was more energetic and earlier advanced in civilization than the Low German from whom the English are believed to have been descended, and therefore it is more probable that England was subjugated by the Northmen than by the Saxons. Evidence in support of this hypothesis there is none, nor does Mr. Du Chaillu look for it in the only place where, if found, it could carry conviction—that is, in England itself. Neither the antiquities nor the language nor the earliest chronicles of England give any support to this surmise, for it is little else; but they all point the other way, and confirm the long-accepted view that the Saxons obtained possession of a large part of the soil of England before the invasion of the northern tribes in the ninth century. Very likely the hard-and-fast lines formerly drawn with regard to the successive invasions of England may have to be modified to some extent, but the history as a whole can hardly be reversed. There may have been Saxon colonists before the fourth century, and Scandinavian ones before the ninth, but the general account of the order of the immigrations cannot be challenged with success. Mr. Du Chaillu's argument in favour of his theory is so vague and slight, and occupies so inconsiderable a portion of his work, that it does not call for any serious reply; the reply is to be found in the early history of England itself, to which he must address himself, and show from within to be inaccurate, before he can substantiate the claim he makes for his favourite Vikings. His method in this matter is purely conjectural: "Britain being an island could only be settled or conquered by seafaring tribes," which is undeniable; the Danes were a seafaring

<sup>1</sup> *The Viking Age. The Early History, Manners, and Customs of the Ancestors of the English-speaking Nations.* By Paul B. Du Chaillu. Two vols. London: John Murray. 1889.

people, but the first reliable account we have of their descent upon Britain is in the eighth and ninth centuries. "What were the Danes doing with their mighty fleets before this? Invading England of course," says Mr. Du Chaillu, notwithstanding the silence of history on the subject. "Let us compare by analogy the statement of the chronicles with what might happen to the history of England in the course of time." This is the manner of the argument, but it is not in this way that history is written. To say that the Danes could have invaded England, and that they might have done so, is not to prove that they did do so. They came, certainly, and have left unmistakable traces; but it was later on, and they found the Saxons here when they came, and it is the Saxon and not the Scandinavian tongue we speak; but according to this new way of writing history, the ancestors of the English-speaking nations did not even speak English or the language out of which English has grown. One almost is inclined to doubt if the author intended these pages to be taken seriously, or whether they were not written to enliven a highly interesting but solid work, and to attract readers who might otherwise pass it by. Such a motive would be unworthy of the high reputation of the author, so we will dismiss it. It will be more satisfactory to English readers to learn that, from whatever stock they may have descended, Mr. Du Chaillu has a very high opinion of the race as it is to-day—"wherever the English-speaking people have settled, or are at this day found, even in small numbers, they are far more energetic, daring, adventurous and prosperous, and understand the art of self-government and of ruling alien peoples far better than other colonizing nations." The fallacy that we owe all these qualities and many more enumerated by Mr. Du Chaillu to the Northerners, be they Saxons or Danes, who settled here fifteen hundred years ago, was long since exposed by Defoe in his immortal satire; our present energy is due to no one race alone, but to that mixture of races which is to be found nowhere in the world to the same extent as upon English soil:—

- "The Romans first with Julius Cæsar came,  
Including all the nations of that name,  
Gauls, Greeks, and Lombards; and by computation,  
Auxiliaries or slaves of ev'ry nation.  
With Hengist, Saxons; Danes with Sueno came;  
In search of plunder, not in search of fame.  
Scots, Picts, and Irish from the Hibernian shore;  
And conquering William brought the Norman o'er.  
From this amphibious, ill-born mob began  
That vain, ill-natured thing, an Englishman.  
The customs, surnames, languages, and manners  
Of all these nations are their own explainers:  
Whose relics are so lasting, and so strong,  
They've left a shibboleth upon our tongue;  
By which with easy search you may distinguish,  
Your Roman-Saxon-Danish-Norman-English."

The real interest and value of this important work is not to be estimated by the first few chapters to which we have been referring, and which occupy something less than thirty pages out of more than a thousand. The materials have been collected with indefatigable industry from a personal investigation of the antiquities found in mounds, cairns, and bogs, as well as from the ancient Sagas and Eddas. The author has himself seen nearly every object or grave described in the book, and carefully read every Saga, and the result is a wealth of illustration, literary and pictorial, of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the north during a period of about one thousand years. The want of sequence and the lack of dates detract to some extent from the usefulness of the work, but it would be ungrateful to find fault with a book which so admirably fulfils its author's purpose, and gives us so much information in such an attractive form.

What is sometimes said in jest may on this occasion be affirmed in all seriousness, that the pictures alone are worth the money. The 1366 engravings with which the volumes are enriched are well executed, and cover every imaginable field. They illustrate the stone, the iron, the bronze, and still more highly civilized ages. They embrace the rock tracings of Bohuslan, Runic inscriptions, graves, weapons, ornaments, apparel, domestic utensils, agricultural implements, and furniture.

From the finds, especially the bog finds, here so copiously illustrated, it is possible in a large measure to construct a picture of the early history of the people. "From them we are able to see how people were dressed, and to learn about their riding equipment, agricultural implements, cooking utensils, household vessels, waggons, tools, and offensive and defensive weapons; from one of them also we were first made acquainted with their sea-vessels." "We can dress a warrior from head to foot, and wonder at his costly and magnificent equipment, and his superb and well-finished weapons, &c."

A very interesting feature of the burial customs of the Vikings is that the graves are found either on the sea-coast or in places where easy access to the sea is possible. "The waves strike at their base, and with the wind sing mournfully a requiem over the forgotten dead: their work is done, the glorious mission they had to accomplish in the history of the world is ended; the mighty drama of the sword is closed." So these great warriors and mariners were laid in their eternal rest by the side of the wild ocean, they had loved so well.

The custom of mound-burying does not appear to have been the earliest; cremation was no doubt the earlier mode of disposing of the dead, so that the return to the practice in these days might be regarded by Mr. De Chailu as atavism, and a confirmation of his theory as to our original ancestors. Sometimes the body was burned

on a funeral pyre, and sometimes placed on board a ship, which was set on fire and driven out to sea. It was feared that a man who had been wild and fierce while alive might, as a ghost, cause trouble to his household after death, in which case precautions had to be taken. The person whose duty it was to close the eyes and mouth and pinch together the nostrils, approached the body from behind, instead of from the front, and the corpse was carried out backwards through a hole made in the wall, instead of through one of the usual exits.

"Snorri godi (temple priest), the great chief, had received a forest from Thorólf Bœgifot (lame foot), who wanted to get it back. Thorólf Bœgifot came home in the evening, and spoke to no one. He sat down in his high-seat, but did not eat that evening. He sat there when the people went to sleep, and in the morning when they rose Thorólf still sat there, and was dead. The housewife sent a man to his son Arnkel, to tell him the death of Thorólf. Arnkel rode to Hvamm with some of his servants, and saw that his father sat dead in the high-seat. All the people were full of fear, for all thought there was something frightful in his death. Arnkel went into the hall, and in along the seat to the back of Thorólf; he bid every man to beware of walking in front of him, while the *nabjargir* had not been performed. Arnkel then took hold of the shoulders of Thorólf, and he had to use his strength ere he could lay him down. Then he wrapped a cloth around his head, and prepared his corpse for burial according to custom. Thereupon he had the wall broken behind him, and got him out there. Then oxen were yoked to a sledge, on which Thorólf was placed, and driven up to the valley of Thorsa; but he was not easily brought to the place where he should be. There they buried him carefully. After the death of Thorólf many thought it bad to be out of doors after the sun had set, and as the summer was about to close, they became aware that Thorólf did not rest quiet, for then men could never be at peace after sunset. In the spring Arnkel took Thorólf's body out on a ness and there buried it anew. He had a fence made across the cape above the grave, so high that nothing but a flying bird could get over it. There Thorólf lay as long as Arnkel lived, but when he afterwards became troublesome his body was burned, and the ashes thrown into the sea."

Sometimes shoes were put on the body for the journey to *Hel*, horses and carriages were also buried with chiefs, so they might enter Valhalla driving, or on horseback. Friends wished to be buried near one another, so that their spirits could converse. These customs show how universal is the belief that the spirit of a man survives his body, and at the same time remains near it for a considerable time at least.

In tracing the religious customs of the north, and their connection with many that still survive amongst the English, Mr. Du Chaillu is not able to carry us back beyond the historic period—that is, on his



own confession, seven or eight hundred years ago, but no doubt the customs then surviving were of great antiquity. The three great sacrifices of the year were the winter sacrifice in October, the mid-winter or Yule sacrifice, and the victory sacrifice in the beginning of spring. On the Yule eve it was the custom to lead in procession a boar, consecrated to Frey, called *Sonar golt* (atonement boar), and on this those present placed their hands, made solemn vows, and drank the *Bragi* toast.

"King Heidrek had a boar fed; it was as large as the largest bull, but so fine that it seemed as if every hair on it was of gold. He placed one hand on its head, and one on its bristles, and made a vow that never should a man transgress so much that he should not have the lawful judgment of his wise men, and these men should take care of the boar."

The people held the common belief, which is not by any means extinct in England, that good or bad years were often caused by religious zeal or the want of it, or by malign interference. But there were unbelievers in those days, of whom Ketil Hæng was one. Framar, a Viking king, who was a sacrificer that iron could not wound, demanded his daughter in marriage. She refused Framar; nevertheless, Ketil accepted an invitation to meet Framar at Yule-tide. Framar and the men of the land sacrificed for good years. When Odin was mentioned Ketil got angry, for he did not believe in him, and sang a song—

"Odin worship  
Did I never,  
Though long I have lived,

I know that Framar  
Will fall sooner  
Than this high head."

Twice the sword of Ketil did not bite; the third time it cut Framar from the shoulder to the loins; thereupon he died, and Ketil went home. Not for the last time scepticism got the better of superstition.

Human sacrifices were occasionally offered in times of great calamity, or to avert great evils, or to obtain victory. Once when there was a very bad year in Reidgotaland, lots were thrown by the wise men, and the answer obtained was that there would never be a good year until the highest born boy in the land had been sacrificed. The resemblance of this to certain Biblical stories at once suggests itself. Closely allied with the religion of the people were numerous superstitions. Idols were very common in the temples before the introduction of Christianity, votive offerings and amulets were common. Not only heroes but animals and birds were sometimes objects of worship, as also were natural groves and the sacrificing stone. No one was allowed to look at Helgafell (a holy mountain) before he had washed himself in the morning, and no cattle were to be killed there; and fire was also looked upon as holy under some circumstances.

Beliefs in witchcraft, sorcery, and omens naturally prevailed. There were two kinds of sorcery, *Galdr* and *Seid*, corresponding apparently to the white and black magic of the East. The *Geldramen* were supposed to be able to cure wounds and sickness, allay fire and storm, rouse up the dead, in order to consult them about the future, and win the love of women. This art was believed to have been taught by Odin himself. The *Seid* had been learned from *Vanir*, and was generally used for evil purposes. The people paid great attention to omens, in which they were steadfast believers. There was a peculiar kind of appearance of the moon called *Urdamáni*, the moon of *Urd*, which foreboded death to many people. A raven following a warrior going to battle was considered a good omen; it evidently portended that the bird would find corpses of the enemy to devour. It was also considered a good omen to meet two men conversing or to hear a wolf howl. Before any important event occurred, there were generally visions seen or supernatural beings who sang songs foretelling the event. Like all the ancient people, the Norse were great believers in dreams, which were supposed to be sent by the gods to make revelations to the sleeper. King *Gorm's* dream was not unlike Pharaoh's. He told his dream to Queen *Thyri*, who interpreted it in this fashion: "When three white oxen went up out of the sea on the land, that must mean three severe winters, when so much snow will fall that the season will be bad. When thou sawest three other red oxen, that means there will come three snowless winters, but yet not good ones, for they bite the grass off the ground. The three black oxen signify that there will come three winters which will be so bad that none have ever seen the like, and such a black and bad season and famine will come over the land that it will be unexampled. That thou sawest them with large horns means there will be many outcasts who will lose all their property. That they went again into the sea means that the bad season will leave the land like they did. I can hinder all these dreams about the famine from being fulfilled. After this, King *Gorm* and Queen *Thyri* went home to Denmark, and had many ships loaded with corn and other food and transported this to Denmark. The same was kept up every year until the arrival of those severe years which she had foretold. When the hard time came they wanted for nothing on account of their preparations, and there was no want in Denmark, for they distributed much grain among the people." So there was corn in Denmark under nearly the same circumstances as there had once been in Egypt.

Many interesting chapters are devoted to an account of the social manners and customs of the people, the particulars having been gathered with painstaking industry from the various Sagas. Thus we have detailed accounts of the holding of Things, or Councils, the

tenure of land, the division of the people into classes, marriage, divorce, law, trade, and amusements.

The land question, which is agitating society so profoundly in these days, was a much simpler matter amongst the Scandinavians, as it was in England before the soil was appropriated by the Normans, and the desire to revert to a pre-Norman condition is a very natural one, and one to which numbers of those who are justifiably dissatisfied with present arrangements unconsciously, perhaps, are striving to return. Amongst those whom Mr. Du Chaillu considers the ancestors of the English, as indeed in part they were, the land was held, as it ever ought to be, by those who used it. The first arrangement was that of *Herad* or *Fylki*, a number of people settled together on a tract of land for mutual strength or convenience, and were called the "*her*," the settlement being a *herad*, a number of these *herad* uniting together formed a nation or *thyód*, as *svithjóð*. A great part of the land was divided into *odal*, the title to which was absolute and not depending on a superior. To this day we are told there are *odal* farms in Norway and Sweden which have remained in the same family from time immemorial, and, owing to the safeguards against alienation, it has been impossible for these estates to be gradually absorbed into the hands of a comparatively few. The large estates held by English and Irish landowners have not generally been acquired by a process of absorption, but by a process which deserves a very different description. Much of the land of England was confiscated and distributed, without any respect to the right ownership, at the time of the Conquest, and again at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries; and much has also been acquired by enclosure. In the north, as originally in England, the large tracts which belonged to no individual were used by communities as common property; they were called *almennung* or commons, and were under the control of the *herad*.

The chief division of the people into classes seems to have been the thrall, the karl, the jarl and the hersir. The thrall was the labourer, the slave, the karl the farmer of his own land, the jarl, the wealthy and fighting class. Mr. Du Chaillu gives a most interesting quotation from the *Voluspa*, in which these classes are described. The thrall is still with us, though his name is changed and he has a vote.

"They called him Thrall.  
He grew  
And thrrove well;  
There was on (his) hands  
Whiskled skin;  
Crookell knuckles.

Fingers thick,  
Face ugly.

Back bent,  
Heels long.

Thereafter he began  
To try his strength,  
To bind best,  
To make loads;  
Thereafter he carried home  
Faggots the weary day.

There came to the house  
The leg-walking;  
Scars were on her soles;  
Her arm was sunburnt;  
Her nose was crooked;  
She was called Thir.

She sat down  
In the middle of the seat;  
The son of the house  
Sat at her side;  
They talked and whispered,  
Made a bed,  
Thrall and Thir,  
Through the wearisome days.

This is followed by a description of the karl or freeman, and the jarl—the high-born chief possessed of warlike qualities.

The king was the choice of the people, and could not rule without the consent of the *Thing*, and was amenable to the laws. The *Héimskringla* relates that "some Fylkis-kings summoned a *Thing* and Olaf made a speech, wherein he asked the *bœndr* to take him for king over the country, and promised to keep to the old laws and defend the land against foreign chiefs and hosts; he spoke long and well, and was cheered. Then the kings rose one after another, and all spoke in favour of this to the people. At last the name of king over the whole land was given to Olaf, according to the laws of Upplönd."

"The *bœndr* promised to give him many men in order to get the realm, and afterwards to hold it; and he, on the other hand, promised to uphold the laws and rights of the land."

It is very curious to notice the tendency in our time to return to the ancient ways and to throw off the yoke that has been imposed upon at least some of the descendants of these Northmen. In the proposals for local parliaments, in the establishment of county councils, and the suggestion of parish councils, we only see a return to democratic and ancient forms of government which the feudal system supplanted, but which will undoubtedly once more take its place. From the most ancient times the people assembled in the *Thing* and exercised their judicial and legislative power. There they deliberated, not only on local affairs, but on the affairs of the whole country. The *Herad thing* was a kind of village council, attended only by the people belonging to the herad. At a general *Fylkis thing* the representative of several herads would attend; while still larger assemblies were sometimes held in which the free-men of the whole country would take part.

The early literature of most peoples takes the form not only of legends in metrical form, but also that of proverbial philosophy, and the Norse had theirs, which is comprised in the *Hávamál*, and attributed to Odin, much as the Hebrew proverbs are attributed to Solomon. These proverbs deal rather with the conduct of life than with its deeper problems, and often remind us of the compositions of the late Mr. Tupper. Notwithstanding the reputation for drinking which the Vikings earned, the evil of it was not unrecognized:—

The ale of men's sons  
Is not so good  
As men say it is ;  
For the more a man drinks  
The less has he his senses.

I got drunk, \*  
I got too drunk  
At the wise Fjalar's ;  
The ale is best when  
Every man  
Gets his reason back.

The well-known lines in Homer rendered by Pope—

“ A generous friendship no cold medium knows ,  
Burns with one love, with one resentment glows ;  
One should our interests, one our passions be,  
My friend should hate the man that injures me ,”

finds a counterpart in the *Háfmavál* :

“ To his friend  
A man should be a friend  
To him and his friend ;  
But no man  
Should be the friend  
Of his foe's friend.”

The volumes conclude with numerous extracts relating the deeds of famous Vikings ; extracts from Frankish annals, and especially interesting are the facsimiles of Norse manuscripts.

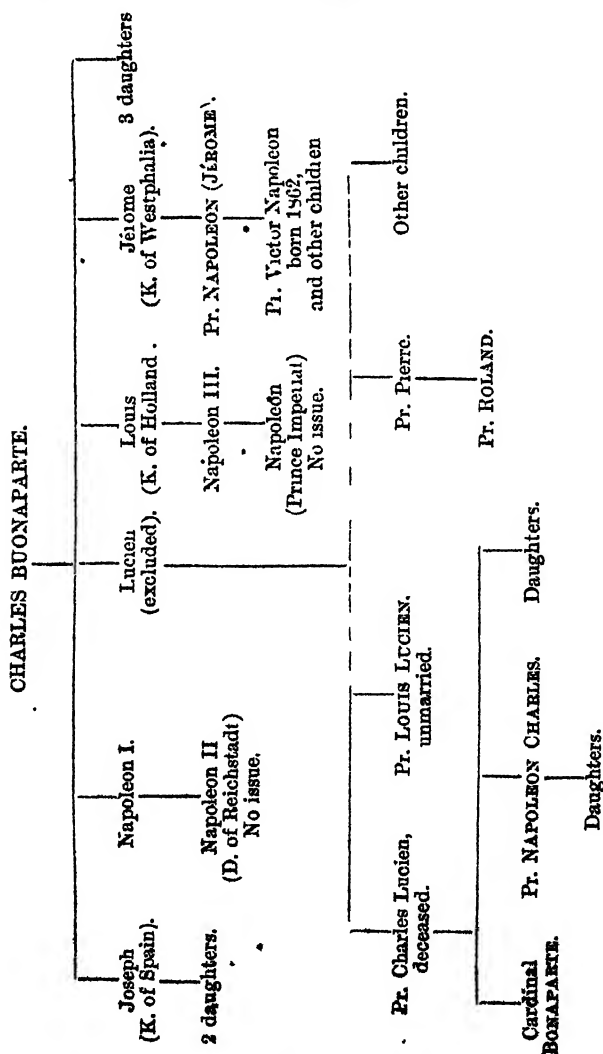
The *Viking Age* will be found to contain matters of interest to the antiquary, the politician, the student of religion, the lover of folklore, and the historian. We can only conclude by hoping the book will meet with the reception it so thoroughly deserves.

## PRINCE NAPOLEON (JÉRÔME).

MANY persons in reading of the collision in the Channel last summer in which Prince Napoleon so nearly lost his life, must have thought of Cæsar's speech to the alarmed sea-captain in Plutarch: "ἴθι, τόλμα καὶ δίδιθι μηδέν· Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην συμπλέουσιν. Be of good cheer, and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and Cæsar's fortune with thee." The analogy is, indeed, not perfect; for in the modern incident the luckless captain perished, while he to whom his enemies have given the not dishonourable nickname of a *César déclassé* escaped. Which of them went to a better thing is a matter which is still on the knees of the gods; and equally doubtful is it whether the princely survivor has not yet before him great destinies on earth. For though at this moment the Bonapartes may seem to be under a cloud, yet to those who bear in mind that in France it is only the improbable which comes to pass, it appears by no means impossible that the Imperial dignity may emerge once more in our own day in all its former splendour. The Bonapartes are unpopular indeed; but the same may be said of the existing Republic, and of the Bourbon claimants, not to mention the extinct Boulanger; and yet power must almost certainly be secured within a short period in the hands of one or other of these conflicting interests. Since 1799 France has never been more restless than she is to-day, and her periods of restlessness have invariably been followed by intervals of strong Government. It may therefore easily happen that the exit of one or other of the leading personages from the European stage, a disturbance of the European peace, or a striking incident in the home politics of France, will suddenly cause the French to call passionately on any man who may seem capable of leading them—a Bonaparte or another.

Should the Imperial family recover the crown, it would probably be in the person of Prince Napoleon, who is the official head of the family, and is also a man of talent, of ambition, and of courage. He labours, it is true, under a disadvantage in the estrangement which notoriously exists between him and his heir, Prince Victor Napoleon; for in France the relation between parents and children is regarded as the most sacred of human obligations. It would, however, be difficult to pass him over. His headship is based on family laws made by Napoleon I., and confirmed by Napoleon III. There are, indeed,

other Bonapartes who have a prior claim as far as purely hereditary right is concerned. Napoleon I. (himself the second of five brothers) declared the crown hereditary, first in his own male line, and next in that of his elder brother Joseph; if these branches failed, it was to pass to the lines of Louis and Jérôme, the fourth and fifth brothers. The third brother, Lucien, was excluded on account of his persistent republicanism and his sturdy independence, although he, as President of the Five Hundred on the 18 Brumaire, had more than any other man helped Napoleon to power. Lucien's line is most amply represented to-day. A short table will simplify the matter :—



From this table it will be seen that, according to our rules of descent, Lucien's grandson, Cardinal Bonaparte (who is, through his

mother, a grandson of Joseph also) is the head of the house, and that the male heirs next in order are: (1) the Cardinal's brother, Napoleon Charles; (2) his uncle, Prince Louis Lucien, who so worthily represents the family in this country, in which he was born; and (3) his cousin, Prince Roland. The House-law, however, excludes all these persons in favour of King Jérôme's line. It is true that this law is not more immutable than any other, and if an active leader were wanted in the discreditable dissensions between Prince Napoleon and his son, a family revolution might transfer the headship to Prince Roland, who is a young man and a soldier, is able and popular, and (what is very important) is rich with the millions which M. Blanc, his father-in-law, collected at Baden-Baden, and elsewhere. As, however, the law of Napoleon I. was confirmed by Napoleon III. (who owed his own right to it), and is apparently accepted by the family, Jérôme's son must be assumed to be the present chief of the Bonapartes, and we propose briefly to show what manner of man he is.

Prince Napoleon Joseph Charles Paul Bonaparte, frequently called for distinction Napoleon Jérôme, although in fact he does not bear his father's name, is the only surviving son of the great Napoleon's youngest brother, King Jérôme, and his wife Catherine, daughter of Frederic I., King of Würtemberg. An earlier marriage of Jérôme with an American lady was declared void by the Emperor, who, in 1807, gave his brother the crown of Westphalia, and married him to the Würtemberg princess, a noble woman, who, after the fall of the Bonapartes in 1815, in spite of her father's strong pressure, clung to Jérôme, although he had been by no means a model husband. There were three children of this marriage. The eldest, Jérôme, born in 1814, entered his grandfather's army, and died as a Würtemberg colonel in 1845. The second is the Princess Mathilde, now in her sixty-ninth year. The youngest, the subject of this paper, was born at Trieste in September, 1822, nearly a year and a half after the death of the great Emperor, whom he resembles in face to an extraordinary degree. Losing his mother in his thirteenth year, he spent much of his boyhood with his aunt, Queen Hortense, in Italy, and in her Swiss home; and to her, and to her son, who became subsequently the Emperor Napoleon III., he owed a very considerable part of his early training. He passed through the military school of Würtemberg, and followed his elder brother into the army of that country. Unlike that brother, however, he sympathized entirely with the French; and when in 1840 there were apprehensions of war, arising out of the Egyptian question, he resigned his commission and left Germany. In 1845 he received permission to visit France, but, as he connected himself ostentatiously with the democratic Opposition, and was loud in his sympathy with his cousin (afterwards Napoleon III.), who was then in prison at Ham on account of the



Boulogne attempt, he was soon requested to withdraw. In 1847 he and his father were both authorized to reside in France, and thus it was that they were on the spot at the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848.

Prince Napoleon's political record may be said to have begun with that event. He at once declared that it was the duty of every good citizen to rally to the Republic, and he was returned to the Constituent Assembly as representative of Corsica. He generally voted with the party of order, advocating the recall and the election of his cousin, Louis Napoleon, opposing the banishment of the Orleans family, and favouring the creation of two Chambers and a Presidency. After his cousin's election as President, he was, in 1849, appointed Minister to Spain. On his way there he made a speech at Bordeaux, in which he referred to the Prince President as a reactionary. The latter at once published a strong censure, which reached the new Minister at Madrid. He immediately left his post in order to vindicate himself in the Chamber at Paris, and was naturally dismissed for absence without leave. This freak and its result drove him into retirement for a couple of years.

On the revival of the Empire in 1852, Prince Napoleon was, in accordance with the House-law, declared heir to the throne after his father, in default of issue to the Emperor, who was then unmarried. He received the title of Imperial Highness, the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and (though he had never served in France) the rank of General of Division. His career during the Empire was remarkable. He was appointed to several high posts, but he held none of them long. He frequently spoke or wrote in opposition to the Government, but it was never clearly understood whether he was really hostile to the Emperor, or whether his speeches were "feelers" thrown out by the Emperor's desire. It is certain that his very free opinions on religious questions gained for him the strong dislike of the new Empress. He served in the Crimea for a short time, and his early return, attributed by some to his bad health, by others to the Emperor's order, provoked by a suspicion that some severe criticisms of the campaign, published in Belgium, were written by the Prince, made him decidedly unpopular.

During the second half of the Empire Prince Napoleon's relations with the Sovereign were a source of constant discussion. In 1858 he was appointed to the newly created Ministry of Algiers and the Colonies; but he soon resigned the post on finding that he would not be allowed to carry through the reforms which he deemed necessary. A year later he received the hand of the Princess Clotilde, daughter of King Victor Emmanuel; and in return for this alliance, the French armies marched with the King in that campaign which practically created Italy. The Prince took but a subordinate part in the war. The occupation of Tuscany was assigned to him;

and it has been supposed that the Emperor for a time cherished the idea of making his cousin ruler of that Duchy, had not the Italians been too strongly opposed to the plan. In March, 1861, the Prince made a very striking speech in the Senate. In it he defended the Emperor's Italian policy, inveighed against the Temporal Power of the Pope, and attacked the Bourbons savagely. The Emperor addressed to him a letter, in which he complimented him on his eloquence, while disclaiming his opinions. A less pleasant consequence was a sharp pamphlet written by the Duke d'Aumale, which almost brought about a duel between the two princes. Two years later the Emperor had again to disavow certain views which the Prince had put forward in a speech on the Polish Question. On this occasion the reproof was conveyed in very marked terms, and the Prince, in consequence, avoided the debates for more than a year. In 1865, at the inauguration of a statue to Napoleon I. in Corsica, he again made a very Radical speech; whereupon the Emperor, who was absent in Algeria, expressed his displeasure so plainly that Prince Napoleon resigned his offices in the Privy Council and the Council of Regency, and remained for a time in notorious disfavour. A similar incident had occurred under Louis XVIII. in 1815, when the Duke of Orleans (afterwards King Louis Philippe), having opposed in the Chamber of Peers a proposal to punish those who had taken part in the Republic or the Empire, the King was so annoyed that he forbade the Princes of the Blood to attend the debates unless they were specially summoned. The Emperor took his cousin back into grace in 1866. Not the least of Prince Napoleon's functions under the Empire was his presidency of the Commission for publishing the Correspondence of Napoleon I. The student of history is often surprised at the omission from that collection of important letters which are undoubtedly genuine. The Prince, however, made a defence which was at least fairly logical when he said that he had made it his rule to publish only that which the great Emperor himself would have wished to give to the world.

In 1869 Prince Napoleon contributed largely by his influence to the introduction of a new system, and the formation of a liberal Ministry. His own name was frequently mentioned in connection with the Premiership, which was, however, given finally to M. Ollivier. The Prince was yachting off Norway when war suddenly broke out in the following year. He at once returned to Paris, and was appointed to the command of an expedition which it was then contemplated to send against the Prussian coasts. That plan was, however, not carried out, and the Prince accompanied the Emperor to the field. Immediately after the battle of Gravelotte he was sent to Italy to implore the aid of his father-in-law, the King. While he was negotiating, with little hope, he received the news of Sedan.

He immediately wrote to the captive Emperor, begging to be allowed to share his fate. His words show that he was not more unmindful of the lessons of Arenenberg than of more recent benefits. "Misfortune," he said, "can but strengthen the ties which have bound me to you since my childhood." The Emperor's reply from Wilhelmshöhe was affectionate :

"MY DEAR COUSIN,—I am greatly touched by your offer to share my captivity; but I wish to remain alone with the few persons who have accompanied me. I have even begged the Empress not to come. I hope that we shall one day meet in happier times, and, meanwhile, I renew the assurance of my sincere friendship."

They never met in happier times, and the Prince's relations with the Empress Eugénie were still strained when the Emperor died in January 1878. There was some idle talk in France during the war of the Prince being placed on the throne by means of the Prussian army and of the French prisoners. This was, however, merely an outcome of the unpopularity which has generally been his lot in France, and which was exemplified in a gross and unjust attack by Jules Favre in 1871. That Minister spoke of "a person who, having had the honour of wearing the French uniform, had turned his back at the moment when the enemy was invading the country." The Prince easily refuted this charge in a stinging pamphlet, which he styled *La Vérité à mes Calomniateurs*, and in which he showed that he had quitted the seat of war only in obedience to the orders of the Chief of the State.

Prince Napoleon was a member of the *Conseil Général* of Corsica in 1871 and 1872. He was banished from France in the latter year, but was allowed to return in 1873. He then attempted to get his name replaced on the list of general officers, from which it had been removed on the fall of the dynasty. In this he failed. He now lived quietly for some years, using his influence only indirectly to bring about a Monarchical restoration by means of an alliance of the Democrats and the Bonapartists. The Bourbons he opposed bitterly, and the white flag he epigrammatically denounced as "foreign to modern France." He remained on bad terms with the widowed Empress, and even absented himself from the *fête* at Chislehurst on the coming of age of the Prince Imperial in 1874. In return for this slight, the young Prince, in 1876, wrote a letter to the electors of Corsica, recommending them to vote for M. Rouher, who was opposing the Prince. The latter was, however, elected, and took his seat with the Left. It was in November of this year that he made the violent speech against Clericalism in which occurred the fierce utterance, "*Semez du jésuite et vous récolterez du révolte.*"

In 1879, the death of the son of Napoleon III. made Prince Napoleon head of the Bonaparte family. The young Prince had, indeed, in his will left the succession to Prince Napoleon's son

Victor ; but the chiefs of the party preferred to follow the decrees of the two Emperors, and recognized the father. The Prince now sedulously avoided all appearance of pretending to the throne, and expressly announced his loyal attachment to the Republic, a profession of faith which he has never belied by any overt act. He applauded, as might be expected of him, the measures taken against the Congregations in 1880. Immediately after Gambetta's death in 1883, he issued a manifesto in which he charged the Government with a long series of blunders. For this he was for a time placed in arrest ; and proposals were made for banishing all members of families which had reigned in France. In the following year he opposed the revision of the Constitution by a Congress, and vainly demanded the convocation of an entirely new Constituent Assembly. In this year the opposition of his son became an open breach, the young Prince quitting his father's house. Two years ago, Prince Napoleon, in common with all members of former reigning families, was compelled by a new law to quit France, and Europe has since heard little of him until the very recent shipwreck, in which he saved himself from a watery grave by his vigour and presence of mind. The marriage of his daughter to her uncle, Prince Amadeus of Italy, connects the Bonapartes with the House of Braganza, and less directly with that of Orleans. His second son, Prince Louis, has just taken a step which will gain him some popularity in France, in quitting the Italian army for that of the Czar.

The brief chronicle shows that Prince Napoleon is a man of very strong opinions, who possesses the resolution and courage to make himself felt, even in times when it is dangerous to do so. He is a Radical of the Radicals, bitterly—almost bigotedly—hostile to Church or Ecclesiasticism in every form, and eager to see the country governed by—or, at least, through—the masses. We may roughly reduce the main outlines of his policy to three heads. His first aim would seem to be that of winning over the Democracy by a line of conduct more or less like that of the Republic of 1848, and of the Second Empire in its earlier years. In this connection it may be observed how carefully he has refrained throughout his career from the slightest attempt to exploit his royal birth and connections (of which we shall speak later). This may be a small matter in itself ; but, considering the varied incidents of the last forty-five years, and the general tendency of human nature, his consistency goes far to prove the Prince a man of character and principle. Second only to his regard for the Democracy is his hatred of the Church, or, as he would possibly prefer to style it, of Clericalism. This opinion, too, he has aired with consistent courage at all times, alike when it embroiled him with a powerful monarch, and when it estranged him from a kinsman in adversity for whom

he felt a real affection. Lastly, he is a zealous advocate of the appeal to the popular vote in the form of the *plébiscite*, which has always been so favourable to the Napoleons. Now, unsatisfactory as this method of determining great questions may be to those who believe that every people requires to be governed, it is certain that a Radical can give no logical or consistent ground for opposing it; and as long as the Bonapartes adhere to it, and the other factions reject it, so long the Bonapartes will be a power in France, the home of logical principles. It is worthy of remark, perhaps, that Prince Napoleon bears a very strong facial resemblance to Napoleon I., and that he also possesses his uncle's gift of saying clever, terse things which generally have a strong bitter flavour. His age (now sixty-seven) will be a disadvantage to him should he ever adopt the rôle of active Pretender.

There is another very important point to be borne in mind when the question of a Bonaparte restoration is discussed. Should the Prince or his descendants even attain power, Bonapartism would appear in an entirely new guise, for, through his mother, he belongs to the royal caste, a distinction which neither of the Emperors could claim. He is, indeed as "well-born" as any Sovereign in Europe, and there is probably no reigning family to which he is not related. As his great-grandmother was a sister of George III., he is second cousin once removed to Queen Victoria, and shares all her ancestry save that through Queen Charlotte and the Duchess of Kent. He has as much of the blood of Plantagenet, Tudor, and Stewart in his veins as the Queen has in hers; and in respect of the last he is excelled by his children, who, through their mother, are descended from Charles I., through his daughter Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, while our reigning house can claim descent only through a daughter of James I. Prince Napoleon is descended from George I. in three distinct lines, one of them being through George II. and Frederic, Prince of Wales. As a singular instance of the irony of history, it may be remarked that his father, Jérôme, held high command at the battle of Auerstädt, which gained him the crown of Westphalia, while it drove to ruin and death the enemy's general, the Duke of Brunswick, the author of the famous manifesto of July 1792, which had doomed Louis XVI. Now, when Jérôme heard of the death of his opponent, he little dreamed that that opponent was the great-grandfather of his own son that was to be born hereafter. "Brunswick's fated chieftain," who fell at Quatre-Bras, and our luckless Queen Caroline, were great-uncle and great-aunt to Prince Napoleon, who is, therefore, first-cousin once removed to the long-lamented Princess Charlotte. He is descended in two lines from Frederic William I., King of Prussia, father of Frederic the Great, and is fourth-cousin to the late Emperor Frederic III. Two of his great-aunts, sisters of Frederic I. of Würtemberg, became empresses of

Austria and Russia respectively; and the late Czar Alexander II. was his second-cousin. It is hardly necessary to remark that these relationships give him descent from nearly all the ancient reigning houses of Europe, from the Saxon Emperors, the royal lines of Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Norway, and even from the older French Kings; for through Edward III. he descends from Philip the Fair, and through the Tudors from Charles VI. of France. If, therefore, he, or any of his descendants, had one day to stand upon a platform (*absit omen*) in company with *Monsieur de Paris* and a priest, the latter could address the victim as *Fils de Saint-Louis* with the same right with which the Abbé Edgworth gave that style to Louis XVI. His children have a still stronger strain of royal blood; for through their mother they are descended from the House of Savoy, from Henry IV., and Louis XIII. of France, and (in two lines) from the Emperor Leopold II., and his illustrious mother, the Empress-Queen Maria Theresa. This, it may be objected, is a mere matter of sentiment and unimportant. But more things are wrought by sentiment than this world wots of. For the moment Prince Napoleon's royal birth may be a drawback in France, as his democratic opinions may cause him to be regarded doubtfully by foreign Sovereigns. Change is, however, rapid in our days, and these family connections, and the descent of his sons from Henri IV., are a factor which is to be considered when we try to estimate the chances of the Government of France falling into the hands even of a man endowed with the strong principle, the strong courage, and the strong ability of Prince Napoleon.

FRANK T. LAWRENCE.

## SHALL WE ABOLISH THE HALF-SOVEREIGN ?

AFTER many postponements and delays, a beginning has at last been made in the renewal of the gold coinage. By virtue of the powers conferred by the Coinage Act passed in the last Session of Parliament, Mr. Goschen has, as it is well known, commenced calling in the pre-Victorian gold coins. The fact that action has really been taken, and the knowledge that the last Act is but the prelude to much more extensive measures, have given rise to various rumours as to what is likely to be proposed in the next Session. Thus the Chancellor of the Exchequer has, rightly or wrongly, been credited with the intention of re-arranging altogether the country-note issues, of introducing £1 notes, of forcing large quantities of silver into circulation, and, lastly, of abolishing the half-sovereign. It is on the last of these suggested measures it is proposed to make some remarks, without, of course, expressing any opinion as to what may be Mr. Goschen's real intentions in the matter.

Mr. Goschen will not be the first Chancellor of the Exchequer who has shown himself no friend to the half-sovereign. Lord Randolph Churchill looked at it with no friendly eye, and Mr. Childers's unsuccessful attempt to "degrade" it to a token coin is too recent to be forgotten. The general disapproval with which that proposal was received may reasonably incline subsequent Ministers to the opinion that the half-sovereign should not be mended, but ended. The main reason of this official hostility to the coin is the fact that it is so terribly expensive. The wear and tear of a half-sovereign is on the average much greater in proportion to its value than that of a sovereign. This partly arises from its popularity and the consequently greater number of times it changes hands, but mainly from the fact that, while it is but half the value of a sovereign, the surface it presents for abrasion is about three-quarters of the larger coin. The investigations that have at different times been made by Professor Jevons, Mr. John B. Martin, Mr. Palgrave, and others, all emphasize this; and indeed the statutes regulating the matter also recognise it, as the least legal tender weight of a half-sovereign is fixed at less than one-half of a sovereign by one-eighth of a grain. A series of elaborate experiments by Pro-

fessor Jevons led him to the opinion that half-sovereigns become illegally light after being about ten years in circulation, while the legal life of a sovereign, on the other hand, might be taken to be prolonged for eighteen years. Mr. John Martin, in his investigations, hardly marks so much discrepancy between them, as he fixes their legal lives at eleven and sixteen years respectively. But even this more favourable estimate is sufficiently adverse to the smaller coin to justify the dislike of the authorities to it, and, in addition to this it must be remembered that the proportion of light half-sovereigns is very much larger than that of light sovereigns, amounting probably to not less than 60 per cent. of the whole number of half-sovereigns in circulation, which amount must, of course, if the half-sovereign is to be retained in circulation, be re-coined. The cost of re-coining the half-sovereigns was estimated by Mr. Palgrave in 1883 at £236,500, to which a large sum, over £120,000, must now be added for another six years' wear; for, even taking the lowest estimate (Professor Jevons'), it is probable that the annual wear of £20,000,000 in half-sovereigns must amount to about £21,700 a year. Thus not only is the half-sovereign a very expensive coin to maintain, but it stands in the way of possible substitutes which are not only not costly, but the issue of them already yields a large profit capable, moreover, of considerable increase—*i.e.*, silver coins. The fall in the value of silver, so frequently discussed and deplored in our public press, has no terrors for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is able to buy the raw article at 42*d.* per ounce, and sell it to the public in its manufactured state in shillings and half-crowns at 60*d.* The profits realized in a year have frequently exceeded £200,000. In the year 1887 the profit was £230,210, and in 1888, with somewhat smaller coinage operations, £176,339; so that it is not to be wondered at that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be supposed to be anxious to extend this exceedingly lucrative business. Silver seems likely to be procurable in almost any quantity, and, though it has been once or twice lately reported in the money articles of our newspapers that the quotations have risen slightly in "consequence of purchases by the Mint," it is \*doubtful whether these comparatively small dealings can affect its value, except in a very temporary manner. Germany is known to have large quantities of silver coin, which she would be glad to dispose of at not too great a sacrifice, and this, in addition to the possible increased output of the American mines, is likely to keep silver at such a figure as will for years yield our Government a large profit on the coinage thereof.

So far we have discussed the half-sovereign only as it may be regarded by the maker: let us now shortly examine its merits or defects from the point of view of the user.

That the public in general, above the rank of manual labourers,



consider the half-sovereign a useful coin there can be little doubt. The inconvenience, not to say discomfort, of having to fill purse or pocket with, say, four half-crowns in place of the hardly appreciable weight of a half-sovereign would be constantly felt by very many persons in the ordinary daily recurring retail transactions of life. It would not be pleasant, when tendering a sovereign weighing  $123\frac{1}{2}$  grs. for, say, an eightpenny purchase, to receive therefor change in silver weighing over  $3\frac{1}{2}$  oz., which would be further increased by the necessary addition of two or three bronze coins.

This inconvenience, however, is small comparatively with that which would be felt by large traders and manufacturers, who are in the habit of paying away from £2000 to £3000 a week in wages. By them the half-sovereign is very extensively used, and the weekly transportation of large masses of silver coin, compulsorily used instead of half-sovereigns, from the bank to the works would be attended with greatly increased risk and trouble. When such works are in the immediate neighbourhood of a bank, the inconvenience will not, perhaps, be sufficiently felt to cause more than a temporary protest; but it is in instances where the distant situation of the manufactory will involve the transportation of heavy coins for, say, three or four miles that a real grievance may be felt, and an outcry raised. The banks themselves, too, might very reasonably object to being compelled to deal with such increased amount of silver; for though no doubt it would be an advantage, and would so far facilitate counting, to know that every gold coin was a sovereign, yet this convenience would be more than counterbalanced by the manual labour involved in manipulating the silver substitutes for the half-sovereign. Nor would the banks, grateful as they may be inclined to feel for being relieved of a dead weight of light gold, shut their eyes to the possible danger of having to receive a more oppressive weight of silver. This particular difficulty, however, of course could be got over by special arrangements for the reception of silver being made by the Bank of England. As regards the wage-earners themselves—by far the largest class, be it remembered, in the country—it is doubtful whether the oft-repeated statement that the half-sovereign is an especial favourite with them is at all to be relied on. Against this opinion it may be urged that it is small, and not easily recognized by the touch of horny fingers, and that it tends to lose itself in deep pockets or in the folds of thick clothing. It is also often found to be an unwelcome coin to discharge any of those small purchases in which the wages of labour are commonly expended, involving as it does the giving of so much change. Such large circulation as the half-sovereign enjoys in many parts of England, and especially in Scotland, arises probably not from any special desire of the working classes to possess it, but from the preference of the banks and manufacturers, for the reasons above stated, to employ it in paying wages.

Briefly, then, we may sum up these considerations by saying that the authorities, as represented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, are fully justified in hostility to the half-sovereign; that the middle and upper classes, large traders, and bankers would view its proposed abolition with great disfavour, while the great mass of manual labourers would view such a prospect with comparative indifference. These various considerations will, no doubt, all receive due weight in any legislation affecting the coin, and it is just possible that means may be found of reconciling these conflicting sentiments.

It only remains to mention yet another suggestion that has been made—viz., the issue of 10s. notes in lieu of half-sovereigns. These might, of course, be issued against gold, and be received as unlimited legal tender; or against silver, and pass but as token-money. As, however, it seems to be agreed that we are about to legalize in some form the issue of £1 notes—a measure which it may take some years for the public in England to become accustomed to—it is hardly likely that the issue of notes of a still smaller denomination will at present be proposed. It is a point, however, that should not be lost sight of in considering the possible future of the half-sovereign.

W. TALBOT AGAR.

## BRITISH COLUMBIA :

### PRESENT, PAST, AND FUTURE.

THE present of that magnificent new Switzerland, known as British Columbia, may be said to have only now begun with the first train which arrived at the Pacific terminus of Vancouver in 1886. Until then the British coast of the Pacific was shut off from communication with Canada by four great ranges of mountains, and communication with England and Europe could only take place through foreign territory, or by the dangerous passage round Cape Horn.

Millions of money and thousands of lives have been squandered in trying to find a North-West passage by sea—a passage useless and worthless now it has been found—yet now that the North-West passage by land has become an accomplished fact, now that Japan is brought within three weeks of Canada, the full grandeur and significance of the new departure appears too great to be easily grasped. Venice and Genoa owed their greatness to being the Italian termini of the Eastern trade, and a greater Genoa will surely arise in the new city of Vancouver, on the shores of Burrard Inlet; for here we have a central link connecting the different members of the great British Empire. Burrard Inlet is itself a magnificent natural harbour, some twelve miles long by three broad. Already large steamers ply between China and Japan and Vancouver, and it is a question of but a short time before similar steamers will run between Vancouver and Australia. The trade done by sailing vessels on the latter route is already large.

The lack of good agricultural country has always been looked upon as the great drawback to the prosperity of British Columbia; and, undoubtedly, a crime against the whole nation, and, most especially, a crime against Canada, was committed by the blundering politicians at Home, whose inexcusable folly and negligence, or crass ignorance, caused the loss of the magnificent agricultural country which should still be British territory. Of all blunders from which England has had to suffer, the cession of Oregon and Washington Territory was one of the greatest.

Yet the capacities of this province even from an agricultural point of view are great, compared by any European standard. From New Westminster to Yale, at the head of navigation on the Fraser,

is a distance of more than a hundred miles through a valley of rich alluvial soil. All that is required for the production of all that a farmer's heart could desire is a thorough system of dyking and draining, and this is being carried on with wonderful rapidity. The Pitt Meadows, twelve miles from Vancouver, will represent many thousands of acres of rich soil as soon as the drainage works now in course of construction are completed; the rich islands at the mouth of the Frazer are already dyked, and the same may be said of the Matsqui reclaimed lands, and of many thousands of acres higher up the Frazer. Here surely is land enough to supply not only the wants of a great city but also enough for a flourishing export trade. Further back, on what is known as the Interior Plateau of British Columbia, is the fine ranching country of Kootanie, from which the supplies of cattle and horses will be drawn for the lower country.

The trend of all the coast mountains is from N.W. to S.E., and the lower slopes having a southerly aspect are likely to prove excellent for fruit growing. We will describe one such slope with a southerly aspect on the north side of Burrard Inlet. The mountains appear to a new-comer to come down to the water's edge, but there is really a gentle continuous rise of from eight to twelve miles before the mountain ascent truly begins. One may expect five months of glorious summer weather in this part of British Columbia, and here are no valleys to interrupt the sunshine, whilst heat is tempered by almost constant S.W. breezes from the Pacific.

The term south-west is here used correctly, but in passing it is to be noted that it is impossible in ordinary conversation to follow the conventional meridian of Greenwich. The sun rises in British Columbia over the Rocky Mountains, and sets towards China; New York, Montreal, and Quebec are "Eastern" towns; and how much further East is England? China and Japan are the nearest neighbours in the West; a very topsy-turvy state of things for any one newly arrived from Europe.

Two tiny villages only exist at present on the north side of Burrard Inlet, where, in the future, busy wharves and crowded shipping will surely be seen. One village belongs to the Indian Mission; the other is little but a cluster of huts inhabited by the employés of the Moodyville Saw Mills. But stretching back from this now squalid village extend woodland roads of exquisite beauty. These rough log-roads, which stretch for miles upon miles in every direction, were originally made for the purpose of bringing timber to the water's edge, but have long ceased to be used for this purpose; the giant trees, which alone are considered worth felling on this coast, wended their way years ago, at the heels of oxen, to the ships which were to take them to South America and Australia. The drawback to the beauty of the primæval forest, as one sees it in Canada, is the sameness and sombreness of tone caused by the

overwhelming superiority in size and numbers of the different varieties of pine, the original home of which seems to have been the Pacific coast. But along these logging roads, now the giant pines are gone, the beautiful deciduous trees of the country are able to grow luxuriantly, intermingled with young pines of less sombre tints than their elders. Ferns with fronds more than a yard long, ferns of all sizes down to the tiniest; luxuriant mosses, some of the richest green, some hanging like greybeards from the branches; a wealth of fungi and lutens, and all these not only covering the ground, but clothing every fallen tree, climbing up trunks, and venturing out boldly on branches. And small paths of emerald green turf wind away through the trees to the right and left, and the murmur of running water is heard as some bright mountain-stream makes its way to the shore. Wild fruits abound—gooseberries, plums, cherries, several species of raspberries, cranberries, huckleberries, and “berries” of all kinds, the names of which are unknown to us. The cultivated raspberry, grown by the Indians in their garden patches, is of large size and delicious flavour. Two wild species known as the salmon- and the thimble-berry are worth growing as ornamental shrubs, with their white and pink flowers, and pale rose-coloured fruit. The dogwood, so often mentioned by travellers, is interesting to the botanist; the apparent blossom consists of large white bracts, four to five in number, and the true flowers are thickly clustered on a receptacle. A small plant, the flower of which reminds one of the wood-anemone, has similar blossoms. But the novelties in vegetation are not so striking as the resemblances; the plants which resemble those we are most familiar with in England are numberless. Amongst these are the wild rose, the foxglove, the elderberry, and the Michaelmas daisy. And the turf looks just as homelike, with, to all appearance, the same mixture of white clover and small grasses that we have in England.

Lovely as these roads are, one knows they soon must be, and ought to be, things of the past, and that flourishing fruit farms and settlers’ homes will be seen where only the Indian and the wild beast of the forest wander now. This country is still so new that the strangest contrasts exist side by side. Not only do the tradespeople call for orders, but one has a luxury, not common, even in London, meat and fish and anything else one has money to pay for can be ordered by telephone. The town has both gas and electric light; the telegraph-poles are lost to view as they pass through the forest to the next point of civilization. Steamers ply constantly between the different Pacific ports and Vancouver and Victoria, and the railway is the life-giving artery which connects us with Eastern Canada. Yet in less than an hour we may drive to the spot where, with wild sobs and lamentations, the Indians last spring carried away their beloved dead. The forest on the peninsula which

land-locks Burrard's Inlet has been kept as a National Park, and a road was to be made round it. How could the road be turned aside for the sake of the Indian dead? Yet those who saw the removal, said it was a sad and touching sight, for these poor savages believe that the spirits of the departed love to linger round their last resting-place. We have seen the spot: it is one of the loveliest where all is lovely. Far away to the north stretch the deep-blue calm waters of the lake-like Inlet; the mountains, some just tipped with snow, and all wooded to their summits, seem to rise from the water's edge. Just round us is an open space, thickly carpeted with rich velvety turf, and further back a tangled growth of trees and shrubs with green or scarlet leaves melts gradually into the forest. At our feet is a tiny sandy bay, where canoes can safely be beached, just before the tide goes swirling and raging past the Narrows into English Bay. The very road along which one drives round the park forms for some miles a curious memento of the native race. It is composed of crushed clam shells, the deposit of ages. Whenever a small stream of fresh water has made its way into the sea, these shell heaps may be found, and have probably been hundreds of years in course of formation.

The Indians of the Coast of British Columbia are to all appearance a race totally different from that of the untameable Red Indian of song and story. There is nothing picturesque about the Coast Indian. His face is Mongolian in type, broad and heavy; his nose flat, and his lips thick and shapeless. He is now a peaceful, inoffensive creature; he easily accommodates himself to steady industry, and is a valuable, though humble, member of society. He dresses in good, solid English clothes, and the women are comfortably clad in warm and bright dresses and shawls. We have never seen a Coast Indian ragged. Both men and women have been accustomed to spend the greater part of their lives on the waters, in boats made of hollowed logs, and this has caused a great disproportion between the upper and lower limbs; one sees a fine well-developed torso, terminating in a pair of bandy legs. Like most of the lower races who are brought into contact with European civilization, these poor Indians are dying out very rapidly, and the place that knew them will soon know them no more. Yet theirs is an euthanasia, a painless, unconscious extinction. All that can be done for their welfare and protection is honestly and conscientiously done. The good rules of the Hudson's Bay Company are strictly in force, and the selling of liquor to the Indians is punished by fine and imprisonment. They are protected from all oppression, Christianized and civilized, and vaccinated. Yet life seems to have no particular attraction for them now; their old aims and ambitions please them no longer, and they care little for new ones. They patiently do their day's work, and with little vitality easily fall victims to disease;

fewer and fewer children are born in their villages, and so they are passing away. So new is this country that those of us who can enjoy Robinson Crusoe and Treasure Island may find a thrill of interest in the very advertisements in the daily papers. One reads: "I hereby give notice that I intend to take possession of an uninhabited island in latitude and longitude so-and-so." Shade of Man Friday, who can read of uninhabited islands under his very nose without a thrill! Another advertisement announces: "I give notice that I intend to apply for a timber claim on Valdey Island terminating at an UNNAMED CHANNEL." Spring Island and the islands in Gulf of Georgia are fine places for rearing sheep. In one of them—Salt Spring Island—plenty of deer are found. A great part of the island is still unexplored. If we lived on an uninhabited island surrounded by unnamed channels, with unexplored regions at one's back door, we should long, we imagine, for our daily papers and weekly mails; but it is pleasant to know that such places still exist in this used-up world of ours, and that young Englishmen are still to be found with the spirit of Robinson Crusoe; young men who come straight from the City counting-house and the Stock Exchange, and set to work like navvies, woodmen, and agricultural labourers, all rolled into one. The English race "played out!" It has not come to its zenith yet, with such sons in every region of the globe. We use "English," as a general term, designating all those in whose veins runs the blood of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, whether they are called Canadians, Australians, or Pioneers of the Wild West.

In Texada Island, near the entrance to Bute Inlet, rich deposits of gold have just been found, and great has been the excitement in consequence. It is almost unnecessary to speak of the mineral riches of British Columbia, for they first made her known to the world. Yet, but the faintest commencement in their development has been made. The coal of Vancouver Island is of excellent quality, and burns like good English coal, though millions of years probably separate the coal measures of British Columbia from the true coal measures of Eastern Canada and England. It is all of the Cretaceous or Tertiary Age, and at Banff and other coal-bearing districts of the Rocky Mountains, has been converted into anthracite, by the intense heat and pressure to which the strata have been exposed. In some places, the palæozoic rocks have been torn from their bases in some mighty convulsion, and hurled on the top of the Cretaceous and Tertiary strata. All the mining industries of British Columbia urgently call for both capital and labour for their development.

Another great and almost untilled field of wealth lies in the fisheries of these seas. The Straits of Georgia and the further coasts of Vancouver and Queen Charlotte Islands present much the same favourable conditions for fishing as do our narrow seas. In the British Isles a sinking of the land, geologically recent, has afforded

banks where fish can spawn in safety, and huddle together (as it appears they do) for winter warmth. These conditions exist for about two hundred miles beyond the British Isles, when the submarine bank suddenly shelves down to the depths of the Atlantic. On this coast, Vancouver Island, the Queen Charlotte, and other islands of the Gulf of Georgia, represent the still unsubmerged portion of a mountain chain, known in Washington Territory as the Olympian Range. The deep inlets or fiords which run between the mountains of the coast were once valleys, and on the bed of these fiords still lie the boulders which a stupendous glacier once carried with it down the Straits of Georgia. This glacier, more than fifty miles wide, left its marks up to a height of 700 feet on Vancouver Island, and strewed the whole peninsula of Vancouver with granite and syenite boulders. On the further side of the great coast islands shallow seas and submarine banks are found; and about three hundred miles away from land the submarine plateau suddenly shelves down to the deep Pacific. Here then, as in our narrow seas, are spawning grounds and resting places for fish, and here they are in millions. Halibut, cod, and salmon of several distinct species; sturgeon, herrings, smelts, swarm in the waters, with little to fear from the primitive fishing appliances of the Indians. An odd little fish, called the onlichan, so fat that its dried body serves the Indian for a candle, abounds in the Frazer. The bears are said to come down to the river bank to fish for this delicacy; but if you ask an old settler for information upon natural history, you will have tougher morsels to swallow than fishing bears. Plenty of bears, however, exist in the forest, and wolves and deer abound; whilst, fleeing as usual from the approach of settlers, the cariboo and the big-horn sheep are still to be found in the more distant mountains.

And what of British Columbia in the recent past—a past which may be dated from the first rush for gold in 1859? By a devious route the emigrant from San Francisco, after being taken to all sorts of places he did not want to go to, was finally landed at Victoria or Vancouver Island. Here stood a fort of the Hudson Bay Company, well stockaded and doubtfully protected by ancient guns, with the white tents of the new immigrants scattered round. At first it was impossible to procure sufficient boats for crossing to the mainland. News would come that a rich find of gold had been made at some spot. So “four boards were nailed together, much in the shape of an ordinary coffin, and filled up at the ends, the occupants paddling their way as best they might. Often these rude boats would capsize in a storm, or get filled with water and sink. Often, too, the Indians would attack the miners if they succeeded in landing, and murder them simply for the sake of their blankets and clothing.” On Burrard Inlet there existed only a wretched encampment of Indians and miners; even the mill at Moodyville was not started till seven



years later, and the Royal Engineers had not yet mapped out the site of the future capital, New Westminster. Those miners who were attracted to the gold "bars" on the Frazer ran many risks from the rushing, roaring river as it bursts its way through mountain walls beyond Yale, from treacherous Indians, and desperate comrades. Yet their lives were cast in pleasant places compared to the dangers which faced those miners who resolved to reach the gold mines of Cariboo, five hundred miles distant from the coast. An Indian trail only existed which crept along the sides of the terrific canyons of the Thompson and the Frazer at a height of many hundred feet. The barrier bluffs—rocks which seemed absolutely to bar further passage—were passed over platforms slung by the Indians from the top of the cliffs by cords of bark and deer-skin. These consisted of a single long pole, supported by a cross-pole at each end, the points of which rested against the face of the precipice. There was nothing to lay hold of, and a slip or hasty step, as the passenger walked along the rail embracing the face of the rock, would cause the pole to swing away, and hurl the incautious climber into the abyss below.

The Bishop of Columbia, in his journal, gives a very graphic description of his journey along the old trail, in which he compares his position to a fly upon the face of a perpendicular wall, in this case between 2000 and 3000 feet high. Many a miner lost his life at Jackass Mountain and Nicaragua Slide—places of this kind. There was at this time no other way to the mines except a mule trail, little less difficult, passing high over the mountain tops, and only available for a short time in summer, on account of the snow. Supplies were carried to the mines on the backs of the miners themselves, or packed on Indians, who carried from 100 to 150 pounds over this perilous path.

"On our way," say Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle, in their *North-West Passage by Land*, "we met several Indians still competing with the male-trains (1865). Some of the men were loaded with one hundred and fifty pounds, supporting them by a strap across the forehead; and one squaw we met had on her back a fifty-pound sack of flour, on that a box of candles, and on the top of the box a child. The gorge through which the Frazer runs here (about fifteen miles above Yale) becomes very narrow, and the river flows in a succession of terrific rapids through canyons, formed by mountains 3000 to 4000 feet high almost meeting overhead. The Frazer, rarely anything but a rocky rapid in the upper part of its course, here goes utterly mad, and foams and rages down the narrow channel at the rate of twenty miles an hour. The volume of water which passes through this outlet here not more than forty yards in width will be readily conceived when it is stated that the Frazer has already collected the waters of over 800 miles, and amongst other rivers receives the Thompson, of almost equal size with itself. Several hundred miles above, each of these rivers expands into a broad and deep stream more than a quarter of mile in width; yet at the canyons the vast accumulation is confined in a channel less than fifty yards wide. Along the side of this terrific gorge a road was made, probably one of the most wonderful in the world. Out

out of the mountain side it follows the hills as they recede in 'gulches' or advance in bold upright bluffs. The road at one time runs down by a series of rapid turns to the very bottom of the valley, and then rises as quickly to pass the face of some protruding bluff, apparently a complete barrier to all advance, but past which it creeps, looking from below like a mere line scratched on the rock front, 500 or 600 feet above the river. At these points the road is partly blasted out of the solid granite rock, and the width increased by beams of rough pine, which project over the precipice. There is, of course, no protecting wall; the road overhangs the precipice, and nothing is to be seen supporting the platform on which you stand—a trying place to drive along, as we afterwards found. The road has been made in this skilful and laborious manner for a distance of nearly one hundred miles, the whole road to Cariboo being about five hundred miles in length."

But this wonderful road has been followed by something more wonderful still, for from the opposite side of the canyon one can lie on the sofa of a luxurious Pulman and watch the old Cariboo road creeping like a line along the mountain face. The railway track has been blasted out of the solid rock, and crosses gorges and mountain torrents on trestle bridges, which look little stronger than a child's house of cards.

And what was the experience of those who tried to approach this mountain-guarded country by land? Let Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle again tell their experiences. They had left Jasper House, the Hudson Bay fort which stood at the entrance of the Yellow Head Pass of the Rocky Mountains. They had crossed the Athabasca and the Myette several times on rafts or by swimming their horses over, and could see bighorns curiously peering at them from the loftiest crags. They had met Shushwap Indians, a strange people, which, when first discovered, "were clothed only in a small robe of the mountain marmot. They wandered barefoot amongst the sharp rocks, amidst the snow and bitter cold of the northern winter.

"When camping for the night they are in the habit of choosing the most open spot, instead of seeking the protection of the woods. In the middle of this they make a small fire, and lie in the snow with their feet towards it, like the spokes of a wheel, each individual alone, wrapped in a marmot robe, the wife apart from her husband, the child from its mother. They live by hunting the bighorns, mountain goats and marmots, and numbers who go out never return. Like the chamois-hunters of the Alps, some are found dashed to pieces at the foot of the almost inaccessible heights to which they follow their game; of others, no trace is found."

After most toilsome and perilous adventures, the travellers at length found themselves lost in the forest, without any guide but the compass, and almost utterly without provisions; tea and tobacco were long since gone.

"No one," they say, "who has not seen a primæval forest, where trees of gigantic size have grown and fallen undisturbed for ages, can form any idea of the collection of timber, or the impenetrable character

of such a region. There were pines of every size, the patriarch of three hundred feet in height standing alone, or thickly clustering groups of young ones struggling for the vacant place of some prostrate giant. The fallen trees lay piled around, forming barriers often six or eight feet high on every side; trunks of huge cedars, moss-grown and decayed, lay half-buried in the ground, on which others as mighty had recently fallen; trees still green and living, recently blown down, blocking the view with the walls of earth held in their matted roots; living trunks, dead trunks, dry barkless trunks, and trunks moist and green with moss; prostrate, reclining, horizontal, propped up at different angles; timber of every size, in every stage of growth and decay, in every possible position, entangled in every possible combination. The swampy ground was densely covered with American dogwood, and elsewhere the thickets of the aralia, a tough-stemmed trailer, with leaves as large as those of the rhubarb-plant, and growing as high as our shoulders. Both stem and leaves are covered with sharp spines, which pierced our clothes as we forced our way through the tangled growth, and made the legs and the hands of the pioneers scarlet from the inflammation of myriads of punctures.

"On the evening of the 7th of August we ate our last morsel of pemmican, and the only food we had left was about a quart of flour. We had still one hundred miles to travel before reaching Kamloops. We progressed so slowly, at the best only five or six miles a day—often not one—that it must take us many days yet to get in. There seemed no chance of any assistance, for, since leaving Slaughter Camp, we had seen no sign that man had ever before visited this dismal region. No axe mark on a tree, no 'blaze' or broken twig, no remains of an old camp-fire had greeted our eyes. Animal life was scarce, and the solemn silence unbroken by note of bird or sound of living creature, and the deep gloom of the woods increased the sense of solitude. Our horses were weak and in wretched condition; our clothes were already in rags, and our mocassins patched with pieces of saddle-bags."

The hands of their faithful guide, the Assiniboine, were so swollen and painful from the injuries caused by the thorns of the aralia that he was unable to handle an axe, and every foot of the way had to be laboriously cut. At last, all the provisions were gone, and they sadly resolved to kill one of their horses, *petit noir*. In this miserable crisis their spirits were, if possible, further depressed by the discovery of the headless body of an Indian; the corpse being in a sitting posture, and the arms clasped over the knees, bending forward over the ashes of a miserable fire of small sticks. A heap of broken bones at the skeleton's side—the fragments of a horse's head—told that he, too, threatened with starvation, had killed his horse as a last resource. Many years after the missing head was discovered by a party of explorers, but by whom or how the wretched Indian was murdered will never be known. Many days of misery followed for the travellers, till "the last of the dried horse-flesh, boiled with the scrapings of a flour-bag, formed our supper." The Assiniboine, next day, cut his foot to the bone, and the wretched party reached a river where they could discover no food. Their guide sat down with his wife and son to die, and refused to make any further effort. The Englishmen still worked

away with axe and knife, till the Assiniboine, fairly put to shame, came to their assistance. The next day the harsh cry of a crow was heard, to them a sound of glad tidings, as showing more open country was near at hand, and soon after their spirits were raised by signs of man's presence, as recently as the preceding spring—a few branches cut with a knife. Four days after, to their intense delight they hit upon a trail, where the trees had been “blazed,” or marked with an axe, and old marten-traps at intervals showed that they had, at last, touched the extreme end of an old trapping-path: from Fort Kamloops. The valley began rapidly to expand, the hills became lower, the trail more and more beaten, and they fairly “shouted for joy” as they entered a beautiful little prairie, diversified with rounded hills and sketches of woodland. Three other travellers who, the year before, had attempted this perilous journey, met with a fearful end; two of the wretched men had been driven to feed on the dead body of their comrade. When the cannibals were found by the party of Indians who were sent to rescue them, they drew their revolvers and looked so wild and savage that the Indians fled and left them to their fate. The following spring a party of miners on their way to Peace River found the bones of all three miserable men, and their property in the possession of wandering Indians. And this once frightful journey is now a question of a few hours of luxurious travelling. We have made the acquaintance of ladies and gentlemen who, thirty years ago, came round Cape Horn, and who have never revisited England. British Columbia resembled that “bourne from which no traveller returns;” those who came from England, came for life.

The names one meets with in the West are suggestive of adventures, of wild tales by the camp fire, and sometimes of pleasant rest after long wanderings. Such names, for instance, as the Ghost or Dead-man's River, Old Wives' Lake, the Sweet Grass Hills, Red Deer River, Kicking Horse Pass, White Man's Pass, Battle Creek, Drowning Man's Ford, and Devil's Lake. On the Pacific coast, too, the names keep green the memory of those who first explored these distant seas. Captain Vancouver, who had served under Captain Cook, sailed up the Straits of Georgia in 1778, and two main peaks of the Olympian range in Washington Territory still bear the names of two of his lieutenants. Two centuries earlier the Spaniards had found their way up the whole coast of the Pacific, and most carefully did they conceal the charts they then made from English navigators. The names they gave have survived where all other traces of Spain have passed away—as in the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Texada Island, Valdey Island, and many others.

It needs not to be a prophet to tell something as to what will be the future of British Columbia. She lies in the direct highway to India and China, and she possesses in Burrard Inlet a magnificent

harbour, through which much of the trade of the great British Empire is destined to pass. She has grazing and corn lands, unlimited mineral riches, narrow seas swarming with fish, a climate and soil fitted for all fruits grown in England. If anything can put a check on her prosperity, it will be a jealous protective system, utterly unsuited to a country through which passes one of the world's highways. Canada was once a poor country with a powerful and aggressive neighbour pressing on her borders, and threatening to draw her life-blood away. Her fiscal system was once a protection to her nationality; but with the Canadian Pacific Railway the position has totally altered. Through Canada runs the North-West Passage, long so vainly sought; she has unlimited corn lands and grazing country, where a few years ago the Red Indian and the buffalo were the denizens of trackless wilds. Such a country would find its prosperity in the development of its almost untouched natural resources—its wheat, its minerals, its fisheries, its timber—instead of stifling commerce for the sake of a comparatively small number of manufacturers. It is no longer a matter of doubt that a town population inevitably degenerates unless fresh inhabitants are supplied from the country. Manufacturing towns in old and thickly populated countries are a necessary evil; but why foster them artificially in a young country, where the healthiest occupations are those most imperatively demanded for the development of its resources?

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely, on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

### THE NEW ROUND TABLE :

#### HOME RULE FOR SCOTLAND.

##### *Communications from*

LORD ABERDEEN.

JOHN LENG, M.P.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL, BART., M.P.

PROFESSOR J. BLACKIE, F.R.S.E.

WILLIAM MITCHELL, Hon. Treasurer  
of the Scottish Home Rule Association.

LORD LORNE.

CHARLES WADDIE, Hon. Secretary of  
the Scottish Home Rule Association.

DAVID MACRAE.

THERE can be no doubt that this subject has secured a hold on the minds of large masses of the people of Scotland. We have watched the movement steadily gathering in force during the last three years, and its extent was further indicated by the warmth with which it was approved at the recent meeting of the Scottish Liberal Federation at Glasgow. On the occasion of that meeting, Lord Rosebery put the subject before the country in all its strength and with all its difficulties in a way which leaves nothing to be desired. His words will doubtless be pondered and will produce fruit.

The demand for Home Rule for Scotland need not, in my opinion, be urged on the ground that it would necessarily or primarily accomplish the redress of a grievance. Any grievance on the part of Scotland as against England has been of a negative rather than a positive character, or, as Lord Rosebery put it, "Scotland has suffered from neglect, not oppression."

In this, and not only in this respect, therefore, the question of Home Rule for Scotland is entirely different in character and urgency from the question of Home Rule for Ireland. As a natural

consequence of this difference in origin, so will there necessarily be a difference in the *method* of carrying out the *principle* which alone is asserted in the words "Home Rule." It is for the *principle* that we have now mainly to contend, and we may be sure that the Scottish people will not be unmindful of their past history nor forgetful of their national characteristics when the time comes for applying the principle in this fresh development of their country's life.

On the other hand, there are points of similarity in the movement in favour of Home Rule in the two countries. They both possess the vitality which belongs to a movement emanating from and expressing the sentiment of the people. They are both largely based on a national and patriotic instinct. Above all, they both form part of the gradual and general movement towards Federation. It is, in short, a phase in a great political evolution, the signs of which can be seen on all hands, and which means a building up of the nation and of the empire in a sense so magnificent, that it must ever be the highest privilege of every loyal patriot to contribute, in however small a degree, to so noble an end.

ABERDEEN.

Lord Randolph Churchill, in his recent speech at Perth, said the advocates of Home Rule for Scotland "cannot demonstrate that Scotch affairs have been unduly neglected, or that English interference in the settlement of those affairs have been of an active or injurious character." Both the neglect and the interference can be demonstrated by innumerable instances. Let us take one or two which are very recent and unanswerable. First, in illustration of the neglect of Scotch affairs. A very important Bill—the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill—for regulating the police and sanitary administration of towns and populous places, and for facilitating the union of police and municipal administration in burghs in Scotland, was introduced into the House of Commons in 1883. It deals with the arrangement of boundaries, the constitution of burghs, the election, meetings, powers, and duties of Commissioners, and the appointment of officers; the appointment, powers, and duties of the police; the lighting, cleansing, paving, laying out and improvement of streets; regulation of new buildings, with respect to open spaces, height of rooms, common stairs, and ventilation; public sewers, drainage, soil-pipes; supply of water, markets, slaughter-houses, fire brigades, public baths, hospitals, and common lodging-houses, assessments, rating and borrowing powers; offences and penalties. The House of Commons had no time to pass this Bill in 1883. It was introduced again in 1884, in 1885, in 1886, in 1887, and in 1888—year after year for six years; but, although frequent representations were made of its importance and urgency, the House of Commons never

could find time to deal with it. As it consists of 555 clauses, it may safely be predicted that the present House of Commons will never pass it. By its inaction since 1883 it has virtually declared that it is incompetent for such a task, which a Home Rule Parliament in Scotland would easily dispose of in a few weeks.

Secondly, as to Lord Randolph's bold denial, "that English interference in the settlement of Scotch affairs has been of an active or injurious character." It is sufficient to refer to what occurred when the Local Government Bill for Scotland was before the House of Commons last Session. The discussion of that Bill was left very much to the Scotch members. If the voting upon it had been left to them too, it would have been a very different Bill, a much better and more useful measure than it is. At least twelve important proposals were made by Scotch members for enlarging the powers of the County Councils, and liberalizing the scope of their administration, all of which were supported by large majorities of Scotch members. Taking the votes of the Scotch members alone, five of the twelve proposals had majorities of three to one and upwards, two had majorities of four to one, and two had majorities of five to one. When the division bell rung, however, the Scotch members who had debated the proposals were not left to decide upon them. There was always an "ugly rush" of English members, especially of English Tory members, to outvote and prevent the Scotch members having the settlement of Scotch affairs, and following the guidance of the Lord Advocate and the Irish Secretary—Mr. Balfour, who was even more determined in his opposition to the majority of the Scotch members than the Lord Advocate—the English Tory majority frustrated the Scotch majority, although in several instances it included the votes of some Scotch Tories and Liberal Unionists. The proposal that County Councils in Scotland should have the same licensing powers as burghs—surely a very moderate and reasonable proposal—had four to one of the Scotch members in its favour—viz., 48 to 12, but the total votes in the division were only 127 to 164, showing that 152 English reinforced the 12 Scotch Tories, and enabled them to counteract the wish of four-fifths of the Scotch members. A still more striking illustration of the frustration of the enlightened views of the representatives of the people of Scotland is afforded by the votes on the proposal that the County Councils should be empowered to maintain and protect public rights of way. More than five to one of the Scotch members—52 to 10—were in favour of that power, but in the total division 176 to 149 were against it. Here is a statement giving twelve instances in which during the discussion of a single Scotch Act of Parliament large majorities of the representatives of Scotland were systematically overridden by the English Tory majority:—



	Scotch Votes.		Total Votes.	
	For	Agst.	For	Agst.
1. That County Councils should have control of the police . . . . .	43	18	75	102
2. That County Councils should have the same licensing powers as burghs . . . . .	48	12	127	164
3. That police burghs should have the same licensing powers as other burghs . . . . .	41	17	87	148
4. That County Councils should have power to acquire land compulsorily for public purposes . . . . .	46	12	99	128
5. That Town Councils should have the same power regarding land . . . . .	45	12	100	126
6. That County Councils should be empowered to maintain and protect public rights of way . . . . .	52	10	149	176
7. That Railway Companies seeking Parliamentary powers to close roads should give notice of intention to County Councils . . . . .	43	10	90	140
8. That travelling expenses of County Councillors be paid out of rates . . . . .	41	18	105	188
9. That power be given to regulate duties of Officers of Health . . . . .	40	12	99	160
10. That employers should not be empowered to deduct rates from wages service-franchise men . . . . .	39	13	129	164
11. That £30,000 proposed to be granted to Highlands should be devoted to free education . . . . .	53	10	109	173
12. That the Highland grant should be devoted to benefit of crofters and cottars, instead of to relief of rates paid chiefly by landlords . . . . .	39	14	109	173
	530	158	1288	1842

Taking the whole of the twelve proposals together, 530 Scotch votes were for and only 158 against them, but in the total divisions 1842 were against and only 1288 for them. Looking merely to the number of divisions, will Lord Randolph Churchill venture to repeat his denial "that English interference in the settlement of Scotch affairs has been of an active," or, looking to the proposals themselves, "of an injurious character?" There is a clamant case for Home Rule in Scotland, whether regard be had to "the undue neglect" of Scotch business—to the excessive delays in taking it up and transacting it, or to the mischievous interference of the English Tory party when it is taken up and disposed of. If left to themselves a number of the Scotch Tory or Unionist members would often support practically liberal proposals, but, especially on ecclesiastical questions, the English Tories either compel them to vote the wrong way or outvote them.

The constituencies in Scotland, the masses of the Scottish people,

will not tolerate this much longer. I believe that the Home Rule question could be easily settled in a way that would give general satisfaction in Scotland without any complicated or any revolutionary arrangement. The changes I would recommend would be few and simple. The objects I should aim at would be moderate and reasonable, adapted to the temper and requirements of the Scottish people, and such as would facilitate the transaction of Scottish business, while interfering as little as possible—except in the way of improvement—with the constitution and working of the Imperial Parliament.

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JOHN LENG.

I look upon the action of those who have, as it seems to me, inconsiderately flung down this apple of discord before people who must necessarily, for the most part, be imperfectly instructed in the history of their country, the perils it has passed through and the development of its institutions—as entirely deplorable.

Not the less do I hold this view because I am aware that some who advocate a separate Parliament do so on high and disinterested grounds, because they honestly regard this as the surest means of developing legitimate rational aspiration. There are others who have stooped to the temptation, inseparable from a system of Party Government, of promoting this idea as a means of attracting popular support. The former class is not likely to become more numerous; the latter, judging from what is evident to the most superficial student of politics, is daily increasing. The motives of each differ in worthiness, but their effect is alike mischievous.

Any small influence that I possess and any action it may be in my power to take, will be uniformly employed and perseveringly directed in opposition to the establishment of a separate legislative chamber in Edinburgh.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

I cannot sit at “The New Round Table” this month longer than a few moments. These are largely some notes I made four years ago. I agree with the admirable article on Scottish Home Rule, by the Marquis of Bute, in the last number of the *Scottish Review*. As a thinking man, more concerned about the investigation of principles than about the administration of affairs, I do not imagine that any practical man, in general circumstances, would consider any word from me worth looking at. But as matters now stand, I suddenly see, to my surprise, that not a few persons of sound administrative intelligence are beginning to think and to speak on the subject of Home Rule exactly as I have been doing within my own soul quietly for many years back. My strong conviction has always

been that good government lies in the just balance and wise distribution of metropolitan and provincial functions; and *à fortiori* where two separate and independent kingdoms such as England and Scotland are united, they will certainly fall short of the ideal of well-regulated social machinery unless to each kingdom be preserved its own separate domain of local administration, distinct from, though in due subordination to, the great central authority which controls the movements of the Empire; and in this view it has always appeared to me that the statesmen who carried out the union between the two kingdoms at the beginning of the last century made no small mistake in relegating to London much administrative business that would have been gone through more expeditiously, more cheaply, and more intelligently in the capital of the kingdom to which the business belongs. And not only so, but the abstracting of so much local life to an extraneous and a distinct centre has a tendency to denationalize the people, to rob them of their characteristic features, and to make them lose their individuality in a mass that has no superiority but that of mere position and multitude. For these reasons I should gladly see any such change in the management of public affairs as would give more free play to the Scottish element in Scotsmen, and prevent Edinburgh from falling into the unworthy position of a mere pendant of London. But, however this matter of administration may be arranged, I am constrained to see with great sorrow, that from a combination of unhappy influences the people of Scotland are more and more losing their distinctive character, and that men like Sir Walter Scott and women like the Baroness Nairne, who carry with them a genuine Scottish flavour which recommends them to every discerning foreigner, are yearly becoming fewer. Some part of this lamentable change is no doubt owing to circumstances over which we have no control; but it is owing principally to the radical defect of our Scottish education, in which the principle of nationality is systematically ignored. And thus it has come to pass, that—to confine myself to one instance—while our rare treasure of national music and our musical lyric dialect have been allowed to fall into disuse, every poor girl who aspires to make a respectable figure in a drawing-room is laboriously drilled into the execution of whatever German, French, Italian, or Cockney ariette may be the fashion of the hour. The upshot of this meretricious parade of borrowed charms is in nine cases out of ten a mere dexterity of the throat and tickling of the ear, utterly destitute of the executive virtue which lies in the rich world of healthy human emotion and stirring human story of which our Scottish songs and ballads are the classical expression. The excuses which are invented in this shameful neglect of our native lyrical treasures are not unknown to me, but when weighed in the balance they are found wanting, and when looked at honestly, they resolve into an unseasoned medley of stupidity, ignorance,

servility, affectation, and vulgarity in the masque of refinement. Whether there may still be good hope to redeem the rising generation from this lamentable phase of self-disownment, I cannot say. In certain quarters, I fear, the disease is rottenness in the bones, and so past all remedy ; but it is the duty equally of piety and philosophy to hope the best ; so I may find sympathy in the meantime for a whiff of patriotic indignation and a gleam of hopeful promise in the following fourteen lines arising out of the political situation :—

Well done, old Gladstone ! if Home Rule is the cry,  
 Let it uprise for Scotland ! 'Tis high time  
 That we, being made of sterner stuff, should try  
 Some other way to make our lives sublime  
 Than licking England's paws, and making fat  
 That monstrous London with our best heart's blood,  
 And spreading out the softly plaited mat  
 For Cockney feet in servile flunkeyhood.  
 Come ! let us be our stout old selves again,  
 As when we stood with Bruce for Scotland's cause ;  
 Walk our own ways, and hold our heads like men ;  
 Sing our own songs, and brook our home-grown laws ;  
 Thus shall we beg no boon and fear no wrong,  
 In native panoply complete and strong.

JOHN STUART BLACKIE.

Some fancy that the demand for Home Rule for Scotland arose out of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Government Bill, after its introduction in April 1886. In December preceding—to quote only one expression of what had occupied the thoughts of many Scotchmen ever since the Union—a Midlothian elector wrote to the *Scotsman*—"No practical man of business can be ignorant that for long the Scottish people have felt keenly, though they have borne patiently, the neglect of their national affairs in Parliament, the inconvenience and expense inseparable from local legislation in London, and the growing disposition of English courts and judges to arrogate to themselves jurisdiction over Scotsmen and the Scottish estates of deceased Scotsmen." Nearly four years have since been occupied in discussions so fruitless, as yet, that most thoughtful persons may be inclined to re-echo the words in which the remedy which the same elector thus looked forward to in December 1885 :—"The Reform Bill for Great Britain and Ireland was carried in the end by mutual aid and concession on the part of both the great political parties ; and if the pacification of Ireland, the due administration of local government, the efficiency and dignity of the Imperial Parliament, the cohesion of the colonies and the mother country, and the reform of the House of Lords, are all, as I think, to be best promoted by devolving on a National Parliament for each of the three kingdoms,

the regulation of its own internal affairs, leaving to the Imperial Parliament matters of Imperial concern, may we not hope that the new Parliament may rise as one man to an occasion for patriotic statesmanship, and careful, yet thorough, constitutional reform, such as has never before presented itself in the history of this great Empire?

The question is, How is the Empire to obtain practical aid and concession on the part of both the great political parties?

It might be despaired of but for the fact that both parties are beginning to see that each may have something to gain by yielding something so as to solve the Home Rule question on constitutional lines.

Leaving out of view, for the present, Imperial Federation—which, however, may soon become impossible unless, by relieving the Imperial Parliament of domestic legislation, the way be opened for its receiving representation from the colonies—the key to the position is to my mind to be found in a few words uttered by the great Duke of Argyll, when in 1713 he supported the dissolution of the Union between England and Scotland, which he had done so much to bring about. He wished the Union repealed, because “he clearly perceived it would beggar Scotland and enslave England.”

The Scottish people are now becoming so alive to its effect in begging Scotland of its wealth and its wit, that, unless Mr. Gladstone shall include Scotland in his next Home Rule Bill, it is clear he will lose the Scotch votes essential to the success of his Irish policy.

The English people are just beginning to see that, by insisting on the representation of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, taking part in their domestic legislation, England, mainly Conservative, is being enslaved by the Radical representation from the sister kingdoms. It is to maintain their domestic slavery in England that John Morley and the English Radicals will not give Scotland Home Rule.

Thus both the great political parties may see that their party ends may be served by Home Rule all round.

So soon as this and the common sense of Home Rule dawns on the minds of the leaders of these parties, we may expect the mutual aid and concession which such a great constitutional change requires for its satisfactory accomplishment.

W. MITCHELL.

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The Imperial Parliament for the three Britains—West Britain, North Britain, and South Britain—is enough for me. I would only have Provincial assemblies with strictly limited powers under this central Parliament, which central Parliament might meet at Edinburgh and Dublin alternately with London, although I don't see the benefit of such arrangement.

Whenever "national" assemblies are constituted, they will try to get too much power, and so would any inordinately large province; and "Old Harry" would be played with the Imperial finances by the "National Parliaments," either sponging for too much local allowance, or their assumptions would have to be checked after a manner little pleasing to the pseudo-patriotism that founded them. I don't think Scotland desires to be poor and isolated as she would be if debased into a "one-horse" tributary State, and I hope that the delusions that begot the brain of our Irish friends, and that lead them at present to vote for political obscurity, are passing imaginations of minds always generous to everybody but themselves, and their curiously represented country.

LORNE.

The rapid rise of the demand for Home Rule for Scotland is one of the most curious episodes in the political history of this century, and fills those who are unacquainted with the history and manners of the people with astonishment. It is not yet four years since the Scottish Home Rule Association was founded, and now there is not a candidate who dare refuse to accept the principle of Scottish Home Rule, for even the Unionists in Scotland are Home Rulers, and the only difference in opinion being the amount of Home Rule that it is expedient to demand; and among the Conservatives there are many where the national spirit overleaps the bond of party, and who support the movement. Now one of the most cheering features of this Home Rule movement is the perfect goodwill towards England; in no instance has there ever been a word breathed against the sister country; we are well content to remain a united people, and to take our fair share in the burdens as well as the privileges of governing the British Empire.

The desire of Home Rule for Scotland is partly the outcome of national sentiment, but mainly practical and utilitarian. It has been a long-standing complaint that the affairs of Scotland receive very inadequate attention in the British House of Commons; the time for bringing in Scotch Bills being generally the small hours of the morning, when the exhausted members are unable to give that attention to the business which its importance demands. The result of this hasty slipshod legislation is that the laws of Scotland have been seriously impaired, and when some foolish Bill has been found unworkable, a measure of amendment is brought in and passed in the same hasty fashion, so that sometimes the patch is worse than the original garment. Year after year we have waited for useful reforms, but have been doomed to disappointment. National education was delayed for twenty-five years, a necessary reform in our legal procedure for thirty years. The stereotype answer from all Governments was, No time, you must wait; but

while we were receiving the minimum of attention from Government, we were receiving the maximum of attention from the tax-gatherer, and have the high privilege of paying more per head of population than any other part of the United Kingdom. It might well be asked how were we so quiet and patient under so many grievances; well, we could not see a remedy, and Scotsmen are not in the habit of crying over spilt milk; our people were prosperous in spite of misgovernment, or rather no government. The rich minerals found in Scotland, the engineering skill of our people, the good education secured to them by John Knox, their pluck and determination overcame every disadvantage, and secured to them their present prosperity. It must not, however, be imagined that we did not feel or know the wrongs we were suffering at the hands of Government; there has always been a party protesting against the injustice under which we suffered; the late Duncan McLaren, M.P. for Edinburgh, spent his whole life in exposing the evils under which Scotland lived. This was the state of the feeling up to the time of Mr. Gladstone's famous Government of Ireland Bill. A new light then fell upon the Scottish mind; here was the remedy for all their evils, the restoration of their national Parliament would secure to them the most perfect command of their own affairs. Home Rule for Ireland was received with loud acclamations, because it was the prototype of Home Rule for Scotland. A very little reflection, however, was sufficient to convince us that the Irish Bill would never work in truth. Ireland has made a lucky escape, and she as well as the other divisions of the country have gained immensely by the delay.

Now let us consider what are the changes needed in our Constitution to secure to each country that command of their own affairs without which there is no liberty. There are two forms of union known to the political world, an incorporate union and a Federal union; both may be perfectly just to all the parts, provided the balance of power is fairly adjusted. An incorporate union to be just must have all the nations concerned equally represented in the one Parliament; population or wealth has nothing to do with the question, the smallest nation has as much right to justice as the largest. We are living under an incorporate union at present, but not founded upon the above equitable principles; the false theory of population has been permitted to shape the representation, the result being that there is only one of the four countries of the Union constitutionally free—viz., England, her numerical majority being two to one of the united voting powers of the other three. Various excuses are made for this state of affairs, such as English members always vote after the majority of Scotch members on a Scotch Members' Bill. Even if this were true, and it is as far from truth as any statement could possibly be, what wisdom would there

be in entrusting the dearest interests of a people to the sense of fair play of another? The smaller people must always be in a state of tutelage, and can have no security that the goodwill of the more powerful people will continue to be exercised for their good. Experience has taught us that this is the case; the Scotch are more advanced in political life than the English, and the progress of our country is impeded, the wishes of our people set aside, because English opinion lags behind that of Scotland. The present is a notable example of the evils complained of by the incorporating union; of the seventy-two members Scotland sends up to Parliament, twelve are Tories and sixty are Liberals. Yet the twelve Tories govern Scotland, because England wills it so. In every relation in life the same influence is brought to bear adversely upon the interests of Scotland. The inequality of population and wealth of the four nations of the Union renders an incorporate union upon just principles impossible; we are impelled then towards the Federal plan of government. What is it? Federation means that each nation shall manage its own national and local affairs by means of a legislature and executive of their own. But what are the national and local affairs of a country? The best answer we can give to that question, is to give an example of a national and local measure. Well, then, the Scottish Parliament would have power to bring in a Bill to disestablish the Church of Scotland; that would be a national measure, for it would affect the interests of all Scotland. The same Parliament would have a right to pass a Bill for the erection of a new harbour at Wick; that would be a local measure, for it would affect the interest of Caithness alone, so that district would have to bear the expense and reap the benefit. Such are examples of the legislative functions of the National Government; the administrative powers are equally important. The enforcing of the law, the payment of our judges, and other servants of the State, the supervision and control of our local authorities, such questions affect Scotland and her alone. Each nation can easily understand that the same rule applied to them. These national and local affairs being removed to their proper sphere, the central or Federal Parliament and Government would then be enabled to perform its duties in a proper manner. These duties are formidable enough; to look after the interest of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen is surely enough without interfering with the petty details of local measures. Our Indian Empire alone would give honest employment for one month instead of a summer's afternoon as at present, the army and navy need to be closely looked into; the waste of public money is one of the greatest scandals of the age. We remember when this country was as well governed as it is at present for fifty-six millions; we now spend nearly ninety millions: this reckless extravagance is



enough to make Joseph Hume turn in his grave. Would not the Federal Government be well employed in sifting this enormous expenditure? But we think we have said enough to show what would be the duties of this central authority.

The last point to which we wish to draw attention is the mode of settling this vexed question of Home Rule. The cry that Ireland must go first is not founded upon reason; the State may be fairly compared to an overladen waggon which wends its creaking way along laboriously, but slowly; to remove one of the wheels from the waggon renders the other three useless, the whole lumbering affair comes to a standstill. Common sense shows us a more perfect way, the construction of four light carts to relieve the old waggon of its burden, after which it will wend its way with more dignity and usefulness. It is a constitutional change that is wanted: none of the four countries can be either first or last, simultaneous treatment alone can solve the problem.

CHARLES WADDIE.

In one sense, the Scottish demand for Home Rule is a result of the Irish one. Ireland forced the question to the front: Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill made the question a practical one; and Scotland then began to advance her claim. But the grievances that impelled her to do it have been long and severely felt.

And they have a deeper root than the English people seem yet to understand. It is not only that Scotland has been shabbily and unfairly treated in the matter of Imperial grants; it is not only that the Scottish people have been put to enormous and needless expense, vexation, and trouble in connection with so-called private Bills; it is not only that Scottish affairs have been grossly mismanaged in London; Scottish legislation trifled with by the leaders of both parties, and the verdict of the Scottish constituencies on Scottish questions reversed in Parliament by the overwhelming votes of English members knowing little, caring less, about Scottish affairs, and merely voting as their party leaders bid.

These are serious grievances that would have justified more resolute and independent action for their removal than have ever yet been taken.

But underneath these grievances, aggravating them all, is the wrong done thus and otherwise to Scotland's life and honour and progress as a nation.

England seems scarcely to know that Scotland remains a nation. Only now, indeed, for the first time since the Union, is England beginning to hear the real voice of Scotland. What she has hitherto heard and taken for the voice of Scotland is the voice of a denationalized and Anglified class of Scotchmen who, educated in England and growing up with English ideas, have ceased to understand or truly

represent their country. They are the people who, in contemptuous disregard of the solemn Treaty of Union, have joined with the English in calling Britain "England," and Imperial affairs "English"—who, instead of "the British flag," "the British army," "the British Parliament," speak of "the English Parliament," "the English army," and "the English flag"—speaking of Scotland and treating her as if she were a mere English county.

But Scotland though a part of Britain is no part of England, and never was. She has her own history—a fountain of strength and inspiration to her children at home and abroad; and Scotland lives to-day, as a nation, with as vigorous and independent a life as when, more than 500 years ago, she met and vanquished the invading hosts of England at Bannockburn.

The attempt to denationalize her by the violation of her Treaty Rights and the transference of Scottish business to London, has made the gross mismanagement of these affairs more intolerable: has helped to open her eyes to the necessity of Home Rule, and has strengthened her determination to have it.

The accomplishment of Home Rule for Scotland would thus remove a source of irritation and discontent that is otherwise bound to increase. England has been slow to learn (though Ireland might have taught her long ago) that the pathway to peace and higher unity lies in the fraternal union or federation of different nationalities, not in the attempt to aggrandise her own nationality by deriding or attempting to extinguish those around.

There is a strength in nationality which an Empire like ours, instead of seeking to destroy, should seek to develop and utilize. For as honour and self-respect in the individual man make him a better and more valuable citizen, so, in a nation, honour and self-respect make it a worthier, stronger, and more valuable member in the union of nations.

Without Home Rule nationalities cannot develop and pacific union cannot be maintained. With it a new and larger nationality would be created.

What Britain needs, and what I believe Scotland is setting herself to seek, is Home Rule for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, with an Imperial Parliament in which all parts of the United Kingdom shall be represented (as the United States are in Congress), and which shall confine itself to Imperial affairs.

Imperial Federation would only mean an extension of the same principle to all parts of the Empire.

DAVID MACRAE.

## THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE LAND

### A REPLY.

THE intensity with which an enthusiast desires the realization of his ideal is so often assumed to be the measure of its practicability, that the readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. F. L. Soper for having tried to show how the much talked-of nationalization of the land might be carried out;<sup>1</sup> although they will find, on examination, that the paths he has laid down are as misleading as would be any traced over bogs and swamps to follow those bubbles of phosphoretted hydrogen called will-o'-the-wisps, to which pursuit, indeed, the methods of the land nationalizers are not without resemblance.

The growth of public sentiment in favour of land nationalization must be admitted, and is remarkable, considering that it is mainly the result of one man's book and speeches within the last seven years. Although Mr. Wallace took up the question as early as Mr. George, his more even views, more calmly expressed, have been forced into the background by the latter's strenuous eloquence, and a style of argument bold to the verge of recklessness. On the other hand, it is worth noting that not one man who is in any way a leader of public opinion, or a power in politics, has identified himself with it; and that while trade unionists—dwellers in cities, and in no way specially qualified to solve such difficult questions—have tardily pronounced in its favour, those who get their living off the land, and are, therefore, presumably possessed of some knowledge of the primary conditions of agriculture, have made no sign.

This success of the new land gospel is probably not so much evidence of its intrinsic truth as of the openness of men's minds to receive any remedy, propounded with a certain amount of energy and earnestness, for a state of things which all will admit to be far from ideal; although those who have most studied the development of society during long periods, will be the best satisfied with modern progress, and the most hopeful for the future.

The complexity of social problems, the many factors of which even a single result may be compounded, are not present to the

<sup>1</sup> "How to Nationalize the Land," WESTMINSTER REVIEW, September, 1889, by F. L. Soper. "The National Administration of the Land," WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1889, by F. L. Soper.

minds of the general public, ready, therefore, to believe that a mere shifting of the parts can affect the development of the life tragedy.

But the way of salvation, for nations as for men, is strait and thorny; the road paved with good intentions is the one that is so smooth and wide; and of its goal we must say, as Mr. George says of that other mirage, Socialism, "It is a golden dream, which may grow, but cannot be made."

• Before we enter upon a detailed consideration of the question, and of Mr. Soper's views upon it, we must note, and claim as a victory for the cause of moderation and good sense, the circumstance that Mr. Soper seems to offer to compensate landlords for their eviction. Mr. George more logically desired, and desires, "to confiscate all rent by taxation." Mr. Wallace, conceding something to British notions of equity, offered annuities for two or three lives; and when we now find Mr. Soper promising landlords annuities equal to their supposed nett rents (p. 274), which, he says, by a re-investment of 2-5ths per cent. (8s., p. 276), could be made perpetual, we may well ask whether the game of land nationalization is still worth the candle. It is true, however, that when Mr. Soper says "gross land rental" (p. 274), he means something which is quite another thing, for he means rent for buildings, for improvements, rather than for the land, and he estimates this at £84,000,000 (p. 275) for the purposes of his argument. But an argument which professes to discuss details of arrangement and legislation with actuarial minuteness, should also aim at accuracy in its terms and figures, and such phrases as "over £100,000,000" and "about £80,000,000" (p. 274), are hardly what we have a right to expect. As we shall immediately see, they are far from being correct. Caird gives the rental for 1878 of land, excluding holdings under ten acres and minerals, as £68,500,000, to which house rents would have to be added. Mulhall's figures for 1877, £69,439,000, are practically the same. From the income-tax returns for 1874 we get lands £65,442,000, and houses £127,050,000, from which, by the way, it is apparent, that land rents had fallen four millions sterling in the seven years 1877-84.

As Mr. Soper proposes what are practically two different methods of procedure with these two classes of property we must examine each separately.

In the case of land rents, which, we have seen, amount to £65,000,000, he proposes that "the State should take the gross rental" (p. 274), and pay it, less an arbitrary deduction for cost of management, &c., to the landlords, in the form of the annuities he describes. This proposition is an absolute departure from the purity of Georgian ethics, for if there is one point on which Mr. George has insisted more strenuously than another it is that the original or prairie value of the land must be taken from the landlords who are

now, according to him, in wrongful possession. Mr. Soper leaves them the land, in which he probably does wisely, but this is none the less abandoning, from a logical point of view, the main position of the attack. Perhaps, however, Mr. Soper has made this concession as a rough compensation for the wrong he does the landlords by appropriating their improvements and paying for them in dwindling annuities, in which alternative we have a right to ask him why he does not make the same offer to owners of land in towns.

It is true that the opposite course might have an unexpected result, for if landlords were to be paid the annual value of their improvements, it is possible that they would get more than their present rentals, as these in many cases do not represent a fair return on their actual outlay for reclaiming or improving the land. The advocates of land nationalization often speak of the land as if it had always been available for the husbandman. As a matter of fact, agricultural land is almost, and in some cases quite, as much a manufactured article as a pig of iron or a hank of wool. The original material was forest, waste or morass. It had to be cleared and drained. Fences and buildings had to be erected. Centuries of painstaking cultivation and fertilizing were needed to bring it into its present condition, and all this has in England, at least, been done under the auspices and, directly or indirectly, at the expense of successive generations of private owners, and, it may be added, would never have been done so well by the "State." The original or prairie value of the land is therefore, apart from town lands, hardly worth stealing, and from that point of view, Mr. Soper has been well advised not to confiscate it.

But when he comes to "residential and town holdings" he would pay the present owners only "a reasonable percentage on the value of the buildings" (p. 274), and that in dwindling annuities, "and the balance (of £127,000,000), being the rental value of the land or site, would be payable to the State" (p. 274). This is bold enough: he would take all existing ground rents and impose equivalent ground rents on existing freeholds. When we speak of the owners of town property, most of us have in our mind a few wealthy peers such as the Dukes of Westminster and Bedford, but a closer examination shows (Parliamentary Paper 335, 1876) that much of the land in question is in small lots, as there are no less than 852,438 owners of land in the United Kingdom who possess between them a total of 188,413 acres, or rather more than one-fifth of an acre each, but the rent of these 188,000 acres amounts to £37,294,174, being at the rate of £197 per acre. These small properties are therefore obviously among the most valuable in the kingdom. The first consequence of the adoption of Mr. Soper's plan, or of any similar one, would thus be the appropriation (always "by the State") of these properties, so

far as regards their land value, and the simultaneous ruin of the 852,438 owners, who may reasonably be supposed to be among the most thrifty of the population, and are, indeed, known to comprise many thousands of the *élite* of the working classes, who have purchased their houses through Building Societies. We will not dwell on the immorality of thus seizing properties sold and bought for generations in accordance with the law, and in reliance on the good faith of Parliament, for such considerations would be wasted on that modern school (of which land nationalizers are but a wing) which argues that settlements come to by Parliament or king, one two or three hundred years ago may justly be voided without compensation because now alleged to have been impolitic or influenced by corrupt motives when made. But we may ask these political pirates, to look at it as a question of expediency, and to ponder how such action would affect the confidence now placed in the honour of the State, and what would be the commercial value of annuities guaranteed by such "a people through their representatives in Parliament" (p. 274).

Without doing more than to suggest this aspect of the matter as a reason to pause and reflect, we may point out its practical bearing on Mr. Soper's plan for the redemption of mortgages, which consist in paying them off with money borrowed at 3 per cent., for this is what his scheme of annuities comes to. This is no doubt good financing; but a moment's reflection will show that no banker would lend money at 3 per cent. to a "State" which, by appropriating vested interests sanctioned by centuries of usage and legislation, had just shown its utter disregard of its own engagements. To ascertain what interest such an unreliable "State" would have to pay for money, we should have to find what Spain or a South American Republic is asked when it wants to borrow. On this single rock of public faith any scheme of land nationalization yet propounded must inevitably go to pieces; and we can confidently assert that if land nationalization were ever carried into effect in the way proposed by Mr. George or Mr. Soper, and if every penny of the existing rents flowed into the coffers of the State, all gain thus obtained would be enormously outweighed by the injury done to the national well-being through the consequent impairment of credit.

Mr. Soper's proposal in the matter of mortgages illustrates alike the crudity of his plans and the apparent confusion in his mind on the subject. It can, first, hardly have been his intention to appropriate land values when unencumbered, and to pay for them when mortgaged, yet this is what his plan amounts to, and the proposal is an effective measure of his statesmanship. A man who had kept out of debt would have his freehold taken from him; another, who had borrowed on the security of his land, would lose only his margin and "equity of redemption." Secondly, in this part of his

paper, Mr. Soper evidently has in view the encumbrances on large landed estates, but as he has in the previously developed part of his scheme left the whole net rental in the hands of the owners of such estates, they, and not the "State," are the proper parties to pay off their mortgages.

The economic effects, admittedly ruinous to many, of the "confiscation of land values" are usually traversed by Land Nationalizers, with the assumption that the consequent relief from taxation would compensate the unlucky proprietors. We have ourselves heard Mr. George offer this consolation to a Birmingham artisan, who asked who would repay him the £100 he had invested in a house; but the promise of free brandy and tobacco did not strike the man as adequate. Indeed, as the burden of Imperial taxation, apart from luxuries, is mainly borne by the wealthier classes, who pay the whole of the income and assessed taxes, most of the stamp duties, and a great part of the Post Office profit, it is rather curious to see the advocates of a revolution, which is recommended particularly as a means of benefiting what Mr. George calls the lower classes, state that its first effects would be to lighten a burden which weighs on the rich rather than on the poor.

But, taking Mr. Soper's own figures, we shall not find any reason to expect any speedy reduction of taxation, still less that (p. 276) "in half a century the entire burden of both Imperial and local taxation might be removed," nor need we remind our readers that the Birmingham artisan, of whom we have spoken, could not reasonably be asked to regard with equanimity the prospect of being houseless in his old age, on the chance that his grandchildren would be free from taxation. For the purpose of his calculation, Mr. Soper takes £100,000,000 as the amount of revenue from the land, and deducts £20,000,000 "for cost of management, losses, and other contingencies" (p. 274), yet, on the very next page, he says that, "£5,000,000, with certain small fees, would amply suffice for all the costs of administration," which term, we presume, includes "management, losses, and other contingencies." As the expense of government management with "its losses and other contingencies" is notoriously much greater than that of private management, it would be much more reasonable to add £15,000,000 to get at the cost of management by "the State;" but, even on the charitable supposition that the new system would cost no more than the old, the profit of £15,000,000, from the first purely hypothetical, disappears. That the expected gain from the conversion of mortgages would prove illusory, we have already indicated, and Mr. Soper has thus nothing for his trouble but £2,000,000 ("say the annual increment in the value of the land") and an annual reduction (possible only if the nation's credit were not affected) of £350,000 in annuities. This annual increment

in the value of land is not so certain an item as Mr. Soper evidently thinks. It is true that up to ten or fifteen years ago there had been a great rise in agricultural rents, which more than doubled within a hundred years, the value of land having risen from £18 per acre in 1774, to £42 per acre in 1875; but nearly the whole of that increase took place in the early years of the century, during the French war (when the area of cultivated land was so inadequate, that waste and common lands were almost given to those who would bring them under the plough), as in 1810 it was already £35. The increase in sixty-five years was therefore only £7 per acre, which has been more than lost by the fall since 1875. Town rents have undoubtedly largely increased, but as they are only £127,000,000 now, it is obvious that they cannot increase by £2,000,000 a year, and they, too, are subject to considerable local fluctuations.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, taking into account the difference in the value of money, and the vast sums spent in improvement and building within the present century, we think it doubtful whether there has really been a substantial rise in rents in that time. We have, at any rate, adduced sufficient evidence to show that land nationalizers have little to expect from any increase of value. It may be added that, if there is any material increase, it is certain to be outweighed by the increased expenditure of a growing population.

The system of administration which Mr. Soper elaborates in his second article naturally suggests the question, whether management by "the State" is better than management by individuals, or is even practicable.

He proposes the establishment of a public department, or board of control, of the kind which now manages education, and, in a much looser way, certain conditions of trade. Such a board, Mr. Soper believes, would be under the direct influence of the people, acting through a Government, which "at the present time here in England, if anywhere, is entirely dependent on the people" (p. 363); but he overlooks the distinction between political principles and administrative functions, the former of which alone come within the compass of Government in a parliamentary country, the latter inevitably drifting into the hands of Government officials. It is not necessary to call a Government corrupt, as Mr. Soper does, or to wait, with him, for the advent of "true and honest men to parliament" (p. 363) to recognize this difficulty, and to see that, having once started the machinery, Government or Parliament could not do more than change its nominal chiefs, when Ministers changed; or, once in a decade or so, re-adjust its principles or alter its procedure. The daily routine work, which is what would be in constant touch with the well-being of the people, would of necessity be performed by permanent officials.

<sup>1</sup> In Dronfield, some years ago, blocks of four houses were sold for £32, and some were actually given to any one who would act as caretaker for others.



who alone would hold the threads of the multifarious details of the department, and, although probably capable and conscientious, would not necessarily be more so than the superseded landlords, and would be even more autocratic and irresponsible.

In the present Committee for Education we have a type of the way in which State management works in a department of affairs which, if not exceedingly simple, are at least much more so than those relating to the land. Though the culture of the mind may not be easier or less important than the cultivation of the soil, there is, at any rate, less difference of opinion as to the succession of lessons than as to the succession of crops. Merely to ensure due service by the teachers, an unnatural system of payment by results has been found necessary. What system of checks could be devised to prevent outgoing tenants neglecting to renew the fertility of the soil they are about to surrender? Who could decide where the "dishonesty" and "unpatriotic conduct," so indignantly denounced by Mr. Soper (p. 369), begins? The undoubted national gain of State education cannot be disassociated from the disadvantages of over-pressure, and of a rigid uniformity, applied to an endless diversity of minds; and are purchased at the cost of all initiative by the parents, who have no choice as to the way their children are to be educated, that being settled by a few permanent officials, whose very names are hardly known outside their office. If this, more serious, probably, than we yet realize, is the effect of "State" control of education, what may we not expect would be the ill-effects of such cast-iron management of agriculture and building, two of the most complicated, difficult, and sensitive departments of human affairs?

No one will, we imagine, argue that Government management can be carried out on any but hard-and-fast lines. Mr. Soper, at any rate, has put himself out of court, for he says expressly, "the administrative authority, whether central or local, will have no power of partiality or favouritism, for it will not be able to select a tenant or to fix a rent" (p. 364). It is almost unnecessary to say that such a system could not work in an industry where the conditions of every tenancy are not only different from those of nearly every other one, but vary with every change of tenant, and even of season, and we shall presently see that Mr. Soper himself provides for the admission of any amount of personal caprice and personal fallibility, uncontrolled, as in the case of the present landlords, by self-interest, more or less enlightened, but always a surer guide to the right than the mood or whim of a bureaucrat.

The fundamental law, which is to be at once safe and equitable, laid down by Mr. Soper is, that the man who offers the highest rent is to become the tenant.

A private owner can discriminate between a solvent and suitable

tenant, and one who lacks capital or ability. The State cannot. A private owner can adjust the size of a holding or the shape of the building-plot. If the State attempts either, it opens wide the door to jobbery, and at once substitutes for Mr. Soper's safeguard a licence such as no Government department can safely be trusted with. The same result follows from other ingenious devices with which Mr. Soper has tried to make the impossible seem possible, as, for instance, when he suggests special sliding scales for those who may wish to plant orchards, or when he allows the Land Commission to accept, instead of the highest tender in open market, the occupier's *bonâ fide* tender, if near its own valuation—a charming vagueness.

At a time when farmers are supposed to be wanting nothing so much as fixity of tenure, and town leaseholders are agitating for enfranchisement, there is a savour of Rip Van Winkle in Mr. Soper's offer of seven years' leases to all classes of tenants. He, doubtless, believes that a jerry-builder would raise houses substantial as rocks, that manufacturers would build mills and fill them with expensive machinery, that farmers would put their hearts into their work, all with the fore-knowledge that, when the seven years had run their course, they would have to go through an elaborate procedure of uncertain result, and to tender a rack-rent on the value their own efforts had put on the land, in order to secure a renewal of the lease. Perhaps all these marvels may come to pass, and that they will is at least as likely as that land nationalization will ever become the law of the land; but while human nature remains what it is, neither is very probable.

We remember reading an account of a happy, but remote, island, where the inhabitants had developed an enlightened altruism, so that each one loved his neighbour better than himself, and the whole existence of every individual was spent in endeavours to render services to his neighbours, and frustrate their attempts to take advantage of him by rendering him services. Under such happy conditions we can imagine that Mr. Soper's plan might have a chance, but here, where self-interest is the strongest motive power in utilitarian labours, only the certainty of continued possession or enjoyment will induce a man to put forth his utmost powers, and on no other terms can there be solid progress. Mr. Soper indeed thinks that it is not well that a farmer (he says nothing from this point of view of the shopkeeper, the manufacturer, or of the man who builds a house for himself) should spend all his years in one place, and argues that an enforced removal two or three times in his life would be advantageous to him and to the country; but most farmers and others think otherwise, and would, in any case, rather choose their own time than face the possibility of emigration every seven years. After all, they are likely to be the best judges of their own interests, and we, being humble disciples of that school of *laissez faire* which,

in past days, found its ablest vindication in the pages of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, believe that to give to each as much liberty to do that which he will, as may be, is still the most hopeful way of making all happy. Another reason which influences Mr. Soper in fixing the seven years' limit, appears to be the assumption that other-wise men who are not farmers, but would like to be, could not meet with a farm to suit them (p. 370). If this means anything at all, it means that those who understand farming are from time to time to make room for those who do not, a proposition which need only be stated in plain terms to be scouted.

But, says Mr. Soper, in practice, no difficulty would arise: "The tenant in possession will always have an advantage over an outsider in his superior knowledge of the holding and its capabilities" (p. 370). It is palpable that an eager and inexperienced new-comer might, just because he did *not* know the true value of the land, offer more than it was worth, and that thus the old tenant might be ousted, even though he had appraised his natural attachment to the scene of his labours at a pecuniary equivalent, and added a percentage on that to his tender of, as Mr. Soper says, "a higher rent than a stranger could offer" (p. 370). What a prospect! Mr. Soper has, at this stage, forgotten his Draconic rule that the Land Commission shall not have power to fix a rent, and actually suggests that "if the difference between his tender and the highest was very small, indicating an honest bid, he might even be allowed to amend his tender" (p. 370). Who shall decide what constitutes a "very small difference," and what is "an honest bid?" But if, after all, the tenant were outbid, he would have to go, and, as Mr. Soper says of the shopkeeper under similar circumstances, "he would only have himself to blame; he has had his opportunity and lost it" (p. 369). We think that the tenant will prefer his prospects under the private owner. The best that Mr. Soper can offer the outgoing tenant is bare compensation for his inexhausted improvements, to be assessed by a "State" valuer, less, of course, the same valuer's estimate of the deterioration of land and buildings during his occupation.

Thus we have the great "State" organism, with its impartiality and sublime capacity for the task, resolved into an aggregation of provincial land surveyors, sure to be swayed by those very local influences which, on p. 364, Mr. Soper has so vigorously denounced, and which he thought he had absolutely excluded from his scheme. There could hardly be a more complete bathos for the pretensions of Land Nationalizers.

It is not likely that men would care to build or to farm with such a probability of frequent disturbance, such a certainty of periodical differences of opinion as to values, with, presumably, appeals and delays equal to a law-suit, and, so far, Mr. Soper has certainly not suggested any scheme as practicable as the existing one of supply

and demand. It is not sufficiently recognized, especially by those who are impelled to become innovators—we cannot call them reformers—at any cost, that institutions grow, as bodies move, in the line of least resistance. That a thing *is*, is consequently *prima facie* evidence that it is *good*, and the *laissez faire* school are therefore justified in believing that the removal of the barriers now preventing the free dispersion of land would enable free supply to adjust itself to free demand, and give all the opportunity needed for natural growth. Meanwhile, it must be placed to the credit of the present system that under it the land of Britain produces more food per acre than that of any other country in the world. While in the United States, where there is a virgin soil comparatively “unencumbered” by landlords, the average product is only 13 bushels, and India, where the land is held directly from the Government, produces 18·7 bushels, the rent-ridden fields of this country yield an average of 30 bushels. At a time, too, when we hear so often of the divorce of the labourer from the soil, it is worth noting that the rural population has increased from 8,772,000 in 1854 to 10,523,000 in 1881.

\* Besides those we have pointed out, many difficulties and even impossibilities in Mr. Soper’s plans will suggest themselves to every reader acquainted with the ill-effects of the impediments already placed by, perhaps unavoidable, legislation in the way of the easy development of the land, or with the essential red tapeism of a Government office; and if we began by admitting the growth of a sentiment in favour of the nationalization of the land, we may, in concluding, assert with confidence that no practicable plan has yet been proposed. and that the tendencies of thought and legislation, apparent around us, are in the opposite direction, and make for private ownership, decentralization and freedom.

RICHARD SIMON.

## LORD DUFFERIN AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: A REPLY.

It is by this time well known that Lord Dufferin, in his famous St. Andrews' Dinner speech, found occasion to speak unfavourably of the Indian National Congress and its supporters; the speech, from the commanding position of its author, has been the subject of much favourable and unfavourable criticism both in India and in England. It may be gratifying to Lord Dufferin, who must be aware how deeply he offended the educated community of India by his remarks about their political aims and aspirations, that an Indian gentleman has taken up the cudgels for him, and has, in the July number of this REVIEW, come forward to offer an apology for what may have seemed to be uncharitable in the speech, and a defence of its criticisms of the Congress movement. I do not think there is much in Mr. U. S. Misra's article which calls for a reply, and even the long quotations from Lord Dufferin's speech, with which he tries to cover the sterility of his own arguments, have lost, under the dissecting-knife of public criticism, what little life they at first seemed to possess. The few remarks which I wish to offer to the public through the pages of this REVIEW, are only intended as a reply to some remarks of Lord Dufferin which he has adopted, and which even now may lead an unwary reader into strange misconceptions of the aims of the National Congress.

Lord Dufferin tells us that strenuous efforts have been repeatedly made "not only to extend to her Majesty's subjects in India the civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by her Majesty's subjects at home, but to admit them as far as is possible to a share in the management of their own affairs." And he finds the proof of this in our Legal Codes, Local Legislative Councils, Municipal Boards, and the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. Now, it is the peculiarity of such sweeping laudations of British rule as the foregoing, that, if you criticize them, you at once incur the odium of ingratitude, and even disloyalty. That the British Government deserves our deepest gratitude, more, perhaps, for its intentions, than for its actual deeds, I should be the last person to deny; but that there rest some dark shadows upon the bright picture of its career, every true friend of India and England must equally admit. Let

me not be misunderstood on this point. The rule of England has been an undoubted blessing to India, and our Legal Codes, our local Legislative Councils, and our Public Service Commission are comprised in that blessing. But, take every one of these things separately, and you will find "a little rift within the lute," which fills the air with notes of discord, and mars in a considerable degree the beauty of what would otherwise be a perfectly-peaceful, contented, and harmonious Government. Analyze "our legal Codes which secured to all her Majesty's subjects, without distinction of race, or creed, or class, equality before the law," and what do you find? A sharp line of demarcation drawn between the rulers and the ruled; the trial by jury conceded to the one and refused to the other; Indian magistrates, whatever their experience and ability, not allowed to try European offenders; but a young English civilian, who probably knows as little about India as he does about the other side of the moon, trying Indians for the most serious offences. This is not our idea of equality before the law. It is not for me to say whether there should or should not be legal equality between the English and the Indians; but, if there are some deep political considerations why there must be inequality, say so plainly and openly, instead of crying out "equality, equality," where there is no equality.

Take, again, our Legislative Council, "wherein a certain number of leading natives are associated with the Government in enacting measures suitable to our wants;" and these councils, inasmuch as they are supposed to represent the voice of the country, are, I say, without fear of contradiction, perfect shams. In the Legislative Council, the official members, bound from their position to support Government measures, form the majority; the unofficial European members, guided by that law of natural affinity, from which even the strongest natures are not always free, cast in their lot with them, and the "microscopic minority" of Indian members which owes its existence to official favour and favouritism, true to its instincts of self-preservation, strives more to cultivate the good graces of the "greater gods of Olympus" than to study the requirements and to advocate the claims of the dumb millions of India. What sort of assistance is the Government to derive from those native members who think—and rightly so—that for their conduct and opinions in the Council, they are answerable, not to the people whose interest they are, by a political fiction drawn from democratic constitutions, supposed to represent, and to whom alone, in the name of justice and common-sense, they ought to be responsible; but to their official heads to whom they owe their nomination.

With regard to the Public Service Commission, it is yet too early to say anything. But none can deny that the Public Service, as it is constituted at present, is marked by the most flagrant inequality. Not only that the Indians are altogether excluded from certain high

appointments, but even in the Covenanted Civil Service they can hardly claim equality when they have at a very early age, and at enormous expense and trouble to themselves and their families, to pass the competitive examination in England. This cant about equality, objectionable as it must always be, is most irritating to hear with reference to our Public Service. Take the province of Oudh, from where I am writing. It has four Commissionerships, four District-Judgeships, twelve Deputy-Commissionerships, and about as many Assistant-Commissionerships. How many of these posts are filled by Indians? There is one Indian Judge, who owes his present position more to what people here would call some auspicious star, than to the normal working of the Government system; and three Assistant-Commissioners—that is the share that the people of the country have got in the Public Service in Oudh; and yet, if they sometimes grow discontented with it, and try to get a little more, they are set down as a mob of malcontents, sedition-mongers, and what-not.

All this talk about equality is, in some cases, no doubt, honestly believed, but in others it evidently is meant only to throw dust in the eyes of the British public. No attempt has yet been made by England to rule India on the same principles as those which she observes with regard to her own people; or, if made, in any measure and any form, it has found no favour with those who hold the reins of Government in this country.

There is an aristocratic pride of privilege in Englishmen which they carry with them wherever they go, and, although this feeling has played a very salutary part in those struggles for constitutional freedom which have made England the queen of a world-wide empire, yet it has always prevented them from identifying themselves with the subject races. Nobody will deny that Russia is despotic, but one of the chief secrets of her remarkable expansion is, that as soon as she annexes a territory by force of arms, she removes the bitterness of conquest from the minds of the conquered people, by, at once, extending to them the laws and principles which govern the people of St. Petersburg. The same feature of consolidating diverse subject races into one State marks the French, who, ever since the Great Revolution of 1789, have followed the doctrine of equality with a logical consistency, which, perhaps, in political matters is a fault. On the contrary, inequality is the keynote of the English constitution. The love of privilege is so strong in the breasts of Englishmen that it is not only the subject races who are denied the privileges enjoyed by them: even when their own kith and kin leave the shores of England and settle in other countries, they, too, have to leave behind them some of the privileges of their birth. The Colonists, whatever the Party leaders may say, are yet looked upon by the English masses as an inferior sort of

Englishmen; and it was this sentiment which alienated from the English their American Colonies, and which for a long time was the chief prop and mainstay of that "British party" which drove Canada to the verge of rebellion, and would have launched her on the same course of separation had not the better sense of England awakened to the danger, and realized the mistake of her rulers. Ireland furnishes the most melancholy illustration of my proposition. All impartial historians have shown what havoc the English love of inequality has wrought in that unhappy island; but anybody who has followed the course of Irish politics during the last quarter of this century can see how well the whole struggle may be defined as a struggle between Irish Rights and English Privilege. A Protestant Church was kept in a Catholic land, simply to mark the distinction between the Irish and their English rulers. The Roman Catholics of Ireland were enfranchised for the purpose of averting an imminent Civil War. The Home Rule controversy of the present day has shown how deeply rooted is the love of aristocratic privilege in the English mind. The Hottentot theory of the Irish nation betrays a remarkable trait in the English character, and the onco-famous doctrine of Lord Randolph Churchill that "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right," has at least the merit of sincerity, inasmuch as it truly represents the feeling of Protestant, and, therefore, English ascendancy, which lies at the root of the opposition to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy.

In the face of these historical facts, it is not easy to make us believe that that equality of privileges which has been denied to the Colonies, to Ireland, and even, till the other day, to Scotland, will by any means, in any measure, or any shape, be accorded to us. And it has *not* been accorded to us, whatever Lord Dufferin and others may say to the contrary. Our despotic kings of former times, with all their faults, had at least the merit of being sincere; they claimed divine descent, and looked upon their subjects as slaves born to work for them. They did not tell their people that they were the equals of their rulers, and yet treated them like serfs; they never made any hollow pretensions of doing everything for the good of the people, while they were really grinding them down for their own good; they never did, like Macbeth's "juggling fiends, give the word of promise to our ear and break it to our hope." To talk of any equality between the English and the Indians is, judged by the past, insincere, and those who, like Lord Dufferin and his latest apologist, Mr. Misra, think that they will, by any amount of smooth phrases, persuade us to believe it, insult our intelligence.

I say nothing with regard to the wisdom or the unwisdom of the policy of keeping up inequality between the rulers and the ruled; but what I wish to state, as clearly as possible, is this—that if the English people think that their representatives out here have



accorded to us the same rights and privileges as obtain in other and happier parts of the British Empire, or at all view with favour any attempts made by the people themselves, or by English friends on their behalf, to bring about the much-talked-of political equality, they are greatly mistaken; and, the sooner this fatal mistake is cleared up, the better it will be for them as well as for us.

No man likes to be looked down upon by any class of his fellow-beings. There are few slaves who would not prefer a free life. It is in human nature to love liberty and equality; although it is only *civilised* human nature that can appreciate the same feeling in others too. It may be that the Indians do not possess the same capacity for freedom and equality as the English, and cannot make a wise use of them; but it is certainly untrue to say—as is always implied by those who say that the demands of the Congress proceed from a discontented educated class, and not from the masses—that the masses, unlike the educated classes, do not detest inequality and feel in their heart of hearts the humiliation of their dependent position which separates them from the conquering race. The touch of the vanished hand of Mohamedan Kings is still upon them, and thousands of men are still alive who can recollect the times when, even under Mohamedan despots, the lines of political differences between Hindus and Mohamedans had ceased to exist; when the highest posts were open to merit, which recognized no colour and no creed; and when the Moslem Rulers were more popular with their Hindu subjects than, perhaps, our Royalty is with the Irish nation. If our English rulers can once grasp fully this feature of the Mohamedan rule, they will understand the cause of our present discontent. The British rule is civilized, is just, is humane, but it is not *sympathetic*; it cannot, or rather does not, enter into the feelings of the subject people, and is therefore seldom considerate towards them; hence, it is not *popular*, that is, it possesses few elements which rouse popular sympathies, which disarm suspicion and inspire confidence—few elements which, either as the personal qualities of some great ruler, or as the impersonal influence of some great principle, take hold of the strings of human emotions, and stir as well as guide the dormant affections and sentiments of mankind. So long as our present rule remains as unsympathetic as it is at present; so long as, in its essence and nature, it keeps up its unpopular character by perpetuating those sentiments of class-distinction, and class-privilege, which are the unhappy relics of bygone times, the discontent of the people will continue to exist; and although India may get richer, more civilized, more moral, more peaceful, yet like another and bigger Ireland, the thorn of discontent will rankle in her breast, and the feelings of loyalty and affection would receive a severe check in their normal and so-much-wished-for growth in the soil of this country.

It is indeed very curious to observe that, while Lord Dufferin boasts of those equal privileges which, without distinction of class, or colour, or creed, have been accorded to India under the auspices of British rule, he yet views with anything but favour the growth of a movement which is to carry us a few steps forward towards the far-off goal of political equality, and styles our demand for the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils on some *representative* basis as a "very big jump into the unknown." I am not a believer in political agnosticism which labels "unknown" and "unknowable" the consequences of every proposed new departure, and makes its own want of political prescience an excuse for obstructing all further reform. The gulf of the "unknown" has yawned at the threshold of every new change; but it failed to swallow up England after the Anti-Corn Law League had succeeded in its work, or after the Free Traders had overthrown the Protectionists, or after the successive Reform Bills had passed; and there are as yet no signs for believing that the prophet of evil will have a more prosperous career in the latter days of this century.

Lord Dufferin's apprehensions are, I think, exaggerated, and born of his ignorance of the real state of things. "A big jump into the unknown" our demand would undoubtedly appear if it be viewed through the distorting medium of hostile misrepresentations, or as imaged in the *camera obscura* of his vivid imagination; but it is a long way off from "the application to India of democratic methods of government, and the adoption of a parliamentary system which England herself has reached by slow degrees, and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation." It is nothing of the sort; it has nothing to do with the adoption, for the present, of a parliamentary system, or of democratic methods of government. Our real demand, and not what our critics suppose is our demand, is very limited and very moderate,—it is only for the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils in such a way as to afford the various Provinces of the Empire the opportunity of being represented at its deliberations by their men of light and leading, without impairing, in any measure, the authority of the Executive or the final veto of the Viceroy; and that the elected members shall form only a portion of the Council. The rest is to be composed of the Viceroy's nominees. Surely there is nothing very startling in this proposal—nothing which savours of a parliamentary system. It commands the support of all those Anglo-Indians of eminence who know India well. Mr. Macaulay, Secretary to the Bengal Government, says: "We require critics and destroyers as well as authors and constructors. From this point of view, I, for one, entirely agree with those who consider that our Council should be enlarged. It seems to me of the utmost importance, that all views, all rights, all parties, should be properly represented; in order that the broad light of

practical knowledge and experience, as well as the keener gleam of special interests, and it may even be of special prejudices, may be freely lot in upon our deliberations." There are few Anglo-Indians who can speak with the authority of Sir William Hunter on this subject; and what does he say? "The Legislative Council," he says, "in which one-half the members were officials, another quarter nominated by the Government, and one quarter elected, would probably increase rather than impair the authority of the Viceroy and the provincial Governors."

But Mr. Misra catches the strain of Lord Dufferin, and, quite unconscious of what the real demand of the Congress is, or how it is viewed by experienced Anglo-Indians, as well as Indians, waxes eloquent over the inapplicability of a parliamentary system to the present social needs and conditions of India. "To such a step," he says, "I need not say, the teachings of history are quite opposed. In no country democratic government was established all at once, and hence in India, where political institutions based upon popular sentiments have been quite unknown, where despotism, prior to the establishment of British supremacy, has been the chief form of government, and where a conflict between a people, trying on the one hand to secure constitutional rights and privileges, and an arbitrary power withholding them on the other, is unknown, democracy is not likely to take root at all." Now, before we appeal to "the teachings of history," we must clearly understand the propositions which they are meant to refute or substantiate. To the general statement of opinion contained in the words just quoted, I am willing to give a general assent; but it is indeed a big jump on the part of Mr. Misra to proceed from these premisses to the conclusion that the demand of the Congress is democratic, and therefore out of harmony with the needs and requirements of this country. Every schoolboy knows that India was never democratic; but he also knows what Mr. Misra does not seem to do—he knows that democratic governments have sometimes been established all at once, such as in France and in the United States. But, then, all this talk about democracy and parliamentary government is irrelevant to the subject; it tends to pervert and mystify rather than simplify and aid the proper comprehension of the points at issue. The whole argument of Mr. Misra, as it is presented to us in the muddy torrents of words, is a mere *petitio principii*, which melts into thin air as soon as we put the question—Is the demand of the Congress really democratic? Now, he who knows the meaning of Democracy, knows that the demand of the Congress is not democratic. Democracy means the government of the people, as opposed to the government of a single individual, or a privileged class. Is it not madness to talk of democracy in a country which recognizes a Queen-Empress? Is it not perverse to think that the Indian Constitution can be

democratized when the veto of the Viceroy upon all legislation remains unimpaired, and when the nomination of a considerable number of members for his Council rests with himself? Is it not somewhat Quixotic to go on saying that India wants a parliament, when she wants no such thing? Does it not betray some want of sanity in those men who have raised the standard of a holy war against the Congress, under the impression or belief that it wants to wrest the governing-power from the hands of the British, and to give it to the uncultured masses, while what it really wants is, on one hand, to add to the strength and efficiency of the Government by making it more representative of the people's wishes than at present it is; and, on the other, "to educate the people, in fact, into what has been described as a genuine parliamentary frame of mind, to familiarize the country with the method and working of representative institutions on a large scale; and thus, as this familiarity grew, to demonstrate to the Government and people of England that India was already ripe for some measure of these institutions, to which the entire intelligence of the country so earnestly aspires?"<sup>1</sup> What is the use of warning us against the dangers of democracy when nobody wants it? In denouncing the Congress because India is unfit for democratic government, Mr. Misra fights with a spectre of his own imagination. The sword of his logic does not affect us; it is brandished in the air.

Lord Dufferin objects to our demand on the ground that the diversity of races and creeds, specially the antagonism of a very old standing between Hindus and Mohamedans, makes its concession impossible; and the latter have, he also alleges, kept aloof from the Congress movement. Now, I must say that Lord Dufferin labours under a delusion founded upon misrepresentations of our true aims and aspirations by those of our official and non-official critics who have ranged themselves under the banner of Sir Syed Ahmed. The Syed was the first man, perhaps, who pointed out that the Mohamedan community had no sympathy with the movement. This objection against the Congress has been bandied to and fro in the course of the long and bitter controversy which has been raging ever since the Congress acquired strength and rose in popular estimation; and all sane people are beginning to see that the Mohamedans are not quite so indifferent to the movement as the Syed thought they were; that they were well represented at the last Congress at Allahabad, in spite of the alarm of conflagration which was given from Aligarh, and echoed back in deeper, more ominous, and more terrific peals from Naini Tal. Mohamedans of the highest social position and intellectual eminence—Mohamedans, like Mr. Budr-uddin Tiyoobji, of Bombay, and the Princes of Oudh—are among the staunchest supporters of our movement.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. O. Hume's Speech, Allahabad, 30th April, 1888.

To say that if the Congress-Wallas became successful, Mohamedans would be swamped by Hindus, is to mislead the people. It is the old and familiar cry of the lovers of the established order that the majority will grind down the minority. Englishmen who have in recent years heard so much about the Ulster Protestants being left at the mercy of the Catholics of Ireland, in case Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy became victorious, can hardly be deceived by such false alarms. The so-much-talked-of antagonism between Hindus and Mohamedans exists in the brains of our critics only: those who know anything of India know that Hindus and Mohamedans are now, for all practical purposes, one nation; leaving religion aside, in everything else—in social customs and manners, in intellectual tastes and pursuits—there is hardly any material difference between the two; and if, as a French philosopher says, the sentiment of nationality is based upon common oblivions and common recollections, then, indeed, it may be asserted that Hindus and Mohamedans have nearly forgotten the bitter feuds of past times, and are equally proud of the glory, the prowess, and the magnificence of the throne of Akbar and Shajahan. This sentiment of a common nationality, based upon feelings of amity and tolerance, is growing between Hindus and Mohamedans, and the spread of English education which is free from sectarian bias, and is in its essence a nationalizing force, has added strength and impetus to this feeling; and deep would be the guilt, and lasting the shame, in which posterity would assuredly hold those who, by word or deed, would do anything to check the growth of this sentiment, and kindle the flame of religious and class-animosities, by reviving the bitter memories of ancient disputes over which Time has thrown the curtain of oblivion.

To Englishmen, familiar with the difficulties of adjusting conflicting interests in their own Parliament, the constitution (on any basis of elective principle) of our Legislative Councils, in which Hindus and Mohamedans shall sit together, must present no insuperable difficulty; but all difficulty is sure to disappear as soon as they take into consideration the fact that, whatever social and religious differences there may be, there are hardly any political differences between them. Governed by a common Sovereign, sharing common misfortunes, and striving for common ends, they have, growing up between them, a feeling of sympathy which has gone far to bind together hearts separated by considerations of race and creed, and to identify their social and political interests. There are few things within the sphere of politics which can be said to affect the Mohamedans only or the Hindus only. I am not aware of any Mohamedan interest which would suffer if Hindus gain predominance in the Council, or *vice versa*. Much, in this connection, has been made of the cow-killing agitation; but, that the first use which Mohamedans would make of their political power would be to turn

India into a slaughter-house for cows and oxen—and the first Bill which a Hindu majority would carry through the Council would be to prohibit cow-killing altogether, if it did not make it compulsory for Mohamedans to feed upon pigs,—is a supposition which my sense of humour prevents me from accepting; and I do not believe that, under a more popular constitution than the present one, they would be any worse off than they were under the Mohamedan rule, when they followed their respective customs and observances with due tolerance of each other's feelings, and lived together in amity and peace.

But, even supposing that Hindu and Mohamedan interests are not the same, but diverse, the task of adjusting and reconciling them in a quasi-popular assembly is not impossible or impracticable. The resources of statesmanship have not been exhausted on this subject. Some suggestions have already been made by certain members of the Congress towards the solution of this problem. Some find a solution of it in some scheme of federation; some in the constitution of the Canadian parliament; some in the adoption of provisions similar to those which give the Scotch members a decisive voice in Scotch legislation in the House of Commons. Whatever may be the worth of the respective schemes suggested, it cannot be doubted that a serious and honest discussion of the Mohamedan question of India would be productive of vast practical and beneficial results.

Lord Dufferin's exhortation to the Congress that it should take up social questions instead of politics, need not detain us long. The Congress is a political institution, and a political institution need not meddle with social problems. If Lord Dufferin, by his remarks, means to insinuate that we neglect social reform in our eagerness to compete with others in the steeple-race of political reform, then I may be permitted to remind him that in India social activity has long preceded political activity: that more than three-quarters of a century divides Lal Mohan Ghose from Rajah Ram Mohan Roy; that Keshub Chunder stirred the spiritual life of India years before Surendra Nath Banerji's fiery eloquence awakened her political conscience; and that the Brahmo Somaj and the Arya Somaj were the parents and precursors of the National Congress. But there are some very good reasons why the Congress does not appeal to Government for the redress of our social grievances. In a country like India, where the thoughts, sentiments, and actions of men are changing with the rapidity of shifting figures in a phantasmagoria—where, unlike former times, the pulsations of a national life are beginning to be felt, under the community of ideas and feelings brought about by a common system of education, in every part of the country,—social problems have become very complex, intricate, and difficult of solution; and great experience, sagacity, deep insight into the ways of the people, and vast knowledge of their

multifarious needs, have become the essential preliminaries to handling those problems with advantage or safety. We do not invoke the help of Government in our social reform, because we have little confidence in the knowledge and information of our social wants of those who guide its councils. Our present Government is an alien Government; its intentions are just, its impulses are generous; but in no sense does it represent the voice of the people; and, so long as it keeps up its *unrepresentative* character, so long as its sources of knowledge of the social needs of the country are what they are, it would hardly be a mark of wisdom on the part of our leading men to seek its aid and guidance in the solution of social questions which, from their complexity, intricacy, and delicacy, puzzle and perplex the minds even of those who are intimate with the requirements of our social life, and are in deep sympathy with them, and which foreigners like the English, unassisted by the cultivated intelligence of the country, can never be expected to comprehend, much less to solve.

But the most formidable objection which is advanced against the National Congress, and to which Lord Dufferin has lent the weight of his great name, is that the movement is not national, but is confined to the educated class—that the demands which it makes in the name of the people are really the demands of a “microscopic minority,” and, as such, can hardly be wisely conceded. The objection is very comprehensive, and can scarcely be disposed of in a few paragraphs, to which alone I must confine myself for the present; but I may here transcribe a passage from the Report of the Fourth National Congress, which must convince every candid reader of its representative character: “If we turn first to creeds and races, we find that there were 965 Hindus, 221 Mohamedans, 22 native and 15 European Christians, 11 Jains, 7 Parsis, and 6 Sikhs. If we consider next the positions occupied by these gentlemen, whether hereditary or as public men, we find that there were among them 6 Princes, 4 Rajahs, 17 Nawabs, 3 Sirdars, and 54 members of noble families; again, there were 3 members of Council, 73 honorary magistrates, 12 chairmen, 19 vice-chairmen, and 127 commissioners of municipalities; 10 chairmen and vice-chairmen, and 69 members of local and district boards; 27 fellows of universities, 3 public prosecutors, 1 coroner, &c. Lastly, if we consider their professions and occupations, we find 455 in one branch or other of the legal profession, 42 in the medical profession, 5 engineers, 127 merchants and traders, 85 bankers, 73 editors and journalists, 297 landed proprietors, 102 inferior landholders, 17 ryots or cultivators, 2 artisans, 7 shopkeepers, 31 clergymen, missionaries, priests, and religious teachers; 59 educationalists, principals and professors of colleges, masters of schools and public lecturers; 6 printers, 18 contractors, &c.”

.If an assembly of about fourteen hundred delegates was con-

stituted as the foregoing figures show it to have been, how, we ask our critics, in the name of common sense and fair play, can they deny it a representative character? Perhaps it was not quite so representative as the House of Commons; perhaps its delegates were not elected on the same democratic principles as prevail at the elections of M.P.s; but it was sufficiently representative of the people of India—a faithful mirror of their varied and multifarious needs and requirements—an assembly in which the principle of national unity was kept up alongside of class diversity; in which men of the East and West, of the far North and the far South met in a brotherly concourse; in which stood realized for a while the poet's dreams of "a golden race on earth of many-linguaged men;"—an assembly which, unlike other popular assemblies, was the guide and instructor, not the flatterer of the unwise and extravagant affections of the masses, and which, while it left open every avenue through which it could commune with the country's heart, took every care that the ignorant prejudices of the people did not in any way deflect the loyal and constitutional course of its proceedings.

I think it is creditable rather than otherwise to the Congress that it is under the guidance and control of the educated classes, because it must be borne in mind that it is the educated who have gained most from the British rule, whose mental and moral regeneration depends upon its permanence and duration, and whom every dictate of morality, as well as every consideration of policy, impels to stick to it with unswerving allegiance and loyalty. It would thus appear that any movement which is supported by the educated classes must, as a matter of course, be loyal and conducive to the best interests of the Empire. The Indian masses are impulsive, although not more so than the masses of other countries; they have got certain strong prejudices against the present rule; and the fact that they have put themselves under the guidance of the instructed class is a happy augury for the future. It is easy to under-rate the influence of education and intelligence upon the political fortunes of India, and to talk of a "microscopic minority," which, compared with the vast population, is but a drop in the ocean; but if the English people could once realize the hold that this minority has upon the popular mind—the influence which it exerts upon the eddying current of opinion; the check, the curb, the moderating power which it applies to the explosive passions of the uninstructed, and the silent, but steady, efforts with which it is training them for a more-advanced public life—they would see that the educated classes (classes educated under English guidance) are not busy, like the blind Jewish hero, in pulling down an edifice which may prove their own destruction, but are engaged in a work which is at once loyal and patriotic—a work the successful completion of which would prove that even for a conquered people, living under a foreign



Government, loyalty and patriotism are not incompatible, but reconcilable with each other; that the Indians may be loyal to a Government which has emancipated them from the bonds of ignorance, and patriotic to their own country in the sense of never resting in their endeavours so long as her grievances have not been completely redressed, and her just and legitimate rights won. It is a happy sign of the times that, through the diffusion of the Congress-literature in England, a fresh and lively interest in Indian matters has been created in the minds of the English people; that, along with the growth of this knowledge and interest, the heart of England is beginning to beat in unison with our hearts; and that, like the Gulf Stream, which imparts a genial warmth to the cold climate of England, a new stream of international sympathies is beginning to flow, which has even now removed, in a measure, the cold indifference of the English mind towards Indian questions, and will, in course of time, impart warmth and glow to the zeal and energy with which British statesmen and the British public will, it is to be hoped, throw themselves into the cause of Indian Political Reform.

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LUCKNOW,  
*August 10th, 1899.*

## HOME AFFAIRS.

THE month has been less productive of change than some recent ones, spite of the great caucus meetings at Nottingham and Manchester. There has been an attempt, it is true, by our opponents to set forth a programme, but it was not a striking success, and, as for our own party, the Federation meetings at Manchester developed only in some few details the programme of work laid down by Lord Rosebery and Mr. John Morley in November, and noticed at length in our last article. It will be necessary, however, to say something in particular on both the party caucuses. As for other matters, the great project of a National party to be constructed by the fusion of the Unionist factions has been a good deal discussed. The Tories, it must be said, have shown more anxiety to bring it about, probably owing to a hint from head-quarters. At Nottingham they carried a resolution by an overwhelming majority in favour of fusion, but carefully suggesting the retention of Lord Salisbury as "the natural head" of the consolidated forces. The Prime Minister himself was more generous, and again offered to stand aside in favour of Lord Hartington, who might become Prime Minister if it would help to the realization of the project. But, whilst going so far, Lord Salisbury took Mr. Goschen's view, that a National party must be matter of growth; it could not be created by the mere *ipse dixit* of any body of men sitting either at Nottingham or in Downing Street. This is sound sense, but it does not commend itself to the impatient folk in the Tory party, who are anxious to complete every preparation for a general election. The *Standard* newspaper has, in particular, made itself the champion of this new movement, and we have had a series of appeals and reproaches addressed by "the old lady of Shoe Lane" to Lord Hartington which have been sufficiently amusing. The noble Marquis has ostentatiously ignored the *Standard*, and with magnificent phlegm has spoken as if he had never read either the speech of the Prime Minister, the resolution of the National Union of Conservative Associations, or any one of the multitude of addresses which have touched upon this very interesting matter.

It would seem, indeed, as if Lord Hartington were in something like a dilemma. He cannot be waiting to consult Mr. Chamberlain, since the member for West Birmingham initiated the movement by his

speech at Huddersfield in October; and if the noble Marquis had made up his mind against fusion, his natural courage would surely lead him to say as much. Hence we must conclude that he is considering the proposal—carefully looking round it and attempting to gauge its possible results. It is a matter which deserves careful examination by Lord Hartington above all men. The Tories cannot lose by it; Mr. Chamberlain has no longer anything to lose whatever direction he may take; but Lord Hartington—well, he has not forfeited the respect of his old friends. One thing must weigh with him somewhat. Fusion to him means entering the Government, and another election in Rossendale. Lord Hartington's return would be a very doubtful matter if a strong local man were to come out against him. Quite recently, however, the gentleman on whom the local Liberals were relying to do battle for them, has found that his health will not permit him to enter on a parliamentary career, and has declined to stand. Lord Hartington, speaking at Bacup since, dwelt with a certain pride on the fact that no one was willing to enter the lists against him, and, if he were to seize the present opportunity to join Lord Salisbury, the unpreparedness of the Rossendale Liberals might secure his re-election. But nobody knows better than the leader of the Liberal Unionists how doubtful is his hold on the constituency, and a defeat, of course, would be serious, not alone for himself, but for the Government. The risk must, however, be taken if the National party is to have its natural development, since, once the fusion is accomplished, Lord Hartington cannot remain outside the Cabinet. He would probably decline the Premiership, and take the lead of the House of Commons as First Lord of the Treasury, *vice* Mr. Smith called up to the Peers. This would settle the rival claims of Mr. Goschen and Mr. Balfour for the first place in the Commons, and would not offend Conservative susceptibilities concerning the aforesaid "natural head," so that it would have obvious advantages over any other arrangement.

To go back for a moment to Lord Hartington's attitude upon this matter, we must, however, confess to a strong belief that his examination of the *pros* and *cons* of the question will lead him to put aside as dangerous the invitations which have recently been so persistently thrown out to him. He has to think, not of himself, but of his seventy followers, and nothing could more certainly ensure the extinction of these gentlemen at the next general election. The Scotch brigade of Liberal Unionists, for instance, coming up for re-election as members of "the National and Constitutional party," would go down like nine-pins before the action of the sturdy Scottish Liberalism. Lord Hartington himself could hardly commit suicide, but he could, and must, annihilate his friends in taking them over to the Tory benches. The remark will, no doubt, be made that whether Lord Hartington moves or not, the result will not greatly vary at the general

election. Quite true; we believe it thoroughly; but Lord Hartington's personal responsibility will be infinitely less, and he may decline to take a step which will only add to the risks of his followers while placing upon his own shoulders the intolerable burden of decision. A few weeks, at any rate, must put the matter at rest for a considerable period. Any changes in the Government consequent on "fusion" will certainly be heard of this side the meeting of Parliament, now definitely fixed for the 11th of February.

Of the two party caucuses, the most interesting by far to the political student was that at Nottingham. We know very much what our own friends will say and do, but the enemy—he may, and often does, surprise us. It is significant of the difference in the two parties that Lord Salisbury gives the time to his followers, whereas, in our own case, the time is often given by the rank and file to our leaders. Hence, if we want to know what the Tory party will do, we must go to the speech of its chief—not to the action of that most foolish and futile of conferences held by the "National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations." At Nottingham Lord Salisbury delivered nearly a round dozen of speeches, the chief of which were quite in his best style. He found consolation for his recent defeats at the polls in the French general election, which, as we know, has gone "dead against" the earlier sporadic pronouncements in favour of General Boulanger. This, he thought, was "a good omen," and he asked his friends to take courage. Yet the noble Marquis is not too confident. It seems now that the last election did not "definitely settle" the Home Rule Question, as he has hitherto insisted. On the contrary, "we are fighting a great campaign which will last not only during the present Parliament, but probably for the next and the next, and many Parliaments beyond." Elsewhere Lord Salisbury told us significantly that he relied for the prolongation of the struggle, not upon the House of Commons, but upon "that unreformed and undestroyable assembly," the House of Lords, which would certainly never pass a Home Rule Bill that gave Ireland the exclusive management of her own affairs and at the same time power to meddle in the affairs of Great Britain at Westminster. This is a revelation of Lord Salisbury's mind which is particularly interesting. And it has been received with a joyous shout from our own ranks, who relish nothing better than an encounter with the Upper Chamber upon a question which has once received the popular sanction. As Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Morley have since put it, if the Tories are willing to tack on the reform of the House of Lords to Home Rule "we are ready for them."

Returning to Lord Salisbury, it may be noticed that, apart from Ireland, his chief "note" at Nottingham was the glorification of the beneficent operations of capital. Capital—i.e., private enterprise—

is to bring us all good things in due time. But for this confidence is wanted, and anything which disturbs that confidence is, of course, fatal. Upon this favourite topic Lord Salisbury spent much time, and grew really eloquent, without being altogether convincing. Naturally he objected to the statutory Eight Hours' Working Day, and it must have amused Mr. Morley, who was in other matters sharply taken to task, to see that here the Prime Minister did not scorn to appropriate his effective Newcastle thunder. Lord Salisbury would go no further than to "call the subject to the minds of employers" in the hope that they would ask themselves "whether in their own particular business the hours of work are or are not too long in order to get the fullest fruits from the exertions of their labourers." It ought to have been premised that Lord Salisbury went to Nottingham with many exhortations from the Tory Press, and especially from the *Standard*, his special favourite, as it deserves to be, to give his followers something like a working programme which could be set in opposition to that of our own friends. We read that there was a good deal of uneasiness among Conservative members at the extraordinary reserve of their leaders upon this all-important matter, and that it would never do to let the Radicals make the running as they were doing.

It cannot be said that Lord Salisbury made any proper response to these suggestions. We have seen something of his negative programme; his positive programme was hardly more extensive. He had heard complaints concerning the Allotments Act, and he now confessed to the belief that Parliament ought to "do all it legitimately can do" in order that the benefits of the Act might become universal. It has been said since that Lord Salisbury is now in favour of a Compulsory Allotments Act; but his words are capable of another interpretation, and we are not quite convinced. As to free education—he prefers to call it "assisted education"—he declares it is the natural outcome of education being made compulsory, and says: "I believe it will be possible considerably to extend the principle in England, and very greatly to relieve the difficulties of working-men in that respect. But I consider the question as to its rapidity and progress to be a question for the Chancellor of the Exchequer." Lord Salisbury is cautious here as elsewhere; but, as Mr. Goschen is counting upon a magnificent surplus in April, there will be small excuse for delaying the extension of free education to England and Wales, if not to Ireland, about which latter nothing is said. Of course Lord Salisbury is for retaining the guarantee "that we now possess for religious liberty in the Voluntary schools," by which he aims at something very different from the direct and obvious meaning of the words, and which is better expressed in his subsequent phrase: "If it is to suppress the denominational schools, free education would not be a blessing, but a curse." To help the working-man still further, the State might give facilities for

emigration, but this "is unfortunately a method on which he has been taught by unwise advisers to look with considerable repulsion." As to the housing of the labouring classes, Lord Salisbury made it a reproach to the Liberals that they had not permitted him to give certain London prison sites, "at cost price," to the London workman, quite forgetting, of course, that the whole country had to bear the original cost of those sites, with the cost of the buildings put upon them, and the maintenance of the same for many years. And so depressed is he at his failure in this matter, that he tries to make it out there is now no field for Government action in the matter of workmen's dwellings. The gift "of a member of our party," Sir E. Guinness, is to solve many questions as to the provision of healthy dwellings at prices which the working-classes can afford to pay, and the private capitalist is to do the rest. Unfortunately, certain "moddling philosophers" are seeking to irritate the capitalist, and among other things a number of questions affecting rates and tenures of land are being raised—it is suggested, merely to cause exasperation. Yet Lord Salisbury does not find the idea of placing rates upon owners unsound—if only it goes far enough. Again, as to Mr. Morley's suggestion to rate the capital value of land, the objection will only lie in its partial adoption. We must deal with the great injustice inherent in rates, and settle that at the same time. Next, Lord Salisbury made an announcement of the utmost importance concerning Ireland. Reciting what the Government had done in the way of public works for the sister island, he added, "and we shall do our utmost by a *voluntary* purchase scheme for land to multiply the number of occupiers of land." This must be matter of comment in its proper place. For the moment we continue the recital of the new Tory programme. And we are told further, *à propos* of the House of Lords, that the Government have been anxious to "strengthen the hereditary principle" by the addition of life peers, "but the difficulty has always been found with our Radical opponents." Still, the reform of the House of Lords might do the Constitution a great deal of good; though, as there was only a certain amount of political power, if more of it was given to the House of Lords, there must be less of it for the Commons.

In the foregoing we have all that Lord Salisbury has to say concerning the provision of a domestic policy for his party. It is not a great programme, and, if the truth must be told, it has been received with a considerable amount of disappointment by those Tory members especially who sit for popular constituencies. They fail to find in it an opportunity of dishing the Radicals, and we may be certain that many unofficial attempts will be made to give it extension. Already Lord R. Churchill has written to say that there is nothing, so far as he knows, which will prevent him voting for the principle of an Eight Hours' Parliamentary Working day for miners. He adds sig-

nificantly: "Eight hours' labour, eight hours' sleep, and eight hours for mental and bodily recreation seem to me to be an ideal which a democratic Legislature, in its care for the welfare of the whole people, may wisely and profitably endeavour to aim at." One wonders why Lord Randolph stopped short of the other point in the Charter—"eight shillings a day." And we may be sure further of this—that the attempt to give some extension to Lord Salisbury's meagre programme will have the support of the great body of the Liberal Unionists. Lord Hartington himself is naturally sluggish, but at Bacup the other day he offered the co-operation of his friends in the more advanced schemes of the Opposition, provided they did not offend against Mr. Morley's excellent definition of the possible and the impossible Socialism which was quoted in our December article. At any rate, he said the Liberal Unionists would give them an impartial and careful examination. As for the efforts of the Nottingham caucus to "draw" Lord Salisbury on, they were sufficiently ludicrous. The question of Fair Trade, after being endorsed at Oxford, was "shunted" at Nottingham, or, in other words, referred to the council of the Union; and upon an important recommendation for "a free breakfast-table" the chairman took care that no vote should be taken. "In deference to the manifest wish of the delegates," the question of woman's suffrage was also withdrawn from discussion. *Per contra*, the Government were asked to do that which it was pretty certain they would do—to re-introduce the Tithes Bill and the Land Transfer Bill. But the caucus made no suggestion as to extending the scope of the former Bill, which was admittedly insufficient; and in reference to the other, they merely asked that it should have "any desirable amendments" brought to the surface in recent discussion. For the rest, the Conference confined itself to discussing questions of tactics and of the propaganda, so that its contribution to the formation of a "platform" was not heavy. The delegates were too discreet, also, to criticize the shortcomings of their "natural head," and left this to the Ulster tenant-righters, who are furious at a "voluntary" land purchase scheme.

So much for the attempts to formulate a Conservative programme. If we say less of the counter effort at Manchester, it is because the thing was as good as done before the National Liberal Federation meetings took place. We do not know that they added a single important point to the charter set out by Lord Rosebery at Bristol and by Mr. Morley at the recent Eighty Club dinner. Mr. Gladstone professedly leaves to his lieutenants the arrangement of a purely domestic programme, but he touched briefly upon its leading heads. One question has probably received some little impetus from him, since he distinctly spoke of the necessity of "provisions in the direction of Home Rule for Scotland and Wales"; and he aroused general enthusiasm by a declaration that Scotch and Welsh Disestablish-

ment had "been so long in the public eye and the public mind, that there can be no reason why Parliament should not give its judgment upon it." Again, the right hon. gentleman created a flutter of interest by announcing very mysteriously that he had "a little business of his own to transact" in the way of currency reform. The nature of his scheme was, however, not revealed to us. Mr. Gladstone awaits his opportunity, which will, no doubt, come with the next general election. As to the proposals of the assembled delegates in the direction of a home programme, we need but note that, whilst they were sufficiently comprehensive, they did not include two things—the provision of meals for school-children out of public money, or the Eight Hours' Working Day. The Metropolitan Liberal and Radical Association made an attempt to get a hearing for this last craze, but were ruled out of order, and we have heard a good deal since (in London) of the "sham" involved in the Conference. For ourselves, we venture to think that the conduct of the Conference in this matter was the highest proof of wisdom, and that the sham lies in quite another direction. We have plenty of work to do without encumbering ourselves with useless and dangerous enterprises of this sort.

The appearance of the Liberal leader at Manchester, surrounded by all his lieutenants, produced something more than the old enthusiasm. Those who were present say there was the clear presage of victory in the air. The pulse was distinctly higher than at any meeting since 1885. From all parts of Great Britain the report was the same—that the battle of Home Rule was won in the constituencies. All the same, Mr. Gladstone thought it right to clinch the matter. He had nothing particularly new to say on the Irish Question, but he exposed afresh and with extraordinary lucidity the dangers to public liberty in the present *régime*, and pleaded hard that "the whole spirit of government and administration should be changed." One point perhaps deserves preserving—where, referring to the Maryborough trials, and to "the gross and cruel insult" put upon Father McFadden in the charge of murder made against him, he alluded to the conduct of the Irish Attorney-General on that occasion as "being hardly within the bounds of decency or propriety." Yet "that Attorney-General has been rewarded for his mode of conducting this public business by being appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland, and, when this course of proceeding goes on, we are to think it hard that the Irish have not the same affection as you have, and do not place the same unlimited confidence as you happily are able to place, in the entire body of judges of the land." These observations created some stir in Government circles, but it is remarkable how little the rank and file of the Unionist factions are disposed to make public allusion to them. Clearly they do not like the appointment of "Pether, the



Packer " to the highest place in the judgment-seat in Ireland. To have done with the Manchester meetings, let it be said further that Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, and Sir Charles Russell (the latter as the hero of the Special Commission) had each of them the most gratifying popular reception, and that Sir William repaid this by a speech to the Conference of delegates which was one of the wittiest and brightest that even he has ever delivered. As to the success of the Conference proper there can be no question, since the irate Welsh contingent went away soothed and satisfied. A final word must be said of the Women's Liberal Federation, which was simultaneously in conference. The ladies show less acute division of opinion, and a keener desire to get at the secret of effective political work, than their congeners of the other sex, and we have the highest hopes concerning their usefulness at a general election. Mrs. Gladstone's presence in Manchester was on this side hardly less inspiring than that of her husband on the other. Then it was pleasant to find that, when the political demonstration was practically over, a Liberal Unionist mayor could seize the opportunity to honour a distinguished statesman, whilst affording him the opportunity of speaking upon non-controversial subjects to men of all parties, so that everybody who cared got to see or hear Mr. Gladstone. This is as it should be. We are ourselves keen politicians, but we should esteem it a pleasure of the highest order to hear an address from Lord Salisbury, say, upon some of those scientific or speculative questions upon which he is so competent an authority.

In the week when the Federation was at Manchester, Mr. Balfour was touring in Scotland. Of four speeches delivered by the Chief Secretary one only need be mentioned here. It was spoken to a select audience at Partick, in Lanarkshire, and dealt exclusively with the question of Catholic University Education in Ireland. It was a particularly able performance, designed, as it seems to us, to give Mr. Balfour the opportunity of making decent escape from a position into which he had blundered without due consideration of its overwhelming difficulties. Having first minimized afresh the meaning of his language in Parliament at the end of last session, the Chief Secretary laid down three conditions without which it would be impossible to attempt to deal with the higher Catholic education in Ireland. First, that the Irish Catholics must accept without reserve what the Government might offer; next, that the Opposition should not use the proposals of the Government as a weapon of offence against them; and, finally, that the three kingdoms generally should concur in approving the boon offered to the Irish Catholics. Mr. Balfour admitted that none of these conditions was fulfilled, and a careful examination of his speech shows that he has not much faith in their ultimate realization. Yet his scheme is, after all, not of the heroic

order. He explained that he had never been disposed to offer the Irish Catholics a degree-giving university exclusively for Catholics, and certainly he would never have proposed to endow chairs of theology either for Catholics or Protestants. But he thought that a Catholic college, whence candidates should be admitted on equal terms with the students of Protestant colleges to some common university, should be endowed with ample resources for teaching in the best way. And he would do the same for the Presbyterians in Queen's College, Belfast. All this is very plausible and very clever, but one cannot help asking why Mr. Balfour did not say something about his three conditions when he first opened the matter. It would have been more honest and straightforward. As it is, he has merely raised the glass of water to a thirsty man, and then dashed it from his lips. Mr. Gladstone was not far wrong when he said of Mr. Balfour's conduct in this matter—before the speech at Partick—that it was probably the shabbiest of all the shabby acts of this shabby Government. For ourselves, we should be glad if we could see our way to give a lift to the higher Catholic education in Ireland, but, as we are resolutely opposed to helping any of the denominations out of the public purse, we are not much disposed to regret that Mr. Balfour has burnt his fingers in this matter. The Orangemen and the Presbyterians have scared him, and they have, as it seems, by their own action deprived themselves of help at Belfast.

Mr. Parnell has made interesting public appearances at Nottingham and Liverpool. At both places his speeches were marked by a singular moderation of tone; and his reception was that of one who had been triumphantly victorious over a host of foes. The Irish leader was good enough to explain for the special benefit of the *Times* how it was that his Migration Company had stopped work. The Company, of course, wanted land to create new "colonies," but the landlords boycotted it, and thrice it failed to get the particular estate which had been selected. Then it was obliged to take what it could get, and it was found that the estate was unsuitable, and that the price paid had been much too high. Still, something was done in planting afresh a number of farmers crushed out by the pressure in the congested districts of Galway and Mayo, and it was only when it was found that the enterprise did not pay that the Company suspended operations. Obviously it could not be expected to go on at the risk of bankruptcy, yet the *Times* sneers at the effort, and foolishly compares it with the enterprises of the Government, in which, without any fear of the Insolvent Court, money is wasted like water. Mr. Parnell also made a little revelation on another matter. He had been much pressed, he said, during the present Irish controversy to demand the restoration of Grattan's Parliament. For this, at any rate, there was historical evidence, and it could hardly be denied that the Irish might legitimately ask

for that which they had already enjoyed. But he declined to put forward this demand, and mainly for this reason: that Grattan's Parliament had too much power—quite a dangerous power—of meddling in imperial affairs, whilst it had no proper and adequate authority in purely Irish concerns. The Irish Ministers had no responsibility to Parliament, and could be kept in their places just so long as it pleased the Sovereign. Every politician knows how thoroughly true this is, and for ourselves we heartily sympathize with Mr. Parnell's still lingering preference for the original Home Rule Bill of 1886. As to the present position of affairs in Ireland, the Irish leader spoke confidently of the prospects of the new Tenants' Defence Association, and pointed with a certain pride to the fact that, whilst the city of Dublin had had great success with a  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. loan, Belfast had had something like a failure with a  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. loan. This does not look as if the capitalist is really afraid of a Home Rule Bill. Of the Special Commission, Mr. Parnell said comparatively little, but naturally what he did say was sufficiently emphatic, and it is clear there will be warm work when the Report is discussed in Parliament. It is quite understood that the Government will be asked to complete the inquiry by the appointment of a Committee to ascertain the source of the moneys which went to the production of the Pigott forgeries, and that with this there will be a serious attempt to connect the Government and the *Times*. Much information has lately come into the hands of the Irish party on both these matters. At Liverpool Mr. Parnell was presented with a cheque for £3500, the amount locally subscribed for the expenses of the defence before the Special Commission, and it is pleasant to know that the aggregate amount of the subscriptions in various parts of the country has been fully equal to the drafts upon the fund.

Passing to Ireland, we find Mr. William O'Brien again at liberty after serving his full term in Galway gaol. It could never have been expected that he would seek to escape the latter half of his sentence by giving sureties for good behaviour, and the proposal of the committing magistrates was a mere mockery. It must be agreeable to the ex-prisoner to find that the bantling which he brought into the world at Tipperary has, during his seclusion, grown into a fine and healthy child. The Tenants' Defence Association has not as yet had much opportunity of showing what it is capable of, but funds are rolling into its coffers, and already there is a sum of £16,000 available for fighting the landlords in the courts. As for the landlords, they have lately denied, through the mouth of the Duke of Abercorn, that they have any intention of cheating the tenants of the advantages given them by the statute. As to this, facts must be allowed to speak for themselves, and the friends of the Irish tenants speak very differently. Certainly it cannot be denied that the Land-

lords' Association has done its best to keep up rents by supplying funds to enable owners to fight the Plan of Campaign. We should not be disposed to say anything on this head, if there had not, at the same time, been a steady refusal to go to arbitration when the tenants themselves were willing and anxious. It is the "note" of the new Tenants' Defence Association that to get the help of the League the tenant must be ready to accept arbitration, and it would be a happy thing for Ireland if the landlords under the Plan of Campaign would even now respond to the invitation of Archbishop Walsh and meet their tenants in some independent court. Unfortunately, the landlords are more interested in secretly aiding the "planting" of Protestant colonies on "evicted" estates, and in openly seeking their own interests in stipulating for a voluntary land purchase scheme and advances of public moneys at a low rate of interest to meet their private necessities. It would seem, however, that the "plantation" business is not the success it might be. The Coolgreaney colony, which has been held up as a wonderful achievement, turns out to be a wholly "bogus" affair. Some twenty tenants have over one hundred farms; certain of the occupants are ex-Emergency men and the like; they have all of them the free use of the land for a year; and in many cases the cattle on the farms have been purchased by advances made from a fund raised by Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., and his friends. This is colonization *pour rire*. In the other matter of a Land Purchase Bill, the landlords have been more successful. The *Times* confesses that Mr. Balfour has surrendered to them. He wanted, it is thought, at least to make the Bill compulsory in the congested districts of the West. This would have been something, but then the Bill would not have pleased Ulster, since Ulster would have been excluded. And Ulster protests furiously that a compulsory purchase scheme is necessary for it—in fact, that it will have it, or know the reason why. We entirely sympathize in this demand. The Ulster tenant farmers have stood by their landlords with an amazing fidelity, but it is clear that this fact makes against the chance that they will become the owners of their holdings under any voluntary purchase scheme. They want a statutory right of purchase, and to that they are, in our opinion, fully entitled.

We shall probably hear much of a case tried at the recent Liverpool Assizes, in which two farmers of County Louth were found guilty of boycotting at the Salford cattle market, and sentenced by Mr. Justice Grantham to three months' hard labour. The Unionist journals trumpet abroad this conviction as demonstrating absolutely that the law is, after all, the same both for England and Ireland. But we all know that there is boycotting and boycotting. And we wonder whether it would be possible in England for a party of police to go to certain shopkeepers, and, on a general refusal to supply goods, set

up a successful prosecution for conspiracy against the traders. Yet this is the sort of thing which has been repeatedly punished in Ireland, not by a judge of assize, who is a competent lawyer, but by the courts of summary jurisdiction, often constituted of a couple of policemen or as many ex-army officers.

The labour movements during the month have been many and important. The London bakers have had a complete triumph, as they deserved; the London gas-stokers have been as badly beaten. And we regret that we cannot add a full expression of sympathy.\* The men were offered splendid terms both as to hours and pay, together with a profit-sharing scheme which promised substantial results, but because the Gas Company wanted a *quid pro quo* in the shape of a twelve months' agreement (subsequently reduced to three months) the union leaders elected for a strike. The existence of the union was at stake, or, rather, the sacred right of striking, since a strike after three months' notice given could have no chance of success. To secure a right which they did not want to use—being more than satisfied with the concessions given to them—the men have thrown themselves out of employment at the very worst time of the year, and find their places filled, so that they cannot hope to return to them. A more lamentable exhibition of ineptitude we do not remember. In our opinion, the officers of the union are seriously to blame. At Manchester and Salford the gas-stokers have been equally well beaten by the municipalities. Here, again, the men have been shockingly misled by their leaders, and Mr. John Burns, who went down to their assistance, must bear some part of the responsibility for what has happened. There was perhaps less excuse for the strike than for that in London. Happily, there is hope that many of the men will get back to their places, and meantime the generous Manchester public is succouring their starving families.

We note, in conclusion, two very dissimilar facts—that the Tories and Liberal Unionists of Edinburgh have found a candidate to oppose Mr. Gladstone at the next election, and that Mr. Browning, the poet, long neglected in life, is in death to have his apotheosis by burial in Westminster Abbey.

February 1894

## GOVERNMENT BY CHIEF CLERKS.

BUREAUCRACY and centralization are modern words of ponderous sound and of grave import. For some years there has been a tendency in England to widen the area of government. The complaint used to be that the dominant policy was *laissez-faire*. This phrase was dinned into the ears of the long-suffering public, until it came to have a meaning terrible in proportion to its vagueness. Mellifluous sentences and schorous phrases help to govern the world. Having let matters alone too long, we rushed, as is our wont, to the opposite extreme. We began to interfere with and to control almost everything, in a way that has provoked a cry of grandmotherly legislation. Probably there was an exaggerated reproach in the former case. Certainly the existing tendency is not devoid of danger. Philosophers have indulged in endless disputations—characterized by the meekness and sweetness that always prevail in philosophical arguments—as to the dew-point. Social economists, amateur legislators, and the official circles have not yet settled where the responsibility of the individual ends and where that of the strange entity called the Government begins. We are in no danger at present of erring on the side of neglect. The German ideal seems to be attractive with some. They would like to have everything regulated by an unbending official standard, from the cradle to the grave, in business and pleasure, in education and courtship, in war and industry, in literature and religion, in law and medicine.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, in *A Mortal Antipathy*, describes with graceful felicity the effects of habit and officialism:—"Before the burning house and its unconscious inmates the rector, not unfeeling by nature, but inveterately official by habit, had already recovered enough to be thinking of a text for a funeral sermon. The village undertaker had always been opposed to cremation: there was a funeral pile burning before his eyes. He, too, had his human sympathies, but, in the distance, his imagination pictured the final ceremony, and how he himself should figure in a spectacle where the usual piece of attraction would be wanting—perhaps his own services uncalled for." It is difficult for a man to look beyond his environment, and to detach himself from what is professional or profitable. The twenty thousand clergymen and the forty-two thousand lawyers are prone to imagine that thirty-six millions of

people came into the world for their special benefit. The military and the police are addicted to speaking of everybody else as "civilians," as if they were a separate and inferior order. The official mind is in danger of being given over to a caste feeling, as real and intense as that prevalent in India. An appetite for authority is insatiable in the departments of government. It grows by what it feeds upon. The more grist supplied to the official mill, the more does it want to grind. Pigeon-holes, files, and letter-books are burdened with endless details. Tons of printed and written matter are carried to and sent from Whitehall and its purlieus every year. Information is requested, complaints are forwarded for remarks, interrogatories are administered, grave or petty infractions of Standing Orders are indicated, minutes without end are drafted, schemes are propounded, and rules and regulations laid down. Day by day reams of foolscap paper are covered with rivulets of ink by the official Rhadamanthus in "My Lords desire me to say," and in "having the honour to be," on an endless diversity of topics. About many of these the knowledge possessed by the average official mind may be represented as .

This process goes on with wearisome monotony and prolixity in a score or more of Government departments, some of which find it necessary to correspond at great length with one another, or with different branches of the same office under the same roof. Each document received is annotated by the various functionaries through whose hands it passes, until it reaches that eminent person in the official hierarchy with whom rests its ultimate fate. The rough draft of an answer having thus slowly grown by successive accretions—a sort of patchwork or mosaic—it is finally approved and sent through the same succession of hands to the one whose duty it is to write out the form of a letter or minute. Unless the voluminous correspondence involves something more than is purely mechanical, it does not come under the notice of the titular head. It may not even reach the Permanent Under-Secretary, if there be such a personage in the particular office; but it is dealt with by one of his assistants or by a chief clerk. Once in a while the supreme authority, having an exaggerated sense of the importance of his post, or an insatiable love of detail work, will insist upon seeing all communications, other than those merely formal. He may even dictate or direct the principal replies. There are manifest inconveniences attending such a course, besides the objection that it is a waste of time and energy that might be more profitably employed. A short time suffices for his disenchantment. His Parliamentary duties are sufficiently onerous. There are the claims of the Court and of Society. His correspondence is enormously increased. Cranks and lunatics at large pester him with suggestions, criticisms, and plans. Even if he possesses Herculean strength of mind and

a devouring passion for work, the limits of his tether are soon reached.

Sometimes there arises between him and his subordinates a friction that becomes unendurable. As a rule, whatever his capacity to initiate a new policy, they know better, from long experience, how to carry it into effect. There may be strong reasons, such as have not occurred to him, against a fresh departure, or against some particular method. A wise Minister will pause before inaugurating what is tantamount to a revolution in the office. He will seek the advice and weigh the judgment of experts who have devoted their lives to that particular branch of the public service. It does not follow that they are always in the right. Habit, prejudice, routine, or conceit may influence them, unconsciously. Yet a sagacious statesman will defer to their opinion, and will not make needless antagonisms. Some eminent persons, wholly devoid of tact, have succeeded—perhaps without intending it—in arousing irritation and resistance. The feeling has even bordered upon mutiny among his subordinates. More often a simple *non possumus* is interposed. The effusive, obtruding, and peremptory Minister is left to his own devices. He may want to know, but his thirst for information is not gratified. Awkward questions are put in the House. To answer them, he must depend on the permanent staff. They can make his path easy or thorny. If he persists in carrying out his own schemes in his own way, regardless of precedents, convenience, or possibilities, they can effectually thwart him by severely letting him alone. Official life would then most assuredly be not worth living. Mr. Bright was one of the most popular chiefs during his short tenure, because he never interfered with routine policy. When at the Board of Trade, and as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, he showed no administrative capacity. This was not his fault. He was devoid of the constructive and organizing faculties. He knew this, and did not attempt the impossible. As an agitator and a Tribune of the people, he did a good and needed work. No reproach attaches to him that he could not perform tasks of a different order. He always said that his besetting sin was indolence. He could gird himself for a mighty effort under the spur of necessity, but he chafed in official harness. It was irksome and galling to him. Official papers accumulated in piles, and despatch boxes followed in vain. He hated the drudgery, and rejoiced when the day of emancipation arrived.

The popular notion of a Government office is that the gentlemen engaged therein manage to pass four or five hours daily in pursuits not very engrossing or exhausting, but which are remunerated by a liberal salary, a long vacation, and a pension at fifty, or earlier. It is also commonly supposed that their time, and the office stationery, are largely used in private correspondence, and in contributing to



newspapers and magazines, or in matters relating to the Civil Service Stores—the *bête noire* of the British taxpaying tradesman. It is needless to stay to refute such hallucinations. Those who cherish them are seldom open to conviction. It is sufficient to urge that the various branches of the clerical service in the great departments of State contain gentlemen of high attainments and great administrative capacity, whose zeal and efficiency are well known and justly appreciated. Exception is not taken in this article to any person. No individual portraiture is intended. Criticism is directed, not against any particular class of public servants, or against the body as a whole, but to methods which prevail almost universally. One inevitable effect of the bureaucratic system is to destroy individualism, and to substitute officialism. Nothing angered that most able, but most dogmatic, head of a great office, the late Sir Antonio Panizzi, so much as when any of his subordinates thought or acted for themselves otherwise than within the lines rigidly prescribed for the management of the British Museum. Trollope's character of Sir Huffle Buffle has its counterparts to-day.

Apart from such intricate and costly mechanism as is found in the War Office and in the Admiralty, in the Customs and Inland Revenue, there are certain Departments with which the public has much to do—to its cost. The State has taken charge of a variety of business and social matters, involving the creation of separate or subordinate offices. The mercantile marine, railways, tramways, gas companies, limited liability, patents, trade marks, bankruptcy, harbours, fisheries, river pollution, education, prisons, the police, manufactures, mines, emigration, agriculture, electric lighting, trade and labour statistics, the poor, the imbecile, lunatics, vaccination, science and art, sanitation, meteorology, charities, *et hoc genus omne*, are dealt with, more or less wisely. An army of clerks has to be maintained. Checks, supervision, adjustments, balances, and control without end are exercised. There are wheels within wheels. The Treasury has the power of the purse over all other departments, directly or indirectly. Within its mysterious portals the annual Budget is framed. Those inscrutable but omnipotent documents known as Treasury Minutes, in which "My Lords are pleased to give" their decisions on a great variety of fiscal matters, are the work of unknown but experienced hands. True, the shadow of a board exists, but its members have little, if any, power. Canning used to say that the duties of the Lords of the Treasury were to make a House, to keep a House, and to cheer the Ministers. It is much the same elsewhere. The Secretary of State for India has a Council, the members of which are highly paid, but their functions are purely advisory. He need not defer to their opinions, but can override them if he chooses. The Colonial Office, which rules over our vast dependencies, has not, and never had, the vestige or simu-

lacrum of a Council. The Navy has a Board of Admiralty, changing with every Ministry. Its members are supposed to instruct the First Lord in matters about which he is almost of necessity ignorant or ill-informed. But the relations between him and them are undefined. Virtually he does as he likes, subject only to the criticism of individual Members of Parliament; and to these he becomes pachydermatous. Sometimes, on the principle of placing a round man in a square hole, a First Lord is selected in the process of Cabinet making who may be not uncharitably supposed to be ignorant of the simplest rudiments of naval affairs. *Punch* made great fun of Mr. Goschen getting on his sea-legs when he was appointed head of the Admiralty in 1871, after having been for nearly three years President of the Poor Law Board.

In the Army there is, in addition to the Secretary of State for War, a permanent outside office, popularly called the Horse Guards; to which no resemblance can be found in the military administration of any other country under the sun. If two persons ride on a horse, as Dogberry says, one must be in front; and it is to be presumed that he holds the reins. In the dual control of the Army it is impossible to say whether the Secretary of State drives or not. Collisions are not infrequent between Pall Mall and the office of the Commander-in-Chief, whose post is a patent one, granted by the Sovereign. Serious consequences have resulted from this divided and conflicting jurisdiction, which is an anachronism in the present day, as is the fiction that the Army is a Royal force, or the fact that war can be declared without consulting Parliament. It is also manifestly inconvenient that a Royal Duke should be the virtual head of the military force, subject to the shadowy control of a non-combatant private gentleman, who, in his turn, is supposed to be responsible to Parliament. We have been spending for many years at the rate of sixty pounds a minute, night and day, on our Army and Navy. Yet we are subjected to periodical panics, when more millions are demanded, on the plea that the country and its colonies are in a woful state of defencelessness. Without entering into the general question, we may observe that it has incidental, but important, bearings upon the subject of Government by Chief Clerks.

The whole system of our War administration is faulty and expensive. It is next to impossible to fix responsibility. Waste runs riot. The Commander-in-Chief receives £4500 a year in that capacity, besides £2132 as Colonel of the Grenadier Guards, £12,000 as a member of the Royal family, and sundry emoluments as Ranger of four Parks, with the free use of Gloucester House, Piccadilly. His chief adviser, Lord Wolseley, has £2700 as Adjutant-General, and the Horse Guards Department costs upwards of £68,000 in salaries. Von Moltke, the head of the German Army, receives only £1500 per annum; and no one who knows anything

of that military force will pretend to put the English into comparison with it for efficiency and economy. When examined before the Commission on Army Reorganization, which reported in April 1888, the Duke of Cambridge said,—“I am dead against any change of organization, and therefore I do not see why we” (*i.e.*, the Horse Guards) “are to propose any change that we disapprove of. I disapprove of the change proposed, and therefore it is the business of the other side to show how the change they propose is to be effected.” Such were the contemptuous terms in which the head of the military administration, who has doggedly opposed all reforms in it for nearly forty years, saw fit to speak before a High Court of Investigation. Considering that he has drawn out of the public purse—to say nothing of houses free of rent, rates, and taxes, pasturage, and other unconsidered trifles—a sum approximating to a million of money for his personal use, and is always angrily demanding a more extravagant outlay for the Army, an outburst like the above was indecent and scandalous. There has been no stint of money for military purposes since the Crimean war. What has become of it? The Duke is never weary at civic dinners of proclaiming that we are unprepared for war, and of bragging as to what he would do with some millions more a year. How is it that we are not ready? Who is to blame? We have lavished nine hundred millions on our defences since 1856, and yet we are told with cool effrontery that much more is required.

The fault lies in the system; as has been so often and so loudly proclaimed. The Secretary of State for War and the First Lord of the Admiralty are the nominal heads of their respective departments. In reality, they are at the mercy of subordinates, whose names are for the most part unknown to the public, although they disburse millions annually. There is the semblance of a control that does not exist. Lord Randolph Churchill's Select Commission on the Army Estimates reported in 1888 that accounts are examined at the War Office with such cautious minuteness and with such pedantic rigidity, that “an inquiry as to the expenditure of four shillings and seven pence bore eight or nine signatures upon it, and was not fully disposed of until six months after the payment was made.” Endless letters were said to be written about trifles—*e.g.*, a charge of a shilling for a cab, a bill of two-and-sixpence for candles, a rent in a soldier's jacket, and a missing nosebag. Clerks are paid high salaries to devote themselves laboriously to the elucidation of these microscopic matters, while leakage goes on to the tune of hundreds of thousands. Some such plan will have to be adopted as is pursued before the Committees specially appointed by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States. High officials must be called before large and competent Committees of the House of Commons, and required by documentary

evidence and by oral testimony to establish the demands made for the public service, and rigidly to account for the last year's outlay. The existing mode of discussing the Estimates in Committee of the whole House is perfunctory and delusive. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer is preparing his Budget, he calls to his aid the responsible heads of the Revenue Departments, and is largely guided by their advice. In renewing Exchequer Bills or in conducting any great and delicate financial operation, he is fortified with the opinion and has the experience of able persons in the Treasury and in the National Debt Office. Mr. Gladstone has repeatedly expressed his obligations to these skilled advisers. Why should not every branch of the public service be carried out on similar lines? The ideal of the late Mr. James Wilson would then be approximately attained.

The Privy Council exercises varied and far-reaching powers, but it is altogether out of date, and is not in touch with modern requirements. Enormous authority is exercised by the permanent officials as a matter of routine duty. In theory, of course, all its edicts are supposed to emanate from the Royal presence, and the form is gone through of solemnly proclaiming them in the *Gazette* in the usual archaic phraseology. As a matter of fact, three or four members of the august body meet about ten or twelve times in a year for a few minutes. The object is to sanction and register decrees already prepared by the officials in conformity with sacred precedents. All the reverberating thunder of Proclamations and Orders in Council "by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty," is manufactured in rooms and by hands unknown to the public. The supposed bolts of Jove are launched with accompaniments that impose only on the uninitiated. Orders in Council relate, *inter alia*, to such matters as the ratification of measures passed by Colonial Legislatures, the forms which give effect to Treaties, the extension of the periods of patent rights, the proclamation of ports and fairs, the creation of ecclesiastical districts, exemptions from the law of mortmain, the granting of charters of Incorporation to new boroughs, subject to representations from the Local Government Board, and of charters to Joint Stock Companies. With regard to the last named functions, the powers claimed and exercised are so wide as to constitute a danger. It is still possible to authorize a monopoly prejudicial to the public welfare. In the decaying days of the last Session of Parliament, a futile attempt was made to exact a promise from the First Lord of the Treasury that a Charter then about to be granted to certain persons, giving them exceptional powers as a trading corporation in Africa, should not proceed without further inquiry and the imposition of reasonable safeguards. The troubles, the scandals, the wars, and the losses caused by the old charters of the East India Company, and, in a smaller degree, by that of the Hudson's Bay Company, would have been impossible under the

restraints of publicity and discussion prior to the creation of such mercantile monopolies. Some of the duties performed and the powers exercised by the Privy Council have been transferred in recent times to Committees within itself, or to subsidiary bodies. The Judicial Committee deals with certain cases of law appeals, and notably with ecclesiastical matters: to the great scandal of the clerical order, many of whom, while hysterically boasting of their superior loyalty, absolutely refuse to recognize the tribunal. They want to enjoy the emoluments of their office without submitting to correlative restraints. The Board of Trade was originally an offshoot of the Privy Council, as is the newly constituted Board of Agriculture. This has been formed to take over specific duties relating to the supervision of animals, the collection of farming statistics, and similar matters, with the functions heretofore discharged by the land Commission for England. It will concern itself with somewhat varied administrative work, from diseases of farming stock and the commutation of tithe, to the public health of Scotland.

The Committee of Council on Education is nominally controlled by the Vice-President, who is usually known as the Minister for Education, and is responsible to the House of Commons. But he cannot have more than a perfunctory acquaintance with the work of this great office. Sometimes one who has entered upon such duties late in life or, at any rate, after middle age, like Mr. Mundella, imagines that he has mastered the situation, and possesses a kind of diluted omniscience. This is a harmless lunacy, and it deceives no one. The right hon. gentleman has recently engaged in controversy with the Bishop of Salisbury, who, with the clergy of that city, is bent upon keeping out a School Board. The clergy hate it, under the pretence that it gives a "godless education," but really because of the control of the ratepayers. Mr. Mundella charges the Education Department with straining its powers, or with deliberately delaying their exercise, in order to assist the Bishop in his mediæval scheme. In particular, Mr. Mundella alleges that two British, or unsectarian, schools have been closed in Salisbury by the connivance, if not by the express action, of the Department. When he was at its head a similar course is said to have been pursued at St. Albans. This statement rests on the authority of the Rev. William Urwick, who wrote to the *Daily News* on January 2. Doubtless Mr. Mundella knew nothing of this specific matter. It is not mentioned here in the way of censure, but as an illustration of a system. The Vice-President of the Council does not control the Education Department. The real authorities are upstairs out of sight. Their names are seldom heard, and their hand is rarely seen, but they pull the wires to which thousands of puppets respond. The Permanent Secretary and his array of clerks and inspectors spread a network over England and Wales as their co-related functionaries do over Scotland and

Ireland. They are virtually irresponsible. Within somewhat elastic limits they are left to their own devices in carrying out the traditional policy.

The Code, over which there is such incessant wrangling and snarling by professional teachers and rival sects, is the work of the interior office. Its staff daily receives and digests, more or less completely, piles of documents, and other piles are issued in reply. Every letter is supposed to be written with the sanction of "My Lords," who have never seen or heard of it, and who meet, if at all, only at irregular intervals. Local school managers and elected School Boards have the course marked out in which they should go. If they deviate, there is always in reserve the rod of the Government Grant, which may be diminished or withheld if the rules are infringed. Whether the country receives value for the six millions expended upon education out of the taxes—to say nothing of nearly seven millions expended by School Boards, and the half million disbursed through the Science and Art Department—is a matter on which diversity of opinion is allowable. The standards of examinations are certainly not chargeable with undue severity, apart from the technical and pedantic tricks in which all inspectors seem to delight. The fault is in the system and in the office traditions. It is also a grave question how long existing inconvenient methods should be permitted of raising the cost of education, partly by taxes, partly by local rates, partly by school fees, and, to a very limited extent, by what are called "voluntary subscriptions," which, however, bear a miserably small proportion to the sums derived from public sources. According to the last return, the Grant was £1,874,315, the school fees were £1,240,289, and the subscriptions by donors only £745,340. In other words, for every shilling thus contributed, the local managers—i.e., virtually the clergy—had the control of four shillings more. Yet they have the effrontery to call them "voluntary schools."

The Secretary of State for the Home Department is a kind of Cabinet maid-of-all-work. Just as miscellaneous and incongruous duties have been devolved upon Boards of Guardians because no other local authority existed or was available at the time, so the Home Office has been made to perform functions that could not conveniently be imposed elsewhere. The Home Secretary needs to be a universal genius. He has to act as a general-utility-man to the Cabinet and the country. He fills the post which the Minister of the Interior occupies in France: in addition, he is the Minister of Justice. In this capacity he is supposed to advise the Crown as to remitting the death penalty or in granting what is called "a free pardon" to some one proved wholly innocent of a crime for which there has been a wrongful conviction. Until a few years ago the local gaols were controlled by justices of the peace; they are now under the jurisdiction of the Prisons Board, which is a branch of the

Home Office. Reformatories, Industrial Schools, and the County and Borough Police come within its purview. It has also the sole control of the army of 16,000 disciplined men who form the Metropolitan Police Force. The Home Secretary is responsible for the carrying out of numerous regulations, which the wisdom, or the folly, of the Legislature has seen fit to make for licensed public houses, for mines and factories, for fisheries and explosives, for municipal bye-laws and public carriages, for reformatory and industrial schools, for anatomy, for burials and cruelty to animals, and for other heterogeneous matters. To acquit himself of these intricate and bewildering duties he is provided with a large staff of clerks and with upwards of one hundred inspectors. The cost of his office and branches is upwards of a million annually. He is of necessity dependent upon subordinates. The actual control of millions of people is in their hands. They make, or approve of, or repudiate and set aside bye-laws, rules, regulations, and restrictions by the thousand, and issue, in the name of their chief, orders having all the force of an Eastern Pasha's peremptory decrees.

The Board of Trade and Plantations—to accord its full and ancient title—ought to be a Ministry of Commerce. As a Board it is purely hypothetical. Its *ex-officio* members include the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Secretaries of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and others, but they never meet in this capacity. As a matter of fact, when the Board of Trade is spoken of, it means, not a Committee of Privy Council, subject to which it theoretically exercises its powers, but merely the President, supplemented by the Secretaries and the official staff. Like the Home Office, it has had thrust upon it a number of duties by the rapid development of modern industry and science. It has a Harbour Department, others for Marine Affairs, for Railways, for Finance, for Bankruptcy, for Emigration, and other purposes. Each of these has its separate and independent heads, nominally subordinate to the President and the Parliamentary Secretary, who know little or nothing of the business, and to the Permanent Secretary, who may or may not be an efficient chief. Unfortunately, the system of chance selection, or patronage and favouritism, that pervades the higher offices in all branches of the State is no guarantee of competency.

The Postmaster-General is the ostensible head of his great department, with its battalions of postmasters, clerks, sorters, letter-carriers, telegraph operators, and messengers, exceeding 100,000 in all. Sometimes, but very rarely, as in the case of the late Mr. Fawcett, he leaves his mark by inaugurating a distinct and notable improvement. As a rule, his personality is not felt. He is soon made to understand that he knows nothing of the arcana of St. Martin's le Grand, and must not attempt to meddle with things

foreordained, fixed, and determined. Nowhere is tradition so strong and centralization so rampant. The Post Office has become a lucrative source of revenue. The object of the Treasury is to make it yield as large a net profit as possible. For the year that ended March 31 last, this amounted to £3,335,000. An incidental and subsidiary object is to collect and deliver the correspondence of the nation. Every measure of reform, and every improved or cheapened method, have been extorted when dogged resistance was no longer possible. Change means expense, at least in the first instance. This involves diminution of profit, at any rate for a time. The chief clerks who rule the Treasury will not sanction anything being done by the chief clerks who rule the Post Office, if it is likely to interfere with a steady flow of a large surplus into the Exchequer. Throughout the annual reports issued in the name of the Postmaster-General there runs a tone of self-enlogium. There is also a lofty and supercilious air of patronage towards the public, as if a great favour were being conferred in the transmission of the mails. The prevalent idea seems to be that the nation is a congeries of atoms, to be manipulated for the special benefit of the Post Office. The endless petty rules and restrictions laid down in the "Quarterly Postal Guide" demonstrate this. The sender of a letter is required to perform part of the work of sorting, by affixing the district initials, and by placing it in one of several receptacles. The penalty attaching to neglect is the probable delay of his communication. A letter insufficiently stamped is charged in double the amount of the difference. This applies whether it is wholly unpaid or only in part. But if posted from one address to another it is charged a single rate for being forwarded, although a letter from abroad is transmitted free of further charge, to a second address.

Why this inconsistency? In the United States letters are transmitted to repeated addresses without any additional cost. The innocent receiver in this country is fined eightpence if some one is so foolish or ignorant as to send a letter containing coin, however small. Post-cards, newspapers, and book-packets are almost invariably kept back to a later delivery. In America and Canada printed matter dispatched from the publishing offices is charged at a gross rate for the entire bulk, so that the cost is inappreciable on each separate paper or magazine. Frivolous, vexatious, and pedantic rules obtain in England with regard to what is and what is not printed matter, and whether a periodical publication is or is not a newspaper, and as to what constitutes a circular. The regulations as to Money Orders and for payments by telegraph—fifteen years after the plan was adopted in America—seem framed for the express purpose of giving trouble and annoyance. Complaints are as useless as those addressed to a railroad company, or to any corporate body. The Post Office is never at fault. Its ways are absolutely perfect.



The methods pursued are the concentration of official wisdom, vigilantly guarded and sacredly transmitted. Memorials and remonstrances are vain, unless some autocrat of a travelling surveyor sees fit to concede a demand. The usual reply is that "the department does not see any need for a change," or "the department is not prepared to grant the concession." There is a hidden meaning in words. They are sometimes used unconsciously, and reveal the secret feeling behind. That word concession is suggestive. It denotes that anything done for or given to "the public," in return for heavy taxes, or for arbitrary charges, is a favour that may be granted or withheld at the caprice of the servants of the public. In like manner the British Museum officials state in the Annual Report of the Trustees that a certain number of persons have been "permitted" to visit the collections, or to make use of the reading rooms, and this respecting a building belonging to and supported by the nation!

It is well to illustrate this by a specific case, typical of many. The Parliamentary borough of Croydon has grown within twenty-five years from a population of 60,000 to very nearly 100,000. The business in letters has increased in like manner. Yet there are only four deliveries of letters daily, as there were a quarter of a century ago. The last delivery is at 7 P.M.: Letters posted at any of the London receiving offices after 3.45, or at the General Post Office after 4.45, are not delivered in Croydon until the next morning. The place is barely ten miles from the Royal Exchange. There are trains every few minutes. The population is still growing rapidly, but for all practical purposes it is cut off from communication with the metropolis at the most important time of the day. Business and professional people cannot get through their correspondence by three or four o'clock. The bulk of the City letters are posted after the last dispatch to Croydon, and they lie in the post-office for twelve or fourteen hours. The reasonable request has been made repeatedly that letters posted in the town offices at 5.30, or at the chief office at 6, might be delivered the same night. This is done in many other and much smaller places around London. The official reply of the chief clerks who rule the department is that "no necessity appears to exist for a change." More recently the answer sent was that "an additional or later delivery would not yield sufficient profit." It happens that an extra delivery was not asked for, but only that the last one might be deferred an hour or a little more, so as to include letters mailed in London until 6 P.M. Even if the profit were less, or if the actual loss were entailed by that particular dispatch, it is monstrous that the convenience of a community of a tenth of a million should be outweighed by a profit-and-loss account on each transaction, when the entire postal and telegraph business of a town like Croydon yields such enormous gains. But the unknown chief clerks at headquarters persist in looking at every-

thing through coloured official glasses, and refuse to be guided by common sense or equity.

Probably, however, the Local Government Board exemplifies in the most astounding degree the modern bureaucratic system. Nominally, it consists of the President of the Council, the Secretaries of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Lord Privy Seal, who never meet as a Board. It has a President, who never presides over anybody, and who vacates his post with every change of Ministry. It is said that the members of the Board have never assembled since the passing of the Act that constituted them. The President is the ornamental figure-head and mouthpiece of certain unknown, mysterious, but potent officials in the background. The Permanent Secretary, the heads of departments, and the inspectors, are the secret force that set and keep the machinery in motion. Its cost is nearly half a million per annum for England and Wales alone. If the rate of growth continues, and as new powers are conferred or grasped, the expenses will increase in proportion. Already its duties include the supervision and control of sanitary matters, all questions of Local Government, the constitution and working of Asylums Boards, and, in part, their nomination, the keeping of certain highways, the administration of the Poor Laws, the education of pauper children, the auditing of many complex accounts, reporting on Private Bills before Parliament, and other miscellaneous functions. It is essential to bear in mind that the Local Government Board is impersonal. Reduced to its elements, it is a myth. The final result of the system is that a nameless clerk, armed with the authority of the Board, dictates to the local administrators, who have been elected by the ratepayers, the method in which rice-puddings shall be made for sick paupers, the salary or pension payable to an under-nurse, and how to carry out provisions for lighting, drainage, and road-scraping. This abstraction, called a Board, has as many eyes as Argus, and as many hands as Briareus. The local authorities throughout the kingdom, whether Boards of Guardians, managers of district schools, the Asylums Boards, or Local Boards of Health, are circumscribed, inspected, controlled, audited, counselled, and checked in endless ways. A gigantic spider's web has been spun, and the slightest touch on a remote filament is instantly transmitted to Whitehall.

For the guidance of the Boards of Guardians, there are the elaborate consolidated orders, subject to ceaseless changes and to the glossaries of an interminable correspondence. The unwritten and unavowed theory is that the Poor Law Guardians are fools, who do not know how to act, and who are densely ignorant of local needs; or that they are knaves who cannot be trusted. All their appointments must be submitted for approval and confirmation. They can scarcely take a step alone. A Procrustean bed of rules is laid down for universal application, irrespective of local circumstances. The

judgment, knowledge and experience of the Guardians must bend to the theories cherished, and to the ukases issued by their high mightinesses in Whitehall. With their supreme sanction alone can recalcitrant or incompetent servants be dismissed. The power of the purse is ruthlessly used to enforce submission. A rigid censorship is exercised over the expenditure by means of peripatetic auditors, and by threats of surcharge. Yet, as will be seen immediately, there are direct encouragements and incentives to profligate outlay. Complaints are often heard that gentlemen of position and intelligence will not undertake the irksome and thankless duties of Guardians, and that the office falls to inferior and self-seeking men. This is not surprising. Nothing but a sense of public duty and of patriotism can overcome the distastes for the task; an unpleasant one under the best of circumstances. Superadd to this the encounters with inspectors—not always gracious; the endless correspondence with headquarters on minute points of detail; petty interferences with reasonable liberty of action; constant anxiety not to transgress the interminable and complete Consolidated Orders; perpetual liability to be mulcted in expenses legitimately incurred, and the official snubbings and nibbling criticisms, and then no surprise need be felt that persons of self-respect and of conscious ability often decline to subject themselves to such worry and annoyance.

Two illustrations may be furnished of the manner in which the prevailing system works. They are drawn from the large parish of Croydon and the important group of contiguous places associated with it for Poor Law purposes. On the erection of the present Union House, in 1865, at a cost exceeding fifty thousand pounds, the old building continued to be used for some years as an infirmary. It was structurally defective, owing to repeated alterations and additions. But it could have been adapted to all the requirements of health and comfort, until the expiration of the lease, at a cost of a thousand pounds or so. This, however, did not meet the views of the satraps of Whitehall. Inspectors were sent down, who condemned the building. A wearisome paper war ensued. Lengthy minutes were fired to and fro. At length an edict went forth in 1874 that a new infirmary must be built. Then the overseers convened a meeting of ratepayers, by whom resolutions were unanimously passed emphatically condemning the scheme. An influential deputation waited upon the President of the Local Government Board, and plied him with such reasons that the fiat was suspended. But the permanent officials who really are the directors and controllers, were not to be foiled. They never surrender. Checked for a time they always renew the attack. Accordingly, in 1877, an absolute decree was fulminated. Official pressure was freely applied. Changes had taken place in the Board of Guardians, and the new members were timid or pliant. A freehold plot of ground of about eight acres was acquired, at a cost of nearly four thousand pounds.

The next step was to prepare plans. Here red-tape was triumphant. The Whitehall craze is in favour of large detached blocks of buildings, connected by corridors, in the style of St. Thomas's Hospital. These must be constructed after the latest patterns of what is supposed to be sanitary science, although it is changing continually. They must be furnished, regardless of cost, with all the fittings and appliances that hare-brained theorists deem to be essential. No one desires that the sick poor should be neglected in any way; but there are reasonable limits in the burdens to be laid upon the ratepayers. The amount to be thus expended on the Croydon Infirmary gave rise to another prolonged paper war. The plans had to be altered, modified, and amended times without number. Various details were objected to, and others were insisted on, in order to carry out the caprices and whims of inspectors, medical officers, and clerks. Months elapsed before the building could be commenced. Many more months were absorbed in its erection; of course with unwearied interference on the part of Whitehall functionaries. At length the structure was completed, in five huge detached blocks. It was said at the outset that accommodation might be supplied for four hundred patients, at a total outlay, including furniture, of from twenty to twenty-five thousand pounds. The final result was that the expenditure for all purposes was swollen to more than one hundred thousand pounds. Two-fifths of the palatial edifice have never been used, and are not likely to be required for a generation. But then, bureaucracy and centralization triumphed. The ratepayers are burdened for thirty years with the repayment of loan and interest. In return, they have the satisfaction of knowing that the pauper inmates of the infirmary are better housed than thousands of themselves, and have the perfection of sanitary arrangements on the most approved and costly methods. This is peculiarly gratifying to the struggling middle classes, who have to provide such a large portion of the money! It shows how their hard earnings are squandered at the behest of an invisible clique in the purlieus of the Local Government Board Offices.

During this contest, twelve years ago, there was a threatened epidemic of typhoid and scarlet fever in Croydon. At the rear of the union-house, but separated from it by a very large garden, a building had been erected for infectious cases. It was seldom more than one-fourth occupied. The Local Board of Health—Croydon was not then a borough—arranged with the Guardians for the reception and treatment of a few persons from the crowded portions of the town, so as to prevent contagion. Payment was to be made for these. Such a plan was for mutual advantage, and would have been a great saving to the community, besides giving the patients a better chance through skilful nursing. But the grand Seigneurs in London intervened. In a most peremptory and impertinent manner the Guardians were forbidden to carry out the arrangements, and the Local Board was enjoined

to provide a building of its own. The usual correspondence ensued. "A triangular duel" was carried on. The Local Board wrote to the bureaucrats, who were at the same time engaged in a controversy with the Guardians. Minutes, orders, threats, remonstrances, refusals and evasions without number were transmitted. During the process, a few score persons might have perished for lack of proper care. Fortunately, the virulence of the disease abated, and thus the need for another building ceased. If one had been reared, it would have remained empty from that time to the present. The case was by no means singular. It was an attempt to force a pre-determined policy. In other large parishes a similar contest was being waged.

All this is part of the prevailing system. The control of the Local Government Board is largely exercised by means of its inspectors. Such of them as are medical men usually have peculiar theories, not to say crazes and "fads" upon certain questions. It is not an uncommon thing for one of them to visit a district and send to his superiors a report of things which he deems absolutely essential to be done. The unmistakable tendency is in favour of large buildings, of an expensive staff, and of an extravagant outlay. Everything is on a scale of vastness, regardless of cost. The Local Government Board was intended to be a controlling authority; to see that poor law and sanitary arrangements were efficiently and economically carried out. Instead of this, it encourages and stimulates waste. It is impossible to traverse the country without frequently noticing huge structures devoted to pauper uses, including infirmaries, unions, district schools, lunatic asylums, and separate buildings for infectious diseases. The fatal facilities for borrowing, granted to and often forced upon local authorities, have saddled the country with debts exceeding one hundred and eighty millions, or twice the indebtedness of eleven years ago. The local taxation is nearly forty millions, in addition to the five millions and a half derived from the pernicious system of "grants in aid" from the Exchequer; a sum that will be exceeded by the transfer to local authorities of certain Imperial taxes under the County Councils Act.

The other illustration, so as to present the case in a concrete form, is furnished by the North Surrey District Schools at Anerley, near the Crystal Palace. Travellers by the Brighton line cannot fail to observe those extensive and palatial buildings, with the contiguous farm lands. Until three years ago, the ratepayers in the Croydon Union were part owners of this property, their associates being the Lewisham, the Richmond, and the Wandsworth and Clapham Unions. Prior to August 1876 there were two other partners—viz., the great metropolitan parishes of Chelsea and Kennington. In yet earlier days, the Kingston Union was included in the arrangement. These three were removed, or succeeded after a severe struggle in detaching themselves, from the involutions of this voracious boa-constrictor. The

Croydon Union has also accomplished its emancipation, though not without enormous loss; for the compensation paid to a retiring member of the firm by the remaining unions is far below the actual proportion of value. The precise sum is fixed by the ubiquitous and omnipotent Local Government Board—*i.e.*, some member of the permanent staff—from whose decision there is no appeal. Between the years 1849 and 1876, no fewer than nineteen loans were contracted, for £78,064, for the purchase of the land at Anerley and for the erection of buildings. Repayment of these loans, with the salaries and common charges of the establishment, are apportioned among the various unions according to their rateable value. Croydon Union was liable for three-tenths in round numbers. Each union is charged, in addition, for the actual number of its children in the schools, including provisions, clothing, and necessaries. There has been a long-standing dispute between some of the related Boards of Guardians and the managers of Anerley schools, as to the actual cost. The method under which the accounts are kept, as ordered by the Whitehall clerks, has caused the difficulty. The fairest way is to take the annual amount charged to each Union, and divide it by the number of children sent by it to the schools. In this way, each of the two hundred and odd pauper children from Croydon cost £29 18s. 0d. per annum, or 11s. 6d. weekly. At the same time, various children were being sent to other places for 6s., or a fraction over one-half the cost at Anerley. The expense of children retained in the union-house was only 4s. 2d.

The Guardians repeatedly complained and protested, as did those of other unions which were thrust into this unwilling and ruinous partnership. Practically, the separate Boards are powerless. True, their chairmen are *ex-officio* members of the Anerley Board, and they have on it a representation according to their size. But there are antagonistic interests, co-opted members, and the control of Whitehall is perpetually asserted. The Anerley Schools are regarded as a pet institution and a show place for country visitors and intelligent foreigners. The respective Boards of Guardians may grumble at the outrageous cost, but a white elephant has been forced upon them. The authorities of the Croydon Union agitated and memorialized for a long time, and at length, on Lady Day, 1886, they were set free from the incubus, though not without having to submit to a heavy loss. A large and certain surrender was preferable to continuing in a partnership on such stringent conditions, and at such tremendous cost. No sooner was the arrangement ended, than the Anerley School Managers offered to retain the children from the Croydon Union at a charge of seven shillings per week! This was accepted to a certain extent. Other children have been placed in District Schools elsewhere, in some cases at a lower charge. A few score have been boarded out under proper supervision at four to five shillings weekly. Thus a considerable saving has been effected.

It is not proposed to criticize the merits of the system pursued at Anerley and in similar institutions, nor to enter upon the thorny question as between large barrack schools, or cottage homes, grouped in industrial villages, or the boarding-out system. The above particulars have been given because they furnish a crucial instance of bureaucratic and meddling propensities. Only by strenuous efforts was the Croydon Union able to escape from this ill-matched and wasteful combination. Its population and assessment value had grown so enormously that the Local Government Board—meaning thereby the inspectors and chief clerks—were no longer able to resist. Yet, as they were compelled to yield to a reasonable demand, they have taken, and they continue to take revenge. The Croydon Guardians have been in treaty for various eligible properties, so as to provide themselves with a separate school. One of these was the structure recently vacated by the Royal Asylum of St. Anne's Charity, at Streatham. This could have been obtained at a reasonable price, and it is in every way adapted to the requirements. But it did not suit the powers that be, and they vetoed the project. Doubtless they have some costly scheme in reserve, which they will endeavour to force upon the Croydon Guardians at the expense of the rate-payers.

What has been done or attempted in this particular locality is typical of the uniform policy all over the country. It is the same with Local Boards of Health. There exists a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction which is certain to grow and strengthen under the operation of the Local Government (County Councils) Act, 1888. That measure is fenced round, and weighted down, and permeated by the controlling action of this Board, and, in a smaller degree, by the Treasury and the Home Office. The Act bristles with checks and restrictions. The County Councils are subjected to so many previous consents and subsequent dictations as seriously to interfere with their independent action. Local authority is given with one hand and withdrawn on the other. The Local Government Board has the power to determine boundaries and to fix the number of aldermen and councillors. It can make provisional orders of a sweeping character, transferring powers under local acts, or from other authorities and Government departments. It is constituted universal director, referee, and arbitrator, without appeal. It can prescribe regulations of the most comprehensive, minute, and decisive character. Already, serious complications have arisen. A single instance will suffice. By one section, all districts which lie in more than one county are to become integral parts of that county in which they have the largest population. The result has been the bodily transfer of several parishes from Wales to England, and *vice-versa*. In the former case the Welsh Sunday Closing Act ceases to apply, so that public-houses which have been closed on Sundays will

now be open. In the latter case, houses possessing a seven days' license will be compelled to close on Sunday. By a single stroke of the pen in June last, nearly fifty additional functions were imposed upon County Councils, to their great bewilderment. Repeatedly—seventy times in all—does some such phrase occur in the Act as “under the direction of the Local Government Board,” or “in such manner as the Local Government Board shall direct,” or “prescribed by the Local Government Board,” or “with the consent of the the Board.” Various powers can only be exercised by its express permission. Payments out of the Imperial taxes for local purposes can only be received as “certified by the Local Government Board and paid under its direction.” The licenses forming part of the income, still to be collected by the Inland Revenue, “shall be certified by the Commissioners, and paid under the direction of the Local Government Board” to the County Councils. The same Commissioners are to pay into the Bank of England, “in such manner and under such regulations as the Treasury may make from time to time,” the prescribed portion of the Probate duties. This money is to be distributed among the counties by an estimate “made in such manner as the Local Government Board shall from time to time direct.”

Having obtained the funds, the County Councils are to disburse considerable portions as they shall be instructed by the Treasury and the Local Government Board, and in particular by the latter. Guardians, School Boards, Clerks of Assize, and other local authorities entitled, under the Act, to money out of the County fund, “shall submit to the Local Government Board their claim to the payment, in such manner, and produce such evidence, and comply with such rules as the Board from time to time require and make.” This Board appears everywhere, and is armed with plenary powers. Its consent is needful to borrow money or to lend it, or to buy land, or for any permanent work, or for emigration. It determines the duration of loans and the creation of County stock. It prescribes the mode of keeping accounts, and these are to be audited by the Whitehall officials. At every turn the acquiescence or the certificate is required of this octopus Board, or of the Treasury or of a Secretary of State. The Councils cannot collect their own money, or a large portion of it. They cannot spend it or deal with it as they deem best for the requirements of the locality, subject only to fear of the ratepayers who elected them. The money is allocated for them by the central powers. In every way they are handicapped, thwarted, bribed, dandled, advised, threatened, managed, and ordered. Some faint protests were raised at the time in Parliament and in the press, but the measure was brought forward suddenly, and was pressed through the Legislature. There was not time to master the details. Many persons were deluded by pompous phrases. Others hoped



that difficulties would, somehow, find adjustment in practical working. The real danger was not perceived.

It is time, however, that the growing tendency of Government by Chief Clerks had a severe check. The less of administration and control by permanent officials in London, and the more that local affairs are conducted in the light of day by qualified persons duly chosen by the ratepayers, and responsible to them, the better will it be for the country. The nation does not exist for the sake of officials, but these are called into being by, and for, and subject to, the control of the nation. The tendency of any bureaucracy is to become intolerant of outside criticism; but this is indispensable in order to preserve officialism, however able, from degenerating into inefficiency and self-conceit. A suggestion has been made by the London County Council that a National Association of such bodies shall be formed for mutual counsel and for such concerted action as may be desirable. The proposal is viewed with disfavour by the officials at head-quarters, who have never recognized or approved of a similar, very useful conference of municipal authorities. This jealousy and impatience of anything outside the regulation groove must receive a stern protest and an emphatic rebuke.

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## THE MAKING OF GERMANY.

It will not be the fault of German writers if the present generation be ignorant of the events of the last half-century in Germany. Guizot was fond of saying that very recent history was the least studied and the least known. Writers were deterred by either the deficiency or the superabundance of materials, and critics asserted that at least three generations must elapse before impartiality could be expected even from a philosophical historian. So great authors feared to tread upon the debatable ground, and there rushed in an army of chroniclers and compilers, who related facts, but drew no conclusions, and whose works were therefore perfectly useless—except for examinations.

There have recently appeared two great historical works, which cover the whole period from 1848 to 1871. The *Foundation of the German Empire* (*Die Begründung des deutschen Reiches*) of Professor Heinrich von Sybel is, indeed, at present incomplete. But the third and last volume of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha's *Memoirs* (*Aus meinem Leben und aus meiner Zeit*) forms the continuation of Professor von Sybel's narrative. We have therefore a continuous history of the making of Germany, from the meeting of the National Assembly at Frankfurt in 1848 to the proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles in 1871.

Both Duke Ernst and Professor von Sybel possess in a remarkable degree the first and the greatest qualification of a historian—that they have helped to make history before writing it. Neither author has devoted his whole existence to the collation of manuscripts or to the perusal of printed matter. Both have lived and had their being in the turbid atmosphere of public life as well as in the calm air of the library and the muniment-room. Ernst II. has, as he reminds his readers with excusable pride, played a not inconsiderable part in the great events of his time. He has been on the throne longer than any other German potentate now living; he was ruling four years before the National Assembly met at Frankfurt, and he is ruling two years after the accession of the third Hohenzollern Emperor. He has lived on terms of the closest intimacy with the leading men of his time; he presided over the Congress of Princes in 1850; he was a member of the Congress of Princes in 1863; he corresponded regularly with his brother, Prince Albert—in itself an education in the art of governing, and his literary style is singularly luminous.

Professor von Sybel has for long been a member of the most enlightened section of German politicians: that section which for long held the balance of power in its hands—the National Liberal Party. He has sat in the Prussian Parliament; he was elected to the Diet of the short-lived North German Confederation. In his official capacity as Director of the Prussian State archives he has enjoyed unrivalled opportunities for that research which should be the handmaid of history. His fame as a historian has been already sufficiently established by his account of the French Revolution, which is to all other histories of that eventful period what Dumas's plays are to the last farce, or Daudet's novels to the last yellow-back. He brings to his task the patient industry of a scholar and the practical insight of a man of affairs. In 1848 most politicians were professors; in 1889 most professors are politicians.

We propose in this article to give a brief sketch of the making of Germany, and the rise of the new German Empire. There can be no doubt that this is by far the most remarkable phenomenon of our time. That within the brief space of a single generation, a period which is as nothing in the life of nations, there should have been evolved out of an incoherent mass of heterogeneous elements the firm and solid fabric of the German Empire is little short of a miracle. If any one should seek an example of that progress which Mr. Spencer assures us is daily going on around us, assuredly it is here. But it is a mistake to attribute this grand result entirely to Prince Bismarck or to Prince Bismarck's Sovereign. Prince Bismarck was the deft workman who moulded to his will the materials that lay around him. The Emperor William I. was the shrewd master, who detected at an early period the skill of the workman, and employed him in the work, spite of attacks from without and intrigues from within. But neither the Emperor nor the Chancellor would have succeeded without their predecessors. Bismarck is, politically speaking, the legitimate descendant of Stein and Schamhorst, just as William I. was the legitimate descendant of Frederick the Great and the Great Elector. For whatever may have been the case in England or in America, in Germany, as in France, the personal element has played a great, perhaps the greatest, part in the work of the national development. The Germans are neither by nature nor habit a political people; they are, as Professor Sybel says, "particularists by nature." It is only when under the influence of some great man that they cease to be individuals, and begin to be citizens. As Gustav Freytag has observed, "the Hohenzollern family has converted the Germans from private men into politicians." The influence of this stalwart race can, indeed, be hardly over-exaggerated. On the day when Joachim II. of Brandenburg publicly adopted the doctrines of Luther, the foundation of Prussia as a great Protestant Power was laid. From that

day onwards we see the gradual development of the rivalry between the Kaiser in Vienna and the Elector of Brandenburg in Berlin. Austria has always made the mistake of the Hohenstaufen; she has thought of her non-German subjects first and of Germany second, while the Hohenzollerns, having no foreign possessions, have embraced perforce the cause of German unity, and the interests of Prussia have at last coincided with the interests of Germany. It is the peculiar merit of Prince Bismarck that he has solved the riddle of centuries, and has seen that German unity was impossible, unless Austria were eliminated from Germany. But, like the "great Emathian conqueror" in the fable, he has cut the knot by the sword. It was this that he meant when he exclaimed in the Prussian Parliament: "The great questions of the day are solved not by the votes of majorities—that was the mistake of 1848—but by blood and iron."

There have, indeed, been other unifying elements at work. Not the least of these has been the strong bond of a common language. When Heine said of Luther, that he had "created the German language" by his translation of the Bible, he might have added with perfect truth that the monk of Wittenberg was also the father of the German nation. From henceforth the Bavarian of the southern plateau had something in common with the Brandenburger of the northern marches. First arose the Word and then the Deed. *Im Anfang war das Wort.*

But if Luther gave the Germans unity with one hand, he gave them discord with the other. That terrible religious carnival, the Thirty Years' War, made men forget that they were brethren one of another. The Protestants of the North invoked the aid of Sweden, the Catholics of the South that of Italy, against their own countrymen, while Richelieu, like the first Napoleon, saw that the weakness of Germany was the gain of France. •The only parallel to the misery of the Fatherland at the peace of Westphalia, is its affliction after the Peace of Tilsit. Schiller in his *Wallenstein* and Gustav Freytag in his historical novel *Die Ahnen*, have depicted in vivid colours the horrors of the time. But even then there were Germans who sighed for unity; and that curious novel, *Simplicius Simplicissimus*, the *Don Quixote* of German literature, which appeared soon after the Thirty Years' War, teems with allusions to the desire for an united Fatherland. But of the two great powers, Austria was feeble and careless, and Prussia as yet did not exist.

Then rose up the first notable scion of the Hohenzollern stock. Frederick William, the "Great" Elector of Brandenburg, saw clearly that the destinies of Germany were in the hands of his house. As he anticipated Bismarck by sending a colony to Africa, so also he anticipated Bismarck by declaring that the influence of Austria must be eliminated from German affairs. Brandenburg, the despised

"State of the long boundaries," which stretched in helpless insecurity from the Memel to the Rhine, was raised by him and his successors into a powerful and a vigorous State. Like Attica of old, it was not a fertile land; in the Middle Ages it was nicknamed the "sand-box" (*Streusandbuechse*) of the Holy Roman Empire; even to day the traveller in Prussia misses the smiling orchards of Wuerttemberg or the vine-clad slopes of the Palatinate. But if Brandenburg did not produce an exuberant vegetation, it produced men. The Prussians of to-day are not so cultivated as the Bavarians, the Athenians of Germany, nor so *gemuetlich* as the Saxons; they may think that drill is the end-all, and be-all of existence, and that to obey is better than the drama or the fine arts; but they possess many of the qualities that go to make a great nation. Of them may be said as of the Romans of old:

"Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,  
Credo equidem, melius ducent e marmore voltus,  
Tu regere imperio, populos, Romane, memento."

Frederick the Great, although a Frenchman by tastes and education, did more than any of his predecessors to foster the national feeling. His victories, won single-handed over a world in arms, fired the imagination of poets, who in their turn kindled the flames which burst forth a generation later in the War of Liberty. The duel between Prussia and Austria in the eighteenth century was the forerunner of the duel between Prussia and Austria in the nineteenth. The incorporation of Silesia by Frederick paved the way for the incorporation of the Duchies by Bismarck. At the death of Frederick it was clear that an united Germany was only possible under the headship of Prussia. At the death of Frederick that great literature had begun to arise which was so efficient a cause of the revolt against Napoleon. It is, indeed, a common error of literary men to exaggerate the importance and the influence of the written word. Shakespeare's plays had but little effect upon his contemporaries; the great political movements of this century in England have not been caused by poets or dramatists. But it has been otherwise in Germany. The great diffusions of patriotic sentiment in 1813 was due to Schiller and his fellows. In Goethe the Germans, all Germans, had an Emperor, whose dominion was not, indeed, of this world, but was nevertheless, very real. Heine said sarcastically of his countrymen, that they "had the empire of the air, while the English ruled by sea, and the French by land." But out of the empire of the air has, in our time, sprung the empire of the land.

The patriotic movement which crushed Napoleon in 1813 was not permanent. After the defeat and banishment of the common enemy the old days of disorder returned. The incapable Reichstag of Ratisbon was revived in the meddlesome Bundestag of Frankfurt,

which sat like "a nightmare" (the expression is Prince Bismarck's) upon the nation. As it was in the days of Tacitus, so was it in the days of Talleyrand; the Germans were capable of ruling others, if they could only first rule themselves. The reaction set in with full force—Sovereigns broke faith with subjects, and Metternich dragged Prussia at his chariot-wheels. The Diet, which met at Frankfurt, under the presidency of Austria, represented not the people, but the Governments, while that Article of the *Bundesakte*, which provided for the establishment of a constitution in the several States, was either neglected or infringed. The thirty years which separate the Congress of Vienna from the meeting of the National Assembly at Frankfurt, form the most gloomy period in modern German history. Some few attempts were made to bring about an union, but they failed. There was, for example, a proposal to make the enlightened King of Wuerttemberg, William I., whom Metternich described as a "crowned Jacobin," the head of an United Germany. But the time was not yet come, nor the man.

The development of railways, and the consequent increase of commercial activity, were far more effectual instruments of unification. In 1835 the first railway in Germany was laid down between Nuernberg and its busy suburb, Fuerth. Lines were speedily opened all over the country, and the increasing intercourse brought with it an increasing desire for amalgamation. In consequence, the *Zollverein*, or Customs' Union, sprang into existence, which, though it did not extend to all members of the Germanic body, united the contracting parties by the closest of all ties, that of common material interests. It was felt that political division must not interfere with the division of profits.

The "glorious days" of July had but little effect in Germany. There were, it is true, several risings of the populace in Dresden and in Leipzig, in Hesse and Hanover; there was much idle chatter about the "German Republic," which was always a favourite ideal of one section of the National party. But the object of most of these movements was, rather to effect a change in the Constitution of the several States than to weld these States together into an homogeneous whole. Germany remained a *Staatenbund*, and was not yet a *Bundesstaat*.

Far otherwise was it in 1848, that *longus et unus annus* of European history. The news of the February revolution startled Europe, and with it Germany, from its dynastic slumbers. Amidst the crash of ancient monarchies constitutional liberty was born, but German unity has not been created by constitutional liberty, but in spite of it. The fall of thrones and kingdoms in that memorable year reminds us of the destruction of venerable and ancient monuments, which the hero witnessed as he fled from the burning walls of Troy. Only in England did the fabric of the monarchy stand intact,

for in England, as Schiller had sung years before, our "citizens were kings and our kings citizens." But in Germany there were no real kings, and no real citizens. Great hopes had, indeed, been placed in Frederick William IV., who had ascended the throne of the Hohenzollerns some eight years before. He had for the first time in the annals of Prussia assembled in 1847, a parliament of the whole monarchy, a parliament which numbered among its members one man, then but little known, but who has made himself a name which will be remembered with gratitude by the latest generation of Germans. Herr von Bismarck-Schönhausen gained his first experience of public life on the Conservative benches of the "Vereinigte Landtag." But his then Sovereign was made of quite other clay. Frederick William IV. is only another example of the fact, that the capacity for acquiring knowledge does not usually co-exist with the capacity for acquiring influence. He was the most learned man that has ever sat upon the Prussian throne: Rauke acknowledged him as his master in history, Cornelius testified to the correctness of his taste as an artist. His power of speech was almost as great as that of Cicero, and almost as dangerous to himself as that of Demosthenes. He was perpetually breaking the commandment of Metternich, that "a king should act but not talk." He was so short-sighted, that he had to put on his spectacles to see his privy-councillors; he was so obese, that he could hardly mount a horse. He walked like a professor and talked like an essayist. Alone of the Hohenzollerns he had no love for military affairs. He was imbued with mediæval doctrines about the "divinity that doth hedge a king," and his eyes were always directed to the annals of the past, and not to the prospects of the future. He was the worst possible man for a time of revolution. He had neither the courage to suppress, nor the courage to lead the men of the new ideas. He was guided, not by the practical maxims of a statesman, but by the vague aphorisms of philosophical kingcraft. He was the kindest of mankind, but his kindness did more harm than the indifference of others. Like Galba, and like Aberdeen, he was *omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.*

The spark that was struck in Paris soon ignited the great mass of combustible material that was accumulated in Germany. The whole Germanic body was irritated by the lukewarm sympathy, which the Bundestag had just evinced for the cause of the Duchies, then threatened with partial incorporation in the dominions of the Danish Crown. The Bavarians were exasperated by the ridiculous *amours* of their Sovereign; the Prussians were discontented with their King, who had refused to grant a constitution. "No power on earth," said Frederick William, "shall force me to change the natural relation between prince and people into a conventional and a constitutional union. I will never allow a written paper to be thrust between Our Father which is in Heaven and this country, that it

may govern us by its paragraphs, and so replace the ancient holy loyalty of ruler to ruled, and of subjects to Sovereign." This was the speech of a member of the Holy Alliance, but it was not the speech of 1848. On the 21st of March in that eventful year, the King of Prussia, wearing the red, black, and gold colours of the ancient Empire, rode through the streets of his capital, a veritable "King of the Barricades." On the 31st, the "Vorparlament" met at Frankfurt, and determined that the first parliament of all Germany, chosen by direct election, should be summoned as soon as possible. The opportunity seemed favourable, not only for freedom but for unity. There was a revolution in Berlin, there was a revolution in Vienna; Frederick William had declared that Prussia had merged in Germany; Metternich had resigned after forty years of continuous office and thirty-three of unlimited power. Great were the hopes of the ardent patriots, when, for the first time in German history, a parliament, a Nationalversammlung, met to the sound of the bell, and amidst the roar of artillery, on the 18th of May, 1848.

The place was worthy of such an assembly. It was the ancient city of Frankfurt, the city which had witnessed the coronation of the Emperors since the day when Ferdinand had succeeded to half the dominions of Charles the Fifth. Goethe has told us how, even in his boyhood, when the Holy Roman Empire was tottering to its fall, the citizens of the ancient imperial town would gather together in their thousands, to accompany the stately procession from the Minster to the Mountain and the Hall of the Romans. Æneas Silvius had wondered at the prosperity and the riches of the burghers. Here, Maria Theresa, in all the pride of beauty and the pride of sovereignty, had smiled at her Lotharingian husband, as he returned from the ceremony, adorned with the ancient relics of Charlemagne, and attended by the hereditary officials of the Empire. Here her son, not yet heart-broken by failure, had been anointed with the sacred oil and crowned King of the Romans. Even to-day, in spite of the destruction of its oldest streets, and the loss of its venerable dignities, Frankfurt is one of the most interesting cities of the Continent. And in 1848, it was the cynosure of every eye.

The assembly which met in the Church of St. Paul was composed of the most distinguished men of Germany. Its members possessed almost every accomplishment except statesmanship. Patriotic poets like Uhland and Arndt, now in his eightieth year: men of letters like Laube and Anastasius Gruen, were visible in the throng. But there were few practical statesmen among their numbers. There were many professors and not a few journalists; but the professors thought that to argue was to debate, and the journalists imagined that they were speaking "copy" at so much a line. If a number of Oxford dons were suddenly collected together at Westminster, at a time of great popular excitement, and requested to frame a



constitution for the British Empire, every one would anticipate a fiasco. But that was exactly what happened at Frankfurt in 1848; and yet some persons expected success. If our ancestors had spent their time in 1689, in debating abstruse metaphysical questions and in discussing the rights of the subject "in and for himself," we should have the descendants of King James II. on the throne at this present hour. But Somers and Halifax had enjoyed what no member of the "Nationalversammlung" had ever experienced, a political education. It was not the fault of the deputies at Frankfurt, that they were tedious and pedantic, for they had never known what it was to live under a constitutional government. Everything had been done for them, and now they were suddenly called upon to do everything for themselves.

Five weary months were spent in discussing the *Grundrechte des deutschen Volkes*, or the original rights of the German people. As if it mattered what the rights of the citizen were, when there was as yet no State. First the State, then the citizen, is the order of logic; but it was not the order of the Nationalversammlung. Assuredly this parliament is one of the most comical figures in all history, if it were not so tragic.

If the parliament had proceeded at once to the discussion of the Imperial constitution, it might have succeeded. But it did not. The really crucial question was the formation of a *Bundesstaat*, and that question was postponed till the revolution in Vienna had been quelled and the mantle of Metternich had fallen upon Prince Schwarzenberg. There were really only three courses open to the parliament. If Germany was to be unified, and patriots hoped that it would and could be unified, one of three plans must be adopted. Either Austria was to be ejected from the Confederation or she was to be retained. If she was to be retained, she must enter the Confederation with all her non-German territories or without them. The former of these last alternatives would have destroyed the unity of Germany, the second that of Austria. The proposal for the total exclusion of Austria from the Germanic body was naturally unpopular in Vienna, and was viewed with disfavour in the southern kingdoms of Germany. As in 1870 Bavarian peasants preferred France to Prussia, so in 1848 Bavarian statesmen would rather have been Austrian than Prussian. Frederick William himself was anxious to stand well with the Hapsburgs; he could not forget the days of that empire which Voltaire has somewhere described as being "neither holy nor Roman." Yet this proposal has been carried out by Prince Bismarck, but by the needle-gun instead of the ballot-box.

At the very moment when the parliament began to discuss the constitution of the Germanic body, the tide of revolution began to ebb all over Europe. Cavaignac suppressed the communists in Paris; Windischgrätz defeated the rebels in Bohemia; the trace

of Malmoe was made against the wishes of the Assembly. The Radical party was creating disturbances in the Paulskirche and riots in the town. And above all, the industrious citizens of Germany found that their business was decreasing owing to the uncertainty of the Government. A firm rule was better, they thought, even without a national parliament, than this chaotic condition of affairs under the impotent sway of a debating society.

At last, after months of talk, the Nationalversammlung formulated a Constitution. All the German States, except Austria, were to form a close Confederation, in German phrase, a *Bundesstaat*; between this Confederation and Austria a species of union was to exist; an hereditary emperor was to be selected as the head of the Confederation with the title of "Emperor of the Germans" (not, it will be observed, "German Emperor"); there was to be an imperial parliament, which was to be chosen by manhood suffrage and the ballot. On the 28th of March, 1849, the King of Prussia was elected by a majority of the Nationalversammlung as the first emperor.

Frederick William refused the crown. It was intolerable to a monarch of his mediæval principles, that the Imperial throne should rest upon a vote of a popular assembly, instead of reposing on the confidence of the German princelings. He dared not, and would not, become a popular monarch. Herr von Bismarck-Schönhausen observed, in a great speech made at the time, that his Sovereign had acted wisely. "He would have been the tool of the Assembly," said the future Chancellor, "he would have been situated like Carlo Alberto at Novara, where victory was more dangerous than defeat." And if the King of Prussia had accepted the Imperial crown the results would have been disastrous. The German people were not in 1848, perhaps are not in 1889, capable of exercising with discretion the varied powers of a constitution on the English model. They would have fallen under the sway of noisy demagogues like Hecker and Struve; a war with Austria would have been inevitable, for Schwarzenberg had declared that his master would never recognize the headship of another State in Germany. But a war with Austria would have failed, for Russia had not then been won over to the side of Prussia by the arts of Bismarck, and Frederick William shrank from drawing the sword, even when it was necessary. He had too many scruples to build up an Empire by force. He had not accepted the doctrine of the Chancellor, that national egoism is the only firm basis of a great State. *Exeat cuncti Qui vult esse prius*. As Professor von Sybel observes: "The crown offered him by the assembly would have been the badge of a serf in the service of the Revolution." To spring with a single bound from no parliamentary government at all to a parliamentary government resting on manhood suffrage would be dangerous in any state. The Reichstag is, it is true, elected by manhood suffrage to-day, but the Chancellor has introduced a check

by the refusal to grant diet-money,<sup>1</sup> and has practised vicariously a species of "electoral geometry" (*Wahlkreis-geometrie*), by which he has squared the democratic circle. But we shall see, when the strong man is no more, whether manhood suffrage is consistent with constitutional action; and in 1849 there was no strong man. The situation may be summed up in the words of Frederick William to Beckerath: "Frederick the Great would have been your man, but I am not a great ruler."

This refusal of the crown ended the career of the National Assembly, and with it the first deliberate attempt to establish German unity. Many of the deputies were recalled, some migrated to Stuttgart, where they continued to hold a petty session, till a Wuerttemberg Cromwell rose up and dissolved them by force.

Thus fell the first German parliament. Its failure was due, partly to the intrinsic difficulties of the Austro-German problem, which was incapable of a pacific, much less of a parliamentary solution; partly to the jealousy of the small States; partly to the weak though interesting character of Frederick William; but, above all, to the contemporary state of political education in Germany. Constitutions cannot spring like Minerva, fully developed from the brain of a creator; or, if they do, they must, like Minerva, be armed with weapons to defend their existence. The Bundestag of 1815 had material strength, but not moral influence, the Nationalversammlung of 1848-9 had moral influence, but no material strength. The Empire of 1871 had both.

But with all its faults, and all its failures, the Nationalversammlung has done good. It has shown by its example more eloquent than all the books at the Leipzig fair, that the old condition of affairs could not be cured by debates. But these very debates taught the Germans the alphabet of political wisdom, and made them more fit for the Constitution of 1867, and the Constitution of 1871, than they would otherwise have been. The best elements of the Constitution, promulgated by the Nationalversammlung, found a place in the scheme proposed by Bismarck in 1863, and in the scheme carried out by him in 1867. The meeting of South Germans and North Germans in 1848 paved the way for their meeting in the *Zollparlament* of 1868, and in the Reichstag of 1871. It was better to have debated in vain, than never to have debated at all.

Between 1849 and 1861 there was an interlude, during which attempts were once more made to form a nation by pacific means. Prussia put her faith in Congresses of Princes, which proved, however, of no more avail than Congresses of Deputies. There was, for the moment, complete anarchy in Germany. The Bundestag had not yet been galvanized into life again; the National Assembly was dead. The Archduke John had some brief authority, while the

<sup>1</sup> The Prussian *Abgeordneten* in the Landtag receive 20 marks per diem during the session. They are forbidden to refuse this allowance.

Assembly had bestowed upon him as regent of the Empire; but his office was respected by no one except himself. The political atmosphere of Germany, to use an expression of Metternich, had become a vacuum. Prussia attempted to fill it by the formation of a league with the Kings of Saxony and Hanover. This was joined by several of the smaller States, and was warmly supported by the Duke of Coburg. But Hanover and Saxony deserted the "alliance of the three kings" for the "alliance of the four," which was formed under the auspices of Austria. As in 1608, the "Union" and the "League" had divided Germany into two hostile camps for the sake of religion, so in 1850 the "Prussian Union" and the Austrian allies split the country into rival parties for the sake of the headship. The old, old strife of Hapsburg against Hohenzollern was once more about to commence. Both parties continued to debate among themselves. The Prussian faction held a Congress of Princes at Berlin, the Austrian faction prepared to reinstate the Bundestag at Frankfurt.

At this moment the difficulties of the situation were increased by the state of affairs in Electoral Hesse. Frederick William I. of Hesse-Cassel was one of the most arbitrary monarchs of his time. Even Metternich had found his proceedings too unconstitutional to be supported. His chief ambition was to play the tyrant upon his diminutive stage. The usual results happened. The Electoral Prince resolved to raise the taxes by his own right arm; his subjects refused to pay, and his officials to collect, them. The Prince appealed to the Bundestag, which had been revived at Frankfurt. The Bundestag put an Austro-Bavarian army at his disposition. Prussia, however, had not yet recognized the Confederate body, and was still maintaining the "Union." Prussia accordingly protested. But that was not all. The Prussian army was mobilized; the Prince of Prussia (afterwards Emperor) took the command. The Austrian and the Prussian forces faced one another not far from the venerable foundation of St. Boniface at Fulda. The struggle of 1866 was almost anticipated in 1850. But the Czar Nicholas, who regarded himself as the arbiter of Europe, interposed between the Prussian Achilles and the Austrian Agamemnon. Prussia signed the humiliating Convention of Olmuetz, gave up the "Union," and agreed to submit to the decisions of the Conference of Dresden upon the burning question of the Germanic Confederation.

The Convention of Olmuetz marks the nadir of Prussian influence in Germany; it is to internal politics what the Peace of Tilsit was to external policy. But, as Prince Bismarck said in a recent speech,<sup>1</sup> it "avoided a great conflagration." It was on this ground, and of this ground alone, that he defended it at the time. But from 1850 to 1866 the scale begins to rise in favour of Prussia. It is true

that the Bundestag was re-established in 1851 at Frankfurt. But during the last fifteen years of its existence it did but little, and did nothing for German unity. Bismarck, who was now the representative of Prussia at the Bundestag, saw clearly enough that nothing could be expected from Congresses, whether of princes or of diplomatists. For the events of the last few years had convinced him that unity must come from above and not from below—from the hand of a vigorous ruler, and not from the debates of a recalcitrant assembly or the intrigues of a diplomatic cabal. But, in the whole course of his policy up to 1871, even if we totally disregard the evidence of the famous *Diary*, Bismarck was a Prussian first and a German afterwards. Some writers have gone into ecstasies over what they are pleased to call "Prussia's mission," as though Prussia had made heroic sacrifices to promote the cause of Germany. Prussia has made sacrifices, but they were primarily for her own hegemony. She has saved Germany, because it was necessary for her own salvation that Germany should be saved. The Chancellor has himself laid down the maxim that "it is unworthy of a great State to strive for a matter which does not concern its own interests." However dissonant this may be with the past policy of England in Portugal and in Greece, when we freed Europe from Napoleon and the colonies from the slave-owners, it is and has been the *arcanum imperii* of Prussia. As the Prussian Government refused in 1863 to espouse the cause of Poland, so the Chancellor declared in 1888 that he would not go to war for the sake of the Hecuba of Bulgaria. To speak with lawyers, he must have a consideration for his simplest contract.

The efforts of various kinds which were made during the period from 1851 to 1866 to bring about a Union, all proved abortive. It could not indeed be otherwise. As Ajax says in the play, it is useless to drone charms over a sickness that needs the knife. There was the proposal of Freiherr von Beust to replace the Bundestag by a federal assembly and a representative assembly; Prussia and Austria were to hold the headship of the former body alternatively, while the balance of power in the latter was to be in the hands of the Middle States. Exactly the reverse is the case in the present Reichstag, where out of 397 members, Prussia has 236. But this proposition of the Saxon Minister would have simply cast out Satan by Beelzebub. In Germany, the birthplace of ideas, there were, of course, numerous other schemes, all of which went the way of paper constitutions and other such ephemeral creations. Numerous are the children of the Abbé Sieyès, and very few are their achievements. In 1868 there was the Congress of Princes at Stuttgart under the presidency of the Emperor Francis Joseph. But Prussia, at the instigation of Bismarck, who was then the President of the Ministry at Berlin, took no part in the proceedings, which ended in

a considerable expenditure of diplomatic note-paper. A German Congress without Prussia was like Kaulbach's picture of Salamis without Artemisia.

As in the thirties so again in the fifties the bonds of commerce proved more effectual than the ties of politics. The *Zollverein* was still further developed, until it included almost the whole of non-Austrian Germany, as it then existed. So apparent were the benefits of a Customs Union, that Austria abolished the oppressive system of tolls throughout the composite empire and made a commercial treaty with her great rival.

The unification of Italy after the Austro-Sardinian war of 1859 had, by its example, some not inconsiderable effect upon the German patriots. Prince Albert, writing to the Duke of Coburg about this time, exclaims "is there to be freedom and unity for Italy, Hungary, Poland and Greece, and yet none for Holstein and Germany?" But the enthusiasm expended itself in the formation of unions and brotherhoods among the citizens, who met together on high days and holidays and talked in the usual commonplaces about liberty and Fatherland. The aims of the *National-Verein* were purely theoretical, and were really only a dish-up of the fragments that remained from 1848. The old division between "Great Germans" and "Little Germans" was revived upon the creation of the "Reform Union," which found favour in the south, and whose policy was to keep Austria in the Germanic body at all hazards. The growing distrust which the statesmen of Vienna felt for the Prussian Government was clearly shewn at the time of the Italian war of 1859. Austria wanted troops; Prussia could supply them. But the Prince Regent would only take part in the contest on condition of having complete power over all the German contingents, while the Austrians were ready to consent to his taking the supreme command, provided that he submitted himself to the orders of the Diet. A beautiful mixture of the military with the pacific *régime*, which, as Darwinians are fond of telling us, is inconsistent with success. Wellington conquered in the Peninsula in spite of Mr. Perceval, but the members of the Bundestag would have been worse than the English Premier.

With the accession of William I. to the Prussian throne in 1861 a new chapter in German history commenced. The new king was the exact antithesis of his brother. True to those traditions which the great Elector had handed down to his grandson, and his grandson had handed down to the great Frederick, he placed his faith in those big battalions, which Providence is said to favour unduly. William I. was not a great orator, he was not a great scholar, he was neither a connoisseur of pictures nor a judge of architecture, but he was a great king. For he possessed the first quality of a nineteenth-century monarch, that of choosing great Ministers. No

man has ever been so unpopular, except his Minister, and no man has ever been so popular, except that Minister. In March 1848 the populace of Berlin was ready to tear him limb from limb. In March 1888 all Germany mourned his death. Endowed with a span of years, far exceeding that which the Psalmist has allotted to mankind, he achieved no success till he was past sixty, and yet his exploits since then would fill volumes. As a child, he fled before the first Napoleon to the Memel, as an old man he pursued the third Napoleon to the Seine. His career, like that of Charles XII. would "point a moral," yet not of the vanity of human wishes, but of their success.

While he was still only Regent for his brother he had, in conjunction with Von Roon, commenced the reorganization of the Prussian army, a work which he always regarded as peculiarly his own. But parliamentary government and standing armies are inconsistent with each other. Even after the victories of the Franco-German war the military question was only partially solved by the compromise of the Septennate; and in 1860 there was no compromise and there were no victories. The Chamber of Deputies knew nothing of the aims of the Government, and the Government had no sympathy with the Chamber of Deputies. To publish abroad its schemes would be to defeat them, to keep them concealed from the nation was to run the risk of defeat in the Chamber and perhaps abdication. In this crisis the king summoned the Prussian Ambassador in Paris, Herr von Bismarck-Schönhausen, to his counsels.

The Duke of Coburg says with great fervour that the 9th of October 1862 is one of the most remarkable days in German history, The ancient Thracians would have marked it with a white stone, the mediæval monks would have designated it by a red letter. It is to the German nation what the 4th of July is to the Americans or the 14th of July to the French. For on that day Bismarck definitely accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs and became President of the Prussian Ministry.

He had already had a sufficient acquaintance with parliamentary methods to see that they were at that time and in that country quite inapplicable. It is, however, a very shallow philosophy that condemns Bismarck as a feudal politician. He has said over and over again that what suits one country will not suit another. He has repeatedly pointed out that the analogy between England and Germany is false, that what will succeed at Westminster will not succeed in Berlin. He has always evinced a certain distrust for what Carlyle was wont to call "Ciceronian eloquence." But in this he has only followed the tradition of Prussian rulers. The two most eloquent Hohenzollerns, John "the Cicero" and Frederick William IV. were not the most successful. The struggle with the Prussian Chamber of Deputies at once commenced. In its main outlines this conflict repeated itself session after session for four years. The Government

presented the budget, the Lower House rejected, and the Upper House accepted it. The Lower House declared that the Upper House must either pass or throw out a money bill *en bloc*, and that it had no constitutional power to amend such a measure. Bismarck, after trying in vain to obtain a majority by dissolution, put the Lower House at defiance and governed without a budget. The press expostulated, it was suppressed. The people petitioned the king to dismiss his Minister; the king refused. Everyone on the Continent anticipated a revolution; but Bismarck was stronger than Strafford, and William I. was firmer than Charles I. Furious attacks were made upon the President in the Chamber. Gneist compared him to Polignac, Virchow accused him of "talking Prussian." He writes to his wife that he was stared at as though he were "a Japanese," and gaped at like "a hippopotamus." But, as has happened so often, foreign politics came to the aid of the Minister. On the 15th of November 1863, died Frederick VII. of Denmark.

It is not necessary for the present purpose to discuss the rights of the Schleswig-Holstein dispute. The Bodleian Library itself would scarce hold the books and papers, the protocols and pamphlets, that have been written on this question of questions. A Chancery suit in the time of Lord Eldon was nothing to it. The Eastern Question was infinitely simpler. The Irish Question is not so technical. It was said at the time that only one man understood it, and that he could explain it to nobody else. It resembled those dangerous cases of hydrophobia, where the poisonous germs lie hid for years in the system, only to take effect with the greater vehemence at the last. The first dangerous symptom had appeared in 1848, the last and fatal paroxysm was in 1864. It is sufficient to say here that Christian IX. incorporated the two Duchies with Denmark, though Holstein was German, and Schleswig had been inseparably united to Holstein. The German party, both in and out of the Duchies, supported the claims of Prince Frederick of Augustenburg. Bismarck, with the utmost skill, induced the Austrian Government to assist him. He represented that the movement in the Duchies was anti-monarchical, while the Austrians themselves were anxious lest Prussia should be too successful if alone. The neutrality of Russia had already been secured by the Prussian Minister, partly by the secret treaty which he had concluded with that power for the suppression of the Polish Rebellion, partly by the good impression he had made when he was Ambassador at Petersburg. Louis Napoleon had been appeased by the Franco-Prussian treaty of commerce, and had of late years made repeated overtures to the Prussian Government. England, and the rest of Europe, pouted, but did nothing. There was, therefore, no danger of a second and a greater Olmuetz. Years after Bismarck<sup>1</sup> declared that this was his most successful

<sup>1</sup> Speech; 21 Feb. 1879.



stroke of policy. "I had everything against me; Austria, the small States, the Liberals, the ladies of our Court, the English." And yet he triumphed. The Danes were defeated, and Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg were added to Prussia and Austria.

No one expected that this joint ownership would be permanent, least of all the joint owners. Austria and the middle States favoured the sovereignty of "the Augustenburger"; Prussia refused to have another autonomous State upon the Elbe. The Convention of Gastein did "but skin and flim the ulcerous place." The feud between Hapsburg and Hohenzollern was not a thing of yesterday; it was the *damnosa hereditas* of two centuries.

But the successes in the trenches of Dueppel did not lead to a victory in the Chamber of Deputies. The opposition was as strong as ever. Bismarck had, however, strengthened his position without by a new alliance. Italy wanted to eject the Austrians from Venetia, Prussia wanted to eliminate Austrian influence from Germany. Victor Emmanuel was anxious for a treaty of commerce, William I. wished for allies. Italy and Prussia stood, therefore, shoulder to shoulder. Meanwhile Austria still kept up an agitation for the disappointed "Augustenburger" in Holstein. Bismarck expostulated; Austria appealed to the Bundestag, as of old. On the 14th of June, 1866, that body met for the last time at Frankfurt; its last act was to order mobilization against Prussia. Four days later, on the anniversary of Waterloo, war was declared. As in 1864, so in 1866, there were furious protestations against the Government; there were intrigues in the Palace, there were mass meetings in the streets. Bismarck was shot at as he was walking "Unter den Linden." But would-be tyrannicide is useless now-a-days, except to the "tyrant." The Minister persisted in his policy, and persuaded the King that the time had come to strike. On the 3rd of July the Austrian troops succumbed at Sadowa. As an eminent military critic has said, the victory was due more to the discipline of the Prussians than to the needle-gun.

Great have been the results of this sharp, short, struggle. Austria left the Germanic body for ever; Prussia became the head of a new Confederation, formed out of the comparatively homogeneous States north of the Main. There was peace with Austria, and there was peace with the Chamber. The elections were, for the first time favourable to the Government; a Bill of indemnity was passed for the "budgetless rule" of the last four years. No time was lost, as in 1848, in debates on the Constitution. Prussia obtained a scientific frontier; her possessions no longer resembled that spread-eagle, which is her emblem. Her new possessions enabled her to develop her marine. To use an expression of the Chancellor, "the land-rats have taken to the water."

No contrast is more striking than the attitude which the rivals of

1866 and the rivals of 1870 have adopted to one another. Only thirteen years after the Bohemian campaign the Governments of Germany and Austro-Hungary entered into that solemn alliance which is the mainstay of European peace at this hour. But nineteen years have elapsed since the King of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor at Versailles, and yet the hatred which Frenchmen feel for Germans has not diminished one iota. It is easier to pay an indemnity than to forget the loss of territory. Austria has no Elsass to remember, and no Böhmen to recover. It is possible to-day to discuss the Seven Weeks' War as calmly as the Seven Years' War; as Professor von Sybel says: "We can talk of Koeniggratz with as little embarrassment as Kollin or Leuthen." It may be, indeed, that the settlement of Prague will not be final; there are yet eight million Germans in the Austrian dominions, who may some day join the German Empire. At this moment the subjects of Francis Joseph are uneasy; there is discontent in Bohemia, there is dissatisfaction in Hungary. The Austrian Empire is so composite that its full and correct title is as long as an ordinary preface, and is only used by officials, by pedants, and by Professor Freeman. The golden link of the Crown, and the "paper union" of the Delegations alone hold it together. Perhaps the centre of gravity will be moved from Vienna to Buda-Pesth. It is possible that its future as an empire is buried in the grave of the Archduke Rudolph.

\* But, however that may be, the German Empire has gone on gaining strength and unity since Sadowa. The hopes of Louis Napoleon that a second Confederacy of the Rhine would arise in South Germany, were baffled. On the contrary, the Zollverein again played a useful part, and a Zollparlament was formed, in which the Southern States were represented. North and South met even in 1868 on the neutral ground of commerce. Baden, a State united more closely to Prussia than any other South German principality, both by the intermarriage of their ruling houses and the national aspirations of the people, early made overtures to the North German Confederation. But Bismarck replied that the time had not yet come, and that the Badenser would be more useful if leavening the lump in the South than if joined in fact, as well as in name, to the North. Military alliances were concluded with the Southern States, which proved most effectual in the war of 1870.

That war, commenced on the most frivolous of all pretexts, was the last factor in the making of Germany. For the first time the whole German people from Rube to Schaffhausen, and from Ratibor to Aachen, were united against a common enemy. The unanimity displayed in the war of freedom of 1813, was nothing to that in the war of unity in 1870. The hopes of the French Court in a diversion in Wuertemberg and Bavaria in its favour were not fulfilled. On the anniversary of the day, when 170 years before the Elector of

Brandenburg had assumed the crown of Prussia at Königsberg, William I. was proclaimed as German Emperor at Versailles.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the German Empire is even now united together in the sense in which France or Great Britain is united. With the Reichsgericht at Leipzig, the representation of the twenty-five States in the Bundesrath, and the separate diets all over the country, this is not the case. But the Empire is bound firmly together in spite of the reservations which have been made in favour of Bavaria, and in favour of Wuerttemberg. Even as we write, there is a debate in the Reichstag on the proposal that Bavaria and Wuerttemberg should relinquish their postal rights. In October 1888 the Customs Union was extended to the whole of the Empire, by the admission of Bremen and Hamburg to the rights of membership. And every effort has been made to revive the old feelings of national pride. It is with this object that Hermann and Barbarossa have been rehabilitated, and that monuments are rising all over Germany, till Baedeker almost bursts. But as yet it is hyperbole to say with a contemporary dramatist that "Germany is in Berlin." Berlin is not, and probably never will be, Germany in the sense in which Paris is France. The very fact that the two best newspapers appear one at Frankfurt, and the other at Cologne, shows that centralization is a long way distant. Particularismus is indeed not yet dead. There are some who advocate the restoration of the Hanoverian Kingdom; there was not long since one member of the Reichstag who wished to restore the duchies to Denmark. There is discontent in Posén among the Poles and in the Reichsland among the Alsatians. There is, or rather was, the dispute between Kaiser and Pope, a dispute which has now happily been allayed; there is the danger of Socialism, as was seen when Nobiling and Hoedel fired at the old Emperor, and, as is seen in the *Geheimbundsprocess*, a Socialist trial at Elberfeld. The Germans have still to work out their liberty within. For in England *libertas* preceded *imperium*, but in Germany *imperium* has preceded *libertas*. And as unity was won by arms, so must it be maintained. As some Bavarians told the writer at the last autumn manœuvres, the easy times of the sixties have vanished. They have exchanged the life of Phœcia for the life of Sparta. To quote Prince Bismarck: "The pike in the European fish-pond prevent us from becoming carp."

We have endeavoured to exhibit in this article the fundamental antithesis between the two methods which have been tried for unifying Germany. There was the method of 1848, and the method of 1866, with the interlude of congressing in the years 1849, 1850, and 1863. We have laid especial stress upon the former of these methods, in order to show how impossible it was that parliamentary government could unite the various members of the German stock

together. Some will of course blame the Chancellor for making a great Empire by the sword. Those who agree with O'Connell, that "no political reform is worth the shedding of one drop of blood" will disapprove. Those who are of the opinion of Montesquieu, that "not he who declares war, but he who makes it necessary, is guilty," will commend. And if nationality combined with liberty is the highest end of a statesman, war is sometimes necessary. But these are questions of casuistry. We have before us a fact. The wars of 1864, of 1866, and of 1870, have been the occasion of the unification of Germany: the causes of that unification were gradual, but these causes united their combined forces in the national struggle at Gravelotte and Sedan. As may be read on a pillar at Augsburg,

"Aus Krieges Nacht  
Stieg auf mit Macht  
Der Sonne gleich  
Das deutsche Reich."

W. MILLER.

## MIDDLE CLASS' EDUCATION.

THE scope of the above title is obvious. Yet, not unfrequently, by a curious and scarcely justifiable extension, it is made to stand as a synonym for that education, which, as coming between the primary school and the University, is more correctly termed intermediate or secondary, "the great first stage," as it has been called, "of a liberal education." As to why the term middle-class should in this connection so often take the place of secondary or intermediate, various reasons might be assigned. The admitted equivalence may possibly imply, among other implications, that the middle class alone are fit subjects for this first great stage. Mr. Matthew Arnold seems to think so, in spite of his unpleasant candour towards the class to which most of us belong. "The aristocracy has so flagged," he says, "since the last century, that the great aim must now be to place the centre of the intellectual life of this country in the great middle class;" and, of course, he would be only too glad to include all who by education can be raised to join that great middle class. At any rate, we do not propose to concern ourselves very deeply about the aristocracy; they have their own schools—Eton, Harrow, Winchester; they have, or they used to have them; for though the shadow of the aristocratic wing still hangs over them, they have now become schools for the sons rather of plutocrats than of aristocrats; they are schools where successful money-getters teach their sons to be successful money-squanderers; schools where they send their sons not for education properly so called, but, for introduction to what they are not foolish enough to despise—aristocratic manners and social advantages. These men constitute what is called the upper fragment of the middle classes; these, also, we propose, in the main, to neglect; we shall hand them over to their own aristocracy; and along with them we must likewise dismiss those sections of the professional, civil, military, and commercial classes who, at a cruel pecuniary sacrifice, send their sons to schools that are somewhat cheaper than Eton, but may be roughly catalogued with it. While it will be impossible altogether to exclude all reference to such schools, or to elementary schools, or even to the universities, from a

<sup>1</sup> *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*, by Matthew Arnold; *A French Boy*, by Matthew Arnold; *Mixed Essays*, *Porro unum est necessarium*, *Equality*, &c., by Matthew Arnold. *Industrial Education*, by Sir Philip Magnus. *Journal of Education*, *Revue Pédagogique*, various numbers.

discussion on middle class education, we desire to deal chiefly with the mass of the middle class, which such institutions barely touch, or do not touch, at all.

The question before us is already approaching the boundary of practical politics; if not a burning question, it may fairly be called a smoking one, for the year before last it was the theme of a debate in the House of Commons.<sup>1</sup> The growth of democratic influence which has entailed the systematizing of the education of the wage earning classes, must inevitably lead to a demand for a like systematizing on behalf of the directing classes. A large portion of these directing classes are at present asleep to the full intellectual life which might be their own portion and the heritage of their children; but there are signs of awakening both to educational possibilities, and to the fact, that if they do not organize their education betimes, the future will slip out of the hands of the class most fitted by nature and circumstances to shape the destiny of the nation at large. For good or for evil, the days of directorate by aristocracy of rank are practically over; even the Cabinet no longer consists altogether of peers and peer's sons; the time for such a guidance is gone; into whose hands are the guiding lines to pass? Into the hands of those whose life is absorbed in toil and striving, who have little or no opportunity of passing beyond the instruction which is elementary? Or into the hands of that large intermediate class, constituting the safest guardians of justice and freedom, because their sturdiness and independence is a tradition of centuries, and because they are the natural breakwater against poverty on the one side and plethoric wealth on the other? Or, shall we not rather say—and this formulates our present aspiration—into the hands of a great class, mainly middle, but gathered from all classes, a class welded by homogeneity of education into a homogeneous whole, when the disintegrating remnants of feudalism shall have largely passed away, and the republic and equality of the school shall have been naturally continued and developed in the republic and equality of national life? In France, whatever other deficiencies may exist—as we earnestly hope only for a time—the sense of social alienation between the various sections of the middle class and between the middle and upper classes, has been all but effaced by the system of secondary education, which has been founded and erected on the ideas of the great Revolution, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. “It is our middle class,” says M. Bardoux, a recent Minister of Public Instruction, “which makes the grandeur and originality of the nation.” They form an immense class, “all subjects for secondary instruction,” and all “receiving it of one equal quality, and in schools of one equal standing.” The bulk of the middle class in England is separated

<sup>1</sup> Since the above was written *Intermediate Education in Wales* has become the subject of a measure adopted by the Government.

quite unequivocally from the professions, and from all that class which some distinguish as the class of gentlemen; but in France there is no such great gulf fixed. Says Mr. Arnold: "The French aristocracy has, it is true, a spirit of caste; it strives to separate itself, to assert its superiority, to give effect to its prepossessions. But the immense homogeneous middle class in France is too strong for it. The mind and imagination of this class is not subjugated by aristocracy like the mind and imagination of the middle class in our country. The great mass of it has not, as with us, the sense of an inferior training; it is brought up in schools of as good standing as those of the aristocracy; it is brought up on the first plane." As Quintilian once said: "To have been instructed in the same studies is a no less sacred bond than to have been initiated into the same rites." To have been educated at the same school, or at schools of equal standing, is a long step towards an equality corresponding to that of birth or social position. French education has its own great defects—defects which are being slowly remedied—defects mainly in physical manliness, and in the trust reposed in the pupil; but this sense of equality, of personal dignity, is a precious bequest of the Revolution of 1789; and what has been achieved in France by revolution may surely be achieved in England by statesmanship.

What then is the present position of the middle class in regard to the "first great stage of a liberal education?" We need not, we are sure, ask pardon for following the example of Mr. John Morley, and quoting once more Mr. Matthew Arnold. His life-long advocacy of a full and true education for the middle class, whose self-sacrifice for freedom in the past, whose force and fitness for the future he was the first to acknowledge, may well help us to forgive and forget his harmless, though not always pointless, fault-finding with this class as it is, and his occasional injustice to the class as he conceived it to be. He had personally visited the secondary schools of Germany and France, and was competent by long personal experience to speak of the state of secondary education in England. Mr. Arnold may not have been a religious philosopher; but he was a proved educationalist. In the recent House of Commons debate, Mr. Morley quoted with approval Mr. Arnold's well-known sweeping arraignment of English middle class education, uttered first in 1859, and endorsed twenty years later. "Our middle classes are among the worst educated in the world." Undoubtedly the case is not so bad now as it was in 1859. Some good came out of the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1864: through the Endowed Schools Commission appointed as a consequence in 1868, and through the Charity Commission, which subsequently entered into their labours, many Grammar schools have been roused from somnolence and futility; new "Schemes" for misused and inadequately administered endowments have adapted them more or less

successfully to the middle class needs of the present day. Cheaper, and fairly effective schools, county schools for instance, like Bedford and Birmingham, and Canon Woodward's Schools, and the schools of the Girls' Public Day School Company, have been founded in various parts of the kingdom. Birmingham, under wise and liberal guidance, has by utilization of its endowments secured an almost unique provision for secondary education. And then for Science and Art, there are in various places Institutions connected with the Science and Art Department; and there are the Technical Schools that are rising in London, round the City and Guilds of London Institute. The result in one respect is, patent. Those who watch the lists of scholarships and honours at the older universities will not fail to observe that it is the grammar schools and schools of that grade, and not the great public schools so called, which now mainly carry off University distinctions. Facilities for culture have kindled a wider appreciation of it: the supply is creating the demand. But, after all, only the fringe of the deficiency has been touched. According to the calculation of Mr. Arthur Acland (in the absence of official statistics) of the half million children, boys and girls, who form the material for secondary schools, not more than 100,000 are in endowed schools: these are under checks and guarantees sometimes forcible, sometimes feeble: of the remaining 400,000, at least half are under no manner of check or guarantee whatever, and even where Oxford and Cambridge local examinations and the examinations of the College of Preceptors furnish some index to the character of the education, this index points only to selected pupils, and these again only in such schools as voluntarily court examination. It is still literally true that "our body of secondary schools, taken as a whole, is the most unserviceable in civilized Europe." It is still true also that the great majority of British middle-class parents, having but a feeble conception of what education really is, are more anxious to have their children's education cheap than to have it good. "Do-the-boys Hall" is to this day only a caricature, educationally speaking, of many "establishments" and educational "homes" with which parents are carelessly and ignorantly satisfied. It is still possible for any ignoramus who has failed in other lines of business to open a school, and even make it a preposterous success by columns of advertisements containing such tempting allurements (to give two instances within our own personal experience) as that "only the daughters of gentlemen are received," and that "the beef and mutton are fed and killed on the premises." The *Manchester Guardian* (no harum-scarum newspaper), is responsible for the statement that in the "minor Lancashire towns" (and we presume Lancashire is not an exceptional county) "the secondary schools are still, as a rule, incredibly inefficient:" that "Owen's College and



all similar Colleges are unable to do good technical and scientific work because their pupils come forward from these secondary schools so hopelessly badly prepared; and nothing is more certain (as the same journal wisely adds) "than that we shall never have anything worthy of being called a system of technical education unless we have a sound system of general education behind it." (Jan. 22, 1889.) So much for the character of the schools. As to organization, Mr. John Morley said: "It is not too much to say that everything in our educational system" (he stretches a point in using such a complimentary word), "between the elementary schools and the Universities, is in a state of neither more nor less than hopeless chaos." There was no contention whatever in the House against this statement, though, as Mr. Morley added, he was "speaking in the presence of gentlemen well acquainted with the state of education in the country." And the general experience teaches that what he said is true. How many towns and districts are there where schools, and even good schools, tumble over one another, not graded one above the other or co-ordinated one with the other, but all teaching or endeavouring to teach the same subjects, and competing unnecessarily and mischievously with one another to their mutual impoverishment and mutual deterioration. And again, how many towns and districts are there that are educationally perishing for lack of some of those very schools which create plethora in the locality where they are. And then the "ladder," as it is often called, from the gutter to the University, how many rungs can we count in it as yet? How many opportunities are there for poor boys and girls, and even for boys and girls not so very poor, to rise from school to school, and from school to college, and in this way attain such a development of their natural powers as shall enable them to the full extent of their capacity to serve their country and permanently enrich the common weal? The "Schemes" of the last twenty years tend without doubt in the right direction; but, with the present scarcity of leaving exhibitions, the average number of working class boys who reach a college of any kind is ridiculously small. From a calculation made by Mr. Mitcheson (*Journal of Education*, Oct. 1888); and covering 124 schools, it is gathered that the average number of such boys has not been more than two in ten years from each school. And what is true of working class boys is true of multitudes of boys above them. A parent need not be a working-man to be too poor to send a promising son to the University without the help of leaving exhibitions. No wonder then that, both from lack of good and available schools, and from lack of systematic organization, our middle classes, compared with those of Germany, France, the United States, and other countries, are among the "worst educated in the world." It is obvious, moreover, how much ability and service are

lost to the country, and how immeasurable is the loss to the boys themselves. But what is to be done? It is no longer alleged that time alone is required for cosmos to evolve itself out of chaos: such a paradox has been surrendered for primary education; and for secondary education also it must go to the wall. "An organized and co-ordinated whole cannot evolve itself: it must be planned and regulated by some higher power."

One pre-requisite to the reform of middle class education is already beginning to be satisfied; the middle classes are themselves crying out. We cannot, indeed, lay claim on their behalf that their cry for organized secondary education is inspired altogether, or even very much, by the love of education for its own sake, because it draws out the faculties, develops the character, refines the mind, and prepares for the best kind of service. The air is full of talk about technical education, and this fact points to German and American competition as opening the blind eyes. Now, the word technical admits of a very wide acceptance; it may mean, and with some of its advocates it does mean, all that education which prepares a boy in a liberal way for the position in life, which he shows signs of fitness to occupy, or which perforce he must occupy. They allege that the scientific principles, which lie at the root of a trade or business, or of a profession, may be made the basis of an education truly liberal. Of this by-and-bye; meanwhile, if by technical education is meant something much narrower—to wit, instruction in a definite trade or business, such as that of a builder, or of a dealer in cotton goods; in other words, if by technical education is meant a system of "straight tips," then it is not secondary education, properly so-called; it could be nothing more than the last stage of it, and the lowest form of it. Even there its position is doubtful. Trade is best learnt in trade and business in business. The apprenticeship schools of Paris and the workshop schools of Bavaria and Austria are still uncertain experiments. When Boswell asked Johnson what he thought it was best to teach children first, the reply was: "Sir, it is no matter what you teach them first, any more than what leg you shall put into your breeches first." But Johnson was speaking of general culture; in the case of technical education we cannot adopt his indifference. A sound general culture must be the basis of the special training. "Die Praxis kommt bald genug," say the Germans, who are mostly wise enough to put their special school, leading up to trade or business, as the last step in secondary education, and not at the outset. At Munich, for example, the technical college does not receive pupils before the age of sixteen; and even when, as in Saxony, special mercantile subjects may predominate after fourteen, general culture continues to be amply provided for. But the haste of Saxony is not in harmony with the view of Germany as a whole, which is in favour of a thorough preparatory general culture. It is

an undeniable fact, that the German young man of business is cuckooing the English one out of his nest, not so much because he is better trained in his special business as because he is better educated all round. He is, therefore, more capable of picking up the necessary experience quickly and thoroughly, besides being more immediately serviceable to the English merchant amid the widening requirements and the growing competition of modern commerce. A well-known German merchant at the head of a house in England writes to us: "My complaint is not that the commercial education of the English middle classes is so inferior to that of the German, but that their general education compares so unfavourably." It is not surprising, therefore, that among the firms replying to the circular of inquiry issued by the Education Committee of the London Chamber of Commerce, 35 per cent. employed German clerks, and many others declared that the exigencies of business would soon compel them to follow suit, not one per cent. of English clerks being able to correspond in a foreign language; and, it is a fact that fully one-fifth of the houses of business in London are of German origin. If our sons are to hold their own and stem the tide of the peaceful but overwhelming German invasion of the home and the foreign markets, it is of no use to listen to foolish men who chatter about a tax on foreigners, or a Foreigner's Exclusion Act; we must try the methods which are making Germans indispensable to English traders; we must try that organization of education from head to foot which has produced in Germany a thoroughness of teaching, and thereby a tradition of culture, a love of learning, a devotion to work, far more widely spread than in our own country; and which has enabled, Prussia especially, to recover, and far more than recover, by her schools, the position she lost by the sword at the battle of Jena.

But there must be no slavish imitation, no mere importation of an educational exotic. We have our own national genius, our own customs and traditions, and we must shape our methods accordingly: we may then succeed in getting even a better article than the Germans themselves have secured. It will not be difficult to define the aims on which, at this important crisis, we should fix our eyes. Talleyrand once said that the education of the great English public schools was the best in the world, but that even this was detestable. We may disentangle the paradox. The best result of the education of the great English public schools is what is called the public school spirit. This may be set forth in fuller detail as manliness, independence, equality, or republicanism in fellowship; sense of honour, and scorn of meanness and pettiness; that magnanimity, that style and tone and temper; in a word, that personal dignity which comes from belonging to a great institution adopted, so to say, by the nation, and which stands to the boy, not "as a large family, but as a little world," a sphere of apprenticeship to the knowledge of himself and of the

characters of others—for public schoolboys are not reticent—and to the direction and management of affairs. Boys that have caught the public school spirit are easily recognizable; the phrase “a type of a public schoolboy” is no empty phrase, nor is it a small delight to meet with such a boy. This is the one thing which the English public schools, with all their defects, can justly claim to have produced. The mischief is that, while such as they have they have given, they have given it to so small a portion of each generation. As Mr. Arnold says, “their influence is confined to the aristocratic class, the higher professional class, a certain number from the richer families of the commercial class, of the great body of the commercial class, and of the immense middle class of this country, it reaches hardly one.” Happily the essentials of the public school spirit exist more or less in multitudes that have never seen the inside of a public school; nevertheless it remains true that the public schools tend to produce an article of their own; and it will surely be admitted that the spread of this spirit throughout the length and breadth of the middle class would be an inestimable boon to the whole country. But Talleyrand’s description of the education as detestable may be interpreted of the other side of things—the fact that the ordinary public schoolboy is not educated, in the proper sense of the term; his tone, his temper, his manners may be irreproachable, but he has not received a liberal education; he has not been sufficiently trained—scientifically in its widest meaning—taught to reflect systematically, to look at things as they are, “to come at reason and the will of God by reading, observing, and thinking.” He has bathed in a stream which has petrified him against the touch of the ideal, and he has not even the general information which in some degree helps superficially to conceal a bad training. His shortcoming is partly due to the shadow of aristocracy which hangs over all English public schools. Aristocracy has tone, and manner, but (with the exceptions usual to all rules) weight of rank and weight of property are not prone either to the studious or to the ideal; most estimable people are these people, not unfrequently, but no more idealistic than the young man with great possessions. To be a hard worker at a public school is to earn the name of a “smug” or a “swat.” “There are our young barbarians all at play,” if Mr. Arnold’s designation of the upper classes as barbarians may justify me in adapting Byron’s line. It is quite unnecessary in these days to defend the cultivation of manly sports in moderation; but it cannot be good even for boys to make their amusement their business; so excessively to devote themselves to sports that their interest in literature is bounded by the four corners of the *Sportsman*, or the paper commonly called *The Pink ’Un*, unless, indeed, they rise to the more respectable altitude of the *Field*. And those who, fascinated by the peculiar charm of aristocracy, send their sons to the great aristocratic schools, ostensibly to be educated, but in reality to

be aristocratized, must not be surprised if they come back upon their hands neither systematic thinkers nor seekers after high ideals, nor even acquainted with facts. They ought not to complain, even when they are capable of complaining; if they have received a stone, they did not ask for bread; verily they have their reward; and the reward often gives the pessimist occasion for his sweeping impeachment: "If our private schools produce poor creatures, our public schools produce sad dogs." These, then, are the two sides in English public school education, "the best education in the world," and "the most detestable," and the aim of reformers should be to keep the good, and to cast the bad away, to ennoble, and at the same time to instruct; to spread widely the public school spirit, and to transform the public school education. The human basis to build upon is firm and stable; it is neither sand nor clay but rock. We, of the middle class, may be Philistines, but he who calls us Philistines, does it tenderly, like Izaak Walton treating his worm, even as though he loved him. He believes in us after all. "The Puritan middle class," he says, "with all its faults, is still the best stuff in the nation. Some have hated it and persecuted it; many have flattered and derided it; I have believed in it. It is the best stuff in the nation, and in its success is our best hope for the future." With all their comparative self-complacency and unimpressibility, their prejudices and their matter of fact, they are the reading class, the thinking class, the meditative, studious, observant class: they include a large section of the cultured who are ardent pursuers of the ideal: in boyhood they can spend more years at school than the workman's child; in manhood they usually have or make more leisure than the toiler with his hands, and fortunately less than the ordinary man of rank and property; they live neither in a balloon nor in the gutter; their middle position enables them to keep touch with and elevate the common people below, as well as to stimulate the uncommon people above. There can be no reason why with the spread and increase of culture and personal dignity they should not rise almost *en masse*, as in part they have already risen, and are perpetually rising to a level of personal equality with the higher class, sharing in its governing instincts and qualities, and no longer swamped by its special defects, as the present fragment from the top of the middle class too often is, and almost inevitably must be; but rather through sheer force of numbers transforming that higher class by their systematic culture, their sympathies, their ideals, their innate vitality. Then and then only can glaring class distinctions be toned down when education, manners, personal dignity, beget a sense of personal equality, and enable men freely and without friction to associate together. In this respect, at any rate, it is true that they do these things better in France; if the notion is too idealistic for England at present, we may, at least, lay hold of time

and opportunity and means as they offer us their guidance towards the goal. It is only a common education and a common personal dignity that are required to weld together the two main sections of the middle class, the upper and the lower; and it is hard to see why this common education should not, in due season, produce the same result in England as in France. Why, with such a precedent before us, the attempt should not be made to bring the middle class into homogeneity, so that (to adopt Lord Coleridge's classification) clergy, officers, doctors, solicitors, gentry with large families and small means, farmers, small landowners, and tradesmen may, as in France, form a large and influential middle class, without gaping social distinctions or demarcations. The tone of the recent debate in the House of Commons may be taken as an index that the time and opportunity are all but upon us for some such systematic and healthy development of our middle class education. Along what lines can we turn this time and opportunity to advantage?

First of all we require an adequate supply of public secondary schools. Here voluntarism will prove very little more efficient than it was found to be for the supply of elementary schools. In this case also we must look finally to the State. And why should we not? "Government," says Burke, "is a contrivance of human wisdom to supply human wants." Of course, Burke never meant that the State is a kind of Whiteley, a universal and indiscriminate provider to save the individual trouble; but when individual effort signally fails to provide something on which the prosperity, it may be even the stability, of the State depends, then the State must look to it. We have not the schools; we cannot get them for ourselves; we must have them. This is the summing-up of the case. Further, the State must look to it because the schools must be, not only sufficient in number, but good and cheap. It goes without question that an "educational establishment," which professes to provide boarders with everything on a liberal scale for £25 or £30 a year, may provide the cheapness, but cannot provide the education; and yet, to meet middle class wants, the fees for boarders at a public secondary school must be as low as £25 a year, and must certainly not in the highest grades exceed £50. In a word, in order that the education in such schools may be both cheap and good, the expenses must be in some way subventioned by the State. There are, moreover, advantages in the State connection outside the region of necessity. It would give to the schools that public stamp which is, speaking broadly, a primary requisite for the implantation and growth of the public-school spirit. To make secondary education a national concern would be to give the offspring of the middle classes, in the words of the eminent educationalist previously quoted, "great, honourable, public institutions for their nurture—institutions conveying to the spirit, at the time of life when the spirit is most

penetrable, the salutary influences of greatness, honour, and nationality—influences which expand the soul, liberalize the mind, dignify the character.” Efficient voluntary and private schools should, of course, have an opportunity of acquiring for themselves this public stamp, and probably for their own sake would lose no time in doing so, by means which could easily be devised. Again, State organization, and this alone, can, by grading and co-ordinating schools, prevent waste of power in some districts, and dearth of power in others; can obviate the unhealthy competition of superabundant schools in the same district endeavouring to cover the same educational ground, and can on the other hand secure different kinds of education in the same district in accordance with the special needs of the district, or the future career of the pupils. Further, the adequate, and therefore State-provided, supply of secondary schools would tend to cheapen and to improve secondary education in other ways; it would develop healthily the day boy system, whereby boys can be at a good school, and yet at the same time under the supervision of home or friends. The cost of education would thus, as in the case of town grammar schools, be reduced so as to range, according to grade in the schools, between £5 and £15 a year, while many of the evils in boarding-schools, whether cheap or dear, would be largely prevented. Lastly, the refreshing shower of such cheap and good education would scatter drops even upon those outside the covenant; it would bring down the fees of the large public schools, and make it possible, and even fashionable to educate a boy like a gentleman for less than some hundreds a year, while the quality of the newly organized education would undoubtedly have its effect in stimulating to a reform of methods those schools which have remained almost impervious to the vociferous demands of modern times.

Secondly, adequate supervision is as necessary as an adequate supply. The machinery, provided or supplemented by public funds, must not be withdrawn from the public eye. Many new schemes have been evolved from the Charity Commission, and taken in hand by local governing bodies; but, till quite recently, the Commissioners have not made it any part of their duty to ascertain that these schemes are working satisfactorily, nor do they even know, in many cases, that the spirit or the letter of the schemes is being worked at all. Within the last year, however, in compliance with the recommendations of the Lyon Playfair Select Committee on the administration of the Endowed Schools Acts, they have appointed a few assistant commissioners to inspect and report upon the financial and administrative arrangements of the endowed schools in certain selected counties, though not to satisfy themselves as to the efficiency of the teaching. This is a step in the right direction, and the first year's report just published, referring to some eighty schools, reveals less disregard of schemes than might have been expected. But the

ground covered is small, and the supervision is insufficient. If the nation determines to supply itself with secondary schools, the right and the duty thoroughly to supervise the whole area of secondary education will be enormously augmented. When the middle-class parent pays for education, he has very little power, as a rule, to see that he gets it; and, as has been said before, a large majority have but slight appreciation of what true education is: whence it comes, one may suppose, that they aim at the cheap rather than the good. But the discussions on education, and especially on secondary education, during the last quarter of a century—the Commissions and Committees at home, and the official and unofficial investigations abroad, the birth and growth of head-masters' conferences, of teachers' guilds and associations, and of special newspapers and periodicals, affording a field, and sometimes an arena, for the various views of educationalists—are already creating a science of comparative education, and preparing the way for a practical supervision, which, in the schools we are speaking of, must seek to secure not uniformity so much as unity. It is not necessary, nor would it be advisable, to demand from the higher schools of this country the clockwork uniformity of France, nor to supply the English Minister of Education with the satisfaction of reflecting, as he looks at his watch, that all the pupils in the secondary schools are doing the same work at the same minute; nor, again, to subject these higher schools to the same rigid kind of inspection as the elementary schools. Better, indeed, "uniformity than rubbish," and better cast-iron regulation than confusion and neglect. But it must be obvious that such methods would be impracticable; some milder and less intrusive supervision could easily be devised—say, in connection with the principal examinations, and carried on, perhaps, by the aid of the Universities, which have recently shown themselves, in some directions, remarkably capable as ministers and stewards of education. As a small preliminary step, for example, the Universities might extend their leaving-certificate examinations over a much wider area than as yet they cover. The Scotch Education Department is already showing the way by undertaking to examine the Scotch secondary schools for leaving certificates. But the present voluntarism in accepting such tests as these must, in due time, be replaced by compulsion in all schools claiming and receiving the national stamp; this appears to be the only way of securing general excellence. The threads of supervision must finally converge on one individual, on whom will naturally converge likewise the various avenues of information as to what is best in educational thought and method, in this country and in other countries; one who, with the assistance not of a heterogeneous Committee of Council on Education (and on things in general), but of a Council chosen from those known and approved in the country as men



interested in secondary education, and thoroughly alive to its needs and possibilities, will be able to take a wider view than is usually possible to local bodies, which are not always free from local prejudices and provincial narrowness. In a word it is time to appoint a Minister of Education, responsible to the nation for a national office. The present estimable Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, mildly and politely supported by the First Lord of the Treasury, seems to think that he is in himself sufficient for all these things. But not so Mr. Mundella, who has looked at the prospect from the same standpoint. A "giant manager of elementary schools" is not our ideal of a Minister of Education from the Universities down to the primary schools. A Vice-President of a Committee of Council, besides being distracted with other multifarious duties, is not imposing enough for the head of a national system of education, elementary, secondary, and superior. He is a subordinate official, looking out for promotion to some more dignified department, or an inferior official of no great administrative ability, for whom some berth must be found; he is not a first-class man in a first-class position, a great statesman with scope for great statesmanship. A national system must have a distinguished national head. Why should we not use our Humboldts as the Prussians used theirs? The very appointment of a Minister of Education would give a distinction to education which, on a large section of our middle class, would produce an impression of its significance much to be desired, being a public recognition of a fact which has not yet dawned upon millions in the English nation, that education is at least as important as war or foreign affairs, and is worthy of better company than that of cattle plague and swine fever.

And, further, are we not approaching agreement that there should be a registration of teachers, and that a compulsory one? We exact registration from our medical men, and even from our veterinary surgeons; the nation is only just awaking to the consciousness that to develop the mind is as important as to arrest the decay of the body; how long will it take to make the qualifications of those who profess to educate the nation's children as much a matter of national concern as the qualifications of those who give draughts for the measles or drenches to a cow? The nation needs protecting from impostrous educators quite as carefully as parents from quacks in physic, or farmers from self-constituted abettors of pleuro-pneumonia. Registration need not mean tyranny and exclusiveness, but it should insist on some reasonable and recognized conditions of competency, whether a degree (which ought to be made uniformly worth something) or an examination equivalent to that for a degree. With regard to private schools, we are not called upon to imitate French rigidity in demanding a five years' previous experience in a secondary school, but we ought to require some such test as the above; also that the school should

be periodically open to some kind of inspection, and that all the premises of the school should be in a satisfactory sanitary condition. In all probability the obvious advantage of a State *imprimatur* upon a private school when it has to compete with public schools in the same neighbourhood, would materially ease the friction of compulsory registration, and this modified form of compulsory inspection.

But some one may ask, where are the funds to come from? Well, that is not the question usually asked first when even in time of peace we are preparing for war, or when the estimates come before the House for what are not inaptly called the spending departments. If we could reduce our unnecessary expenditure only a few millions, by seeing that we get what we pay for, if we could shorten our enormous list of pensions, and modify our gigantic system of out-door relief to classes not at the bottom of the scale, we should have all that we require for secondary education. Mr. Acland's rough calculation is five millions annually. Were it twice, or four times, that sum, the nation would be wise to pay it. Secondary education is at least as important as elementary; indeed in Germany, until 1888, the State grants went exclusively to secondary education, the Communes providing for the elementary; and the Germans are reaping what in their comparative poverty they have sown. Of course, there are the available educational endowments, many of which might be made to go further; Mr. Mundella's somewhat sanguine estimate puts them at a million per annum. There are, besides corporate and charitable funds, in London and out of it, which are pauperizing both rich and poor; and which are waiting for the arrival of a nobler function. And there are other funds of course—but I need not complete the catalogue. Whatever funds, however, are lacking, temporarily or permanently, would have to be supplied by the State, with the assistance of the municipality for whose benefit the schools are founded and maintained. What other nations do out of their insufficiency, England can do out of her abundance. After all, the penuriously disposed may be reminded that the expenditure would be an investment, to return, in time, a hundred-fold.

But when we have the schools, what is to be the principle of the education? What subjects are we going to teach, and—a more important question still—how are we going to teach them? De Morgan used to say that every subject of study might be made the element of a liberal education, if properly taught. Yes, every subject—but not every subject an equally effective element. The field is still held by Latin and Greek, and Greek especially, as the highest type of intellectual and educational gymnastics. These two languages have not survived simply because western mankind have indulged the freak of teaching them in schools. The very death of these dead languages—dead indeed, but immortal—makes them fitter instruments for their work, because a living language may, by the help

of the ear, be acquired with far less thought and exertion, and, therefore, with a far lower educational result. Even German, perhaps the hardest modern language usually taught, has been proved by those who have tried both, to be altogether inferior to Greek for mental training. The study of Greek exercises the logical faculty by the unusual difficulty of reaching the meaning, and the stern necessity of keeping touch with the underlying thought; the faculty of observation, by the perpetual pitfalls hidden in the niceties of accidence and the intricacies of construction; the scientific faculty by the presentation of the noblest specimen of language as an organism, ruled by definite laws of growth and decay. And, combined with these lower gymnastics, there is a higher training; a training in the knowledge of human nature, its relations and its needs, as displayed in the calm, clear, impartial history of Thucydides, and the masterly, musical oratory of Demosthenes; a training in moral philosophy, in the unsurpassed acumen of Plato's dialogues; a training in politics, and social statics, and political economy generally, in the profound and still invaluable researches and discussions of Aristotle; while the deeper tones of the human heart still sound to the touch of beauty and strength, sympathy and earnestness, in the poetry of Homer, Æschylus, and Sophocles, and, last but not least, in the moral dialectics of St. Paul. Language and literature, science and art, logic and philosophy, poetry, music and morals — where else will you find in one study such concentrated essence of training? What nobler gateway could be discovered through which to enter upon the acquirement of any other knowledge in modern language, science, history or literature? Let the unbeliever try the effect upon himself or his boy of a thorough study of Greek under a teacher who knows how to teach. But this is an ideal: it requires many years for school and college; for, of course, side by side with Latin and Greek, other subjects must be taught of which no educated man can now afford to be ignorant. And we have to face facts. However pre-eminent, as mental gymnastics, Greek and Latin, when properly taught, may be, we have to meet the question of time. The vast majority of the middle class must leave school early in order to enter business: if they are taught Greek and Latin for the time required to gather the harvest which these studies can really yield, they must practically ignore subjects which bear on their future career; they must omit that education which will act as a bridge between school and business, and without which the boy in the office or in the warehouse must feel that he has altogether left the things that are behind, and has crossed an ocean into a strange world. By all means, let all who can go on by graded schools to the very highest culture; but the pressure of modern life, and the successful precedent of nations rising in a throng of competition around us, compel us, however

reluctantly, to abandon, except for the few, what we regard as the highest instruments of culture, and to adopt some that are lower. This is the view of the majority of the Commercial Education Committee of the London Chamber of Commerce, which includes, among other representative names, that of Dr. Mercival, the headmaster of Rugby. It seems to be the view also of the decided majority of the scholastic authorities to whom they submitted the preliminary draft of their scheme for commercial education. In face of this unmistakable preponderance of scholastic opinion, the Committee reluctantly came to the decision to withdraw Latin from the scheme in its final shape. The problem we have to solve in these days, in dealing with the education of the bulk of our people, is how to educate by means of what will prepare for the future career; how to train the mind through that which will fit the possessor of the mind to get a living; for without this capacity he can be of no manner of use to himself or to any one else. But we shall be told, "These are bread-and-butter studies. You are degrading education by making it professional, commercial, artisan." Well, do not let us be too proud of the history of classical education; even Greek and Latin have, in time past been taught and are frequently taught still, for professional purposes. The classics have always been, more or less, handmaids to the faculties of theology, law and medicine; they have held the key to the church, the bar, the diploma, the civil service, the schoolmaster's desk, and the college fellowship. To a very considerable extent they hold the key still. It is said that an Oxford Don some years ago gave utterance to this high-sounding self-gratulation: "Finally, my brethren, we come to the conclusion that the study of the classics ought to be pursued not only because thereby we are enabled to look down with contempt on the vast majority of our fellow-creatures, but also because we are thereby oftentimes advanced to positions of considerable emolument." Fabulous, of course, but suggestive. Even Greek and Latin have not been superior to the attractions of bread and butter. But they have also cultivated the mind, balanced the judgment, and moulded the character; so also, in their own way, may the studies that prepare for commerce and even for trade, if they be taught liberally and scientifically. There is a mountainous ignorance in England even among those who are presumed to have enjoyed a classical education, an ignorance which even a commercial education would hardly have increased. But if we may judge from the recent report on the results of the first examination held by the two Universities for the new commercial certificates, commercial education in England, in any decent sense of the term, is non-existent. The report has been condensed into the one phrase "bad all round, with French almost worthless and German quite so." Perhaps this is too sweeping a condemnation; but it is obvious that subjects bearing more or less

directly upon a commercial career, have not as yet had a fair chance in England of showing their prowess as instruments of culture. If they are condemned, they are condemned almost unheard. They need indeed to be protected from their friends. Genuine educationalists must turn with some loathing from the spirit of works that have recently appeared on commercial education: every chapter reverberates with the rattling of the money-bags; every page is a confession, or rather a boastful parade of the view that, whatever subordinate elements it may include, the highest object of commercial education is to restore and maintain England's commercial prosperity. It looks as if the aim of this movement was to justify Napoleon's definition of us as a nation of shopkeepers. There is something far higher (need it be said?) than commercial prosperity. Many a nation has been degraded by its wealth: many a nation has been ennobled by its involuntary frugality. Commercial education must not be narrowly but most widely conceived: it must include the literary and humanistic elements which furnish ideas to guide the conduct and mould the character; for (as Mr. John Morley says) "it is upon conduct and character that the future of this nation will depend." If commercial education is thus enlarged in its scope and liberalized in its teaching, we shall achieve two objects simultaneously: we shall secure commercial fitness and a personal culture which will make the fitness all the more fit; and then it will not have to be said of our commercially educated young man:—

"He was a man that handled quills,  
With a head for nothing but doing bills."

And if we look at some of the subjects which bear directly on trade or business, we shall see what potentiality lies in them for a liberal education. To pass by the avenues to culture which mere reading, writing, and arithmetic, lay open to all, we can conceive how in a higher sphere the future architect, engineer, artist or artisan, may have his mind enlarged and his reasoning faculties developed by being taught scientifically the nature and possibilities of the materials and machinery with which he will have to work, and the history of their use and development in his own country and elsewhere: he may be made handy (and handiness is an education) by practice with the carving tool and the lathe: he may be taught the beautiful in form by modelling in clay, and by freshand drawing, especially with the brush; he may be taught accuracy of detail by geometrical drawing, and exactness of thought by special mathematics. The farmer that is to be, may be similarly cultivated by learning to appreciate the scientific basis of his agricultural operations, the chemistry of the assimilation of soil and crop and of fertilization through the agents he employs, and the character of the agricultural products adapted by Nature to the soil and climatic

conditions of his own and foreign countries: the future merchant (and every German clerk looks forward to being a merchant in the end and not a clerk all his days) will gain width and culture from the study of commercial geography—"with large maps," as a prominent politician once wisely recommended—a study which means a comprehensive acquaintance with all the countries in the mercantile world (and all the world is potentially mercantile) their peculiarities, their necessities, their capabilities as markets for English productions: he will gain width and culture also from his study of French and German, and the literature which a liberal study of those languages involves; from his training in political economy, in the laws of production, distribution and consumption, and in historic economics, as they show him the causes of failure and success in the various industries and commercial methods throughout the world. These are but specimens of those elements in a commercial education which furnish materials ready to hand not only for a commercial but also for a liberal education: they touch, and in some cases, penetrate deeply, the regions of science, art, language and literature: they deal with mechanics, chemistry, geology, natural history, political, social, and economic history, and a general knowledge of men and things: they have to do with thought and expression, and, by inevitable necessity, with the character and conduct of those who have done noble, beneficial and enduring work, as well as some of those who have done petty, mischievous, and ephemeral work among their fellow-men. And so we find the commercial, if liberally treated, embraces within itself the manual, the intellectual, the moral and even the religious, and becomes available in good hands for the development of the body, the mind and the spirit together; and this too, in subjects which are not likely to be tossed aside as useless in after-life, but rather to be bound more closely to it by their obvious practical utility. Men so educated will not only be fitted to secure and augment England's commercial prosperity, but will be copiously furnished for all good works.

These are some of the chief aims of those who would supply one thing needful in English education. Any appeal to the present state of things to bring such desires to good effect would be like an invocation to "Chaos and old Night" to put themselves in order and bring light out of darkness. The indolent consciousness of power has made England, educationally, the laggard of Europe. Why should she be the laggard any longer? Our insular pride is fast disappearing before the knowledge that is being forced upon us. We are learning that it is best to be teachable, even if the teacher be an enemy. It is of little avail to be brave with the educational matchlock and Brown Bess, when the opposing force is armed with weapons of precision; to be content with educational guerilla

warfare when the rival nations have organized themselves into a regular army. "He that keeps the school, keeps the future," says the French proverb; and the Germans have proved its truth since the days of Frederick William III. The future of England hangs not upon the brute force at her disposal, her ships, her guns, her men, her money: energy enough she has and to spare, but if it be not cultivated and wisely directed, its outcome will be like what is sometimes seen in India when, with all the pride of ancient prerogative and all the contempt for modern new-fangled ways, a sacred bull charges a railway train. It is on the education of her youth that England's destiny depends. Happily what was once a voice crying in the wilderness is now heard in the streets and highways: "Organize, organize, organize your intermediate education." But—

"If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well  
It were done quickly."

Quite justifiable is insular pride which believes in our country—that what other nations have done and are doing by the organization of education, England can do and can outdo; but equally justifiable is the conviction that if England much longer defers the discharge of her deepest obligation to her sons and daughters, she will fall behind in the race which the world is running, and, what is far more serious, she will fail to fulfil those exalted functions for the world's renovation which we believe that Heaven has devolved upon her. May she soon, as a nation, rise to the level of her duty.

JOHN MASSIE.

## PARISIAN DARWINISM: THE "STRUGGLE-FOR-LIFEUR."

THE text of M. Alphonse Daudet's piece, *La Lutte pour la Vie*, produced last autumn at the Gymnase, has just been published by Messrs. Calmann-Lévy. The play is in some sort a continuation of the novel, *L'Immortel*, of which we gave a detailed notice in 1888. That is to say, the hero of the play ("first villain" would be a more appropriate designation) is Paul Astier, the son of Astier Réhu, the hapless "Immortel," and the plot turns upon the career of the cynical young "struggle-for-lifeur," subsequent to his marriage with the Duchesse Padovani, which, it will be remembered, was the closing incident, so far as he was concerned, of *L'Immortel*. But before we enter upon the consideration of the piece itself, we have something to say about M. Daudet's preface—a document of considerable interest, as it unfolds the designs and sentiments which shaped the work, and also gives the author's views on evolution. To take the last-named first, M. Daudet disclaims all idea of attacking the real doctrines of Darwin; he says, quoting the words of one of his characters:—"Certes, ce n'est pas le grand Darwin qui je mets en cause, mais les hypocrites bandits qui l'invoquent, ceux qui d'une observation, d'une constitution de savant, veulent faire un article de code et l'appliquer systématiquement." And on the next page, he says again in his own words:—"Non, j'ai seulement voulu mettre à la scène quelques spécimens de cette race nouvelle de petits féroces à qui la formule Darwinienne de 'la lutte pour la vie' sert de prétexte et d'excuse en toutes sortes de vilenies et d'infamies." This ample disclaimer is but just and reasonable. No doubt it is difficult for an Englishman to understand how any sane man can hope to justify or excuse the poisoning of his wife, or the murder and robbery of an old milkwoman (as in the case of Lébiez and Barré) by invoking the authority of Darwin, and pedantically informing the public that the crime committed is a necessary part of the struggle for existence. In England such a plea would be received with a stony stare of non-comprehension, and would create a strong presumption of the criminal's insanity. But Frenchmen import abstract ideas into the domain of real life, in

<sup>1</sup> *La Lutte pour la Vie*. Pièce en cinq actes, six tableaux. Par Alphonse Daudet. Paris; Calmann-Lévy. 1890.



a way quite beyond our ken; so that it is conceivable that loose notions of a distorted Darwinism, floating in the Parisian atmosphere— notions embodied in such crude formulas as “*Le fort mange le faible*,” “*Tue moi ou je te tue*”—may act like poison-germs on minds already sick with unwholesome longings for luxury, wealth, and power, unattainable by legitimate means. And, in truth, the Theory of Evolution is, in the hands of an average Frenchman, an unfamiliar and dangerous weapon. As a nation, they long ago abandoned the arduous uphill way of evolution for the tempting short-cut of revolution, and perhaps it was inevitable that they should; for there seems to be something essentially antagonistic to evolutionary methods in the Gallic mind, whose bent is all towards rapid logical reasoning promptly resolved into action; whereas Nature’s ways, as revealed in evolution, are to human judgment, often unreasonable, and, above all, illogical, and her action immeasurably slow, and often apparently halting and purposeless. Yet Nature’s ends are infallibly attained where reason and logic fail. These remarks may perhaps explain to English readers how such a race as the “struggle-for-lifeurs” should have sprung up in Parisian society, and why it is that M. Daudet sees in the vulgarization of a crude and distorted version of Darwinism a serious social danger; but if M. Daudet’s fears, so far as they arise from his profound knowledge of the French character, are well founded, we venture to think, despite his disclaimer, that they have another basis much less solid, namely a certain distrust on his part of the Theory of Evolution, springing from a partial misconception of its tendency and working. If it were not so, he never could have put into the mouth of “Antonin Caussade,” the young *chef de laboratoire*, the following words, taken from the same speech as the quotation in the preface:—“*Je vous dis qu’appliquées, ces théories de Darwin sont scélérates, par ce qu’elles vont chercher la brute au fond de l’homme, et que, comme dit Herscher, elles réveillent ce qui reste à quatre pattes dans le quadrupède redressé.*” Now if Darwin’s theories, when applied, were wicked—if they incited to wickedness, or in any way sanctioned it—they would thereby disprove themselves; and their author’s claim to be the discoverer of the Law of Evolution would be once for all annihilated. For our notions of right and wrong—our moral sense, which has become more or less an inherited instinct—have been gradually built up by countless ages of evolution, and manifestly, nothing which violates them can be consonant with the laws under which they have been developed and matured. But the truth is that in all gregarious animals, and most of all in man, the universal law of the struggle for existence is supplemented and modified by the minor and subsidiary law of association. In man, association is a necessary condition of the struggle for existence; isolated, he must sink helplessly. Consequently, whatever tends to disintegrate society,

makes, not for evolution, but for dissolution ; and society must clearly be dissolved, and lapse into anarchy, if all, or even a large proportion of, its members were "struggle-for-lifeurs," like Paul Astier. To sum up our argument, Paul Astier takes, or affects to take, for his rule of life the harsh, unmodified law of the struggle for existence ; therefore he and his fellows are "de petits féroces." Antonin Caussade, in common with many humanitarian and socialistic thinkers of the present day, unduly exalts the subsidiary law of association, and would willingly ignore the great universal law of the struggle for existence, which can no more be resisted or evaded than can the law of gravitation. Both are wrong, and neither can lay claim to the title of evolutionists.

After clearing the ground by this long and, we fear, somewhat tedious dissertation, which M. Daudet's thoughtful preface rendered almost necessary, we turn to the much more congenial task of reviewing the play itself. For it we have nothing but unqualified praise and admiration. It seems to us to proclaim M. Daudet no less great as a dramatist than as a novelist, and that is the highest praise we can give ; for, ever since we had the good fortune to read *Le Nabab*—as long ago as 1878—we have held M. Alphonse Daudet to be the greatest novelist of the day, and the subsequent perusal of *Fromont jeune et Risler aîné*, of *Le petit Jack*, of *Les rois en exil*, and of *Numa Roumestan*, has but confirmed our first impression. In *Sapho* we found the same power and pathos, but not the same faultless taste. Our opinion of *L'Immortel* has already been made known in THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW. It is an established custom, in reviewing theatrical pieces, to tell the story—a custom less objectionable as applied to plays than to novels. We will now give a sketch of the main incidents of *La Lutte pour la Vie*, commenting on the most striking scenes and situations as we go along. Readers of *L'Immortel* will remember that, towards the close of the book, Paul Astier succeeded in winning the hand of Maria-Antonia Duchesse Padovani, a woman nearly twenty years older than himself, but still beautiful and fascinating. It was, however, neither her beauty nor her fascination that found her favour in the sight of the sordid young "struggle-for-lifeur," but her immense fortune—600,000 francs a year. He married poor "Mari-Anto," faulty indeed, but generous and loving, without a spark of love ; but he won her, as he won many another woman, by so skilful a counterfeit of it—an ardour and tenderness so artistically stimulated—as to be more effective, and certainly more available, than the reality itself. His handsome person and his charm of manner with women are his best and most cherished weapons in that *acharné* and unscrupulous pursuit of wealth, luxury, and position which he chooses to dignify with the name of "struggle for existence." With men he is cold, audacious, and cynically frank, in parading his contempt of all moral

restraints. "C'est canaille, mais je m'en f——; je lutte pour la vie," is his favourite phrase, and he has no lack of flatterers to applaud him to the echo—some from genuine admiration touched with envy, more from fear. For to his other virtues he joins that of the *spadassin*—cool courage, based on his acknowledged superiority in the use of sword and pistol. He has already fought half a dozen successful duels, and is ready to fight as many more, whenever his interest or his consideration in society may require it. Such is Paul Astier, the typical "struggle-for-lifeur." Before the action of the play begins, he has already squandered the large fortune of his unhappy wife, and now, having sucked her dry like an orange, he is longing and scheming to get rid of her, that he may be free to once more "lever une femme riche." The "femme riche" is already found and won. "Esther de Sélény," a beautiful young Austrian Jewess, of enormous wealth, is only waiting to become Madame Paul Astier, till he can shake off his "vieux crampon," by divorce. "Esther" is a kindred spirit; she admires and even loves him, in her way, for his cold audacity, his entire unscrupulousness, and his boundless ambition. But the coveted divorce he has hitherto failed to obtain. He has tried all means—threats, cajolery, contemptuous neglect; and his last scheme has been to create an open and intolerable scandal. To effect this he has deliberately seduced Lydie Vaillant, an innocent young girl, the daughter of the postmaster at Mousseau, in Touraine, where the Duchesse's château is situated. Maria-Antonia has for years been the constant benefactress of the Vaillants, and Lydie was her *lectrice* and favourite companion; so the blow of the *petit féroce* was well-aimed. He contrived that his wife should surprise him and Lydie in amorous dalliance in one of the salons of the château, almost in her presence. But even this outrage failed to produce the desired result. "Mari-Anto" contented herself with turning Lydie out of the house. On which, Paul obtained (by his influence as *député*) the promotion of Vaillant from Mousseau to Paris, and there continued his intrigue. Vaillant, a simple-minded and honourable man, attributed his promotion to the Duchesse, from whom every good thing had come to him; but he was about the only person ignorant of his daughter's shame, for Paul Astier paraded rather than concealed it. This last offence, though it failed to bring about a divorce, did cause a definite breach between M. and Madame Astier. She shut herself up at Mousseau, while he inhabited the stately Hôtel Padovani at Paris. But still the persecuted wife refuses to divorce or be divorced, partly from religious scruples, but mainly because—poor unhappy woman!—she still loves her husband, though she knows him to the very depths of his corrupt and cruel heart. Such is the situation when the play opens. Space will not permit us to follow its *peripetetic* scene by scene, nor even act by act. We can but give a bare out-

line of the plot in our own words, calling attention to some of the most striking situations. Much that we have already narrated is revealed, most naturally, to the audience during the first act, in a conversation between Paul Astier and Chemineau, his *homme d'affaires*, confidant, and would-be imitator, a sort of imperfect "struggle-for-lifeur," with all the necessary *convoitise*, but too light of temperament to be really *féroce*. He has just come from Mousseau, where he has been arranging for the sale by auction of the domain, the chateau, with its historic furniture and surroundings, the noble stud—of everything in short. All is to be brought to the hammer. To his amazement, he sees Lydie Vaillant, thinking Paul alone, issue from his bedroom, where she had passed the night. He represents to Paul the extreme imprudence of introducing his mistress into the *domicile conjugal*, but finds the act was coldly calculated. He reminds his patron that Lortigue, his secretary, a young *méridional* whom Paul has nicknamed "Toupet de Nîmes," on account of his astounding "side" and "cheek"—is the Duchesse's creature and spy. Paul Astier says he knows it; but that Lortigue can only report such things as he chooses to let him know. He does not, he pursues, bring Lydie there for his pleasure; neither she nor any other woman has ever been to him more than a useful instrument in his designs. He says his system of winning women's hearts is very simple, you only need three words—"Âme, fleur, étoile;" but they must be well used. When Lydie returns from the inner room—whither she had hastily returned to complete her toilet, on being surprised by Chemineau—Paul proceeds to give his admiring friend a practical lesson in the use of the magic formula, and dismisses poor Lydie fully convinced of his heartfelt love for her. After her departure, Chemineau tells his patron that it is high time he got his divorce; for his ruin is complete, Esther de Sélony is waxing impatient, and there is always a danger of her yielding to the suit of Comte Adriani, a *garde noble* of the Pope—who is constantly in her company, finds her "*molto simpatica*," and is almost as much given to "*combinazione*" as Paul himself. The great "struggle-for-lifeur" pooh-poohs this danger, but is more moved by Chemineau's conviction that all chance of a divorce is hopeless. He says, however, that he has one plan still in reserve, the "divorce à l'amiable—à la Joséphine et Napoléon." The first step in this new scheme is to obtain a reconciliation with "Mari-Anto," and lure her back to his side. Our reason for detailing all this so minutely is that it leads up to an interview between the husband and wife, which forms one of the most wonderful scenes in the whole play. In it the audience are made to see and feel the singular charm of Paul Astier, and his extraordinary power of assuming any rôle that his astuteness may dictate. He presents himself at Mousseau, and is received with the scorn and contempt he deserves; but little by

little, in the face of bitter experience, and her thorough knowledge of her husband's baseness, the poor loving heart of Mari-Anto is touched, and she listens once again to the voice of the charmer. The whole scene is a *tour de force*, and recalls to an English reader the great scene between Richard of Gloucester (himself a "struggle-for-lifeur," if ever there was one) and the Lady Anne. For power, pathos, and subtlety, we know of nothing equal to this scene in all the range of modern drama.

So we must imagine a hollow pretence of the legitimate *ménage* re-established at the Hôtel Padovani; Lydie quietly shelved, and the contingent engagement with Esther de Sélény denied and hidden from sight. The next scene which sensibly advances the terrible *dénouement* of this tragic story, is laid in the Vaillants' modest *appartement*, in an unfashionable quarter of Paris. Lydie, widely different in dress and expression from the Lydie we saw coming from her criminal *rendezvous* at the Hôtel Padovani, is laying out her father's *déjeuner*, and awaiting his midday return from his *bureau*. A loud knock at the door announces a visitor; it is Esther de Sélény, attended by a "grand escogriffe en livrée." Lydie is, through the recommendation of Paul Astier, employed as amanuensis by Esther's aunt, the Maréchale de Sélény, one of the comic characters of the piece. She is a woman of about forty, widow of le Field-Maréchal de Sélény, Esther's uncle. She always speaks of him as "mon grand homme," or as "le grand vaincu de Carinthie," and affects to be inconsolable for his loss, though Esther unkindly reminds her that, *de son vivant*, he used to beat her. She is writing, or rather, dictating, his memoirs, and Lydie, well paid for her labour, attends at stated hours, to take down the thrilling narrative from her lips.

'But Esther has not come on business to-day. Amidst a host of brilliant Parisian acquaintances, she has made no friends of her own sex save her aunt's little amanuensis. And now she is come partly from curiosity, to see her friend's humble middle-class home, partly, in the absence of other confidants, to pour into her sympathetic ear her love secrets. She tells her that she is engaged to a young man *du grand monde*, handsome, brave, daring, and masterful—a king of men. She is only waiting till he can get divorced from his ill-conditioned old wife, who, from sheer spite, refuses to set him free. In the meantime, they meet by stealth, "un peu partout"—in society, at the Opéra, and on horseback, in the early morning, at Bois—"délicieux le flirt à cheval," she says. She adds, as a triumphant proof of her lover's astuteness, that "pour mieux dépister l'espionnage," he had simulated an intrigue "un roman d'amour très-affiché, avec une demoiselle . . . de celles qu'on n'épouse pas, vous m'entendez."—Finally, she says she loves him all the more because it was through him that she knew Lydie. This

fixes for Lydie the identity of the anonymous lover. She asks if it is not M. Paul Astier, and Esther at once avows that it is. The wretched Lydie now feels that the end is come. The death-blow that she had long been tremblingly awaiting has fallen. Not only has Paul definitively abandoned her, but he has never loved her. She resolves to die. While Esther, all unconscious of the fatal result of her words, is taking leave of her friend, Vaillant comes in. He has been gloomy and perturbed of late, tortured and made suspicious by the knowing looks and cruel innuendos of his *camarades de bureau*. He has been led to doubt whether the foreign ladies, who are supposed to employ his daughter's leisure hours, have any real existence. Yet it is agony to suspect his child, his adored Lydie. Consequently, he is enchanted when he is presented to Esther de Sélénie *en propre personne*, and greets her with effusion. When she goes, his joy, and his self-reproach for his, as he thinks, unjust suspicions, overflow, and, without revealing his offence, he entreats his child to say: "Père, je te pardonne." It is a touching scene. Just then, Antonin Caussade arrives, Lydie's *fiancé* till, at the beginning of her liaison with Paul Astier, she discarded him, without apparent reason. He is a finely drawn character, of great ability, brave, tender, and honest; but he is *un timide*. On occasions of emergency, words fail him; a speech eagerly begun breaks down in a *bredouillement* of "le, le, enfin—n'est ce pas?" He has been despatched by Vaillant to demand satisfaction of Lortigue, to whom have been traced the floating *cancans*, ascribing Vaillant's promotion to a hidden and shameful *protection*. "Toupet de Nîmes," though even less scrupulous and more ripe for crime than his master, is no fire-eater; and thus Antonin has had no difficulty in extracting from him a written recantation couched in the most abject and grovelling terms. So Vaillant goes off to his bureau with a light heart—for the last time, poor man!—and leaves the young people together, optimistically hoping that they will "make it up." A very different scene ensues. Lydie, in covered words, confides to Antonin her fatal project, and exacts from him a promise that, when the news of her departure reaches her father, he will be there to support and comfort him. He betrays his full knowledge of her liaison with Astier, and tells her that the man is a scoundrel. She says, alas! she knows it; but in spite of all, she loves him. "Antonin, très ému. Oui, quand on aime, c'est cela . . . tout à fait cela. Ou a beau voir, savoir, se répéter les choses . . . le, le, enfin, n'est ce pas? (sanglot) on aime encore." . . .

But we must hasten on to the culminating situation, where Paul, always so "correct" in his attitude before the world, so far removed, as he flatters himself, from all vulgar criminal acts—so silly and so compromising—is at length seized with *le vertige du crime*. There is a grand *fête de charité* at the Hôtel

Padovani. All the guests—over two hundred—are assembled, and the master of the house is still absent. At the last minute, he arrives; but with his usually faultless dress in disorder, and his unvarying impassibility for once rudely shaken. Chemineau is anxiously awaiting him in his dressing-room, and Paul, in brief and hurried phrases, explains to him the cause of his delay; sometimes speaking from his *cabinet de toilette*, sometimes emerging with his *plastron fripe* and his shirt-sleeves rolled up, showing *ses robustes bras nus*. M. Daudet, as we learn from the Preface, attaches great importance to Paul's undress in this scene, thinking, with Chemineau, that "c'est étonnant comme le vêtement vous retape un monsieur! Presque de la morale, une cravate blanche." Paul's retarded arrival was due, briefly, to seeing, as he passed through the Avenue Gabriel, the "garçonnière," where he and Lydie used to meet, all lighted up. He entered and found her in the act of poisoning herself—"un moment de plus, et ça y était." He had a severe struggle with her to obtain possession of the phial (which, unluckily, he brought away with him), and even now it is by no means certain that she will recover; for she had already swallowed "une vraie goutte, et pas du poison pour rire." Finally, after proving to her, "clair comme le jour," that he loved her and none but her, he got her into a cab and put her down near her father's house, leaving her with the characteristic words:—"Tu es femme, tu sais mentir, débrouille-toi, ma fille." Unfortunately, she had left "une touchant lettre d'adieu" for her father. "Est-ce qu'elle t'a nommé?" asks Chemineau. "Pas de danger! Elle m'aime trop," is the cynical reply. But a much more serious danger is the bottle of poison that he has brought home in his pocket; it tempts him. A few drops, easily administered, and he would be free. He puts aside the tempting thought, but keeps the poison. "Mari-Anto," when she comes to summon him to receive their guests, sees his hand close upon it. She guesses the truth, but makes no sign. In the course of the evening, during which Paul has been silent and abstracted, utterly unlike himself, his wife finds him alone in one of the salons, whither he has escaped from the crowd to indulge his dangerous musings, and begs him to ring for a glass of iced water for her. He offers with alacrity to fetch it himself; and, in a mirror, she sees him, in the ante-room, drop in the poison. She takes the glass he offers her, and slowly raises it to her lips. But, at the last moment, his cruel courage fails him. He tells her not to drink, and, with some difficulty, prevails on her to throw away the poisoned water. It is a magnificent scene, poignant beyond measure. She says, after confronting him with his infamy: "You wanted a divorce; it is done! To get rid of me, you have succeeded! There is no longer here either wife or lover, nothing but a mother—a and grey-haired mother, ready for every lie, for every shame, to spare

you, the supreme shame—to preserve you from being an assassin. You have hesitated the first time; but the second, you would hesitate no more. And then you would have the frightful remorse—the anguish—the agony of blood—and, perhaps, the scaffold! Oh! you, you, on the scaffold! Never! Never!” Paul Astier, lowering his head like a hunted animal, by a sudden movement, takes her hand and kisses it, saying, “Pardon! Pardon!” “Oh! I,” she replies, “I shall always pardon. It’s life that doesn’t pardon. Oh! my poor boy, be good, be good! Everything has to be paid for—everything.” Such is the final and touching exit of poor “Mari-Anto.” She retires to Ajaccio, and appears no more on the scene. The last act in this harrowing drama is soon told. We are once more at Mousseau. The auction is nearly over. Esther de Sélény has bought the château and domaine. She and the *maréchale*, attended by Chemineau, now accepted as the successor of “le grand vaincu de Carinthie,” are awaiting the sale of the *écurie*, especially of some splendid carriage-horses which Esther wishes to have. Lydie is dead. The poison slowly but surely did its work. Her father is burning to avenge her, but on whom he knows not. He, in his deep mourning, is come to Mousseau “*décrocher*,” as he says. “quelque souvenir, un débris de cette chère maison où mon enfant a été si heureuse.” A chance word, from *Heurtebise*, the concierge, reveals to him the name that his daughter had so lovingly hidden to the last—“sur lequel ses dents se serraient dans l’agonie.” He is hastening back to Paris, determined that vengeance shall be done that night, when Paul Astier himself appears, as usual “froid et correct” with a *usage de circonstance* suitable for the occasion. His ostensible errand is to buy-in certain souvenirs to send to Ajaccio; but he is really come to rejoice and triumph with his “belle Autrichienne, tout en or.” Vaillant has purchased a pair of pistols, and just as Paul Astier has given the closing bid for the wished-for carriage-horses, which he offers as a wedding present to Esther, Vaillant confronts him. “Nous luttons pour la vie, n’est-ce pas, jeune homme?” He takes out a pistol, and with the words: “Le fort mange le faible. Alors, bandit, je te supprime,” he shoots him dead. At that moment, the auctioneer’s monotonous “*adjudé*” is heard. “*Adjudé*,” repeats Vaillant, looking up, “c’est bien le mot.”



## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely, on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

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### THE MARRIAGE QUESTION FROM A SCIENTIFIC STANDPOINT.

BOTH the advocates and the opponents of reform in our present social system, as it affects the relation of the sexes, appear to think that the reformers have a *tabula rasa* to work upon; that by running the pen through sundry laws on the statute-book, by admitting women freely to professions, and allowing them the same educational advantages as men, our whole social system will be upset, and the family and the home destroyed.

The hopes of reformers and the fears of opponents must alike be limited by certain factors in the nature of human beings themselves. It could easily be imagined that horses might in the course of ages improve so much in intelligence that a higher education would be desirable for them. Music is acknowledged to be a humanizing and elevating art, yet the reformer who proposed teaching horses to play the piano would not need to be assailed by assertions as to the superior usefulness of such employments as ploughing or drawing carriages. Certain insuperable difficulties in the execution of elementary five-finger exercises would meet the reformer on the threshold of his career. And so precisely with regard to the social relations of the sexes and other questions affecting the status of women, the powers of reformers are strictly limited, and reforms must necessarily be limited to subjects which do not arise from natural differences and disabilities. Law and regulations are a natural growth, and where they have been suddenly adopted by or forced upon a people, have withered like rootless plants.

Therefore, it seems to me, the first step to be taken is to ascertain which of our existing social relations rest upon fundamental differences between men and women, and which are mere superficial and temporary arrangements. Under the former class of facts may, I think, be ranked the following:—

1. The subordination of women to men, founded on the inferior strength and capacity, both bodily and mental, of women.

2. The permanence of the family as an institution, founded on the feelings of affection usually developed in a father towards his offspring; on the helplessness and long-continued need of parental care demanded by children, extending over a period of from sixteen to twenty years; and on the devoted affection usually shown by the woman to her children and their father. Few men, and fewer women, arrived at middle age would be found willing to break those family ties which have intertwined themselves through the very texture of their lives. There are, of course, exceptions to all I have stated above; some women are the superiors of most men; some men do not love their children; some women care neither for their husbands nor their children; but in the overwhelming majority of cases women will be glad to lean on men, men will be attached to their families, and women will be devoted to the men they have once chosen and to their children. We are here on the "bed-rock," and we may be certain that no possible changes in legislation or social customs will affect that foundation. It is as safe from temporary storms as are the depths of the ocean.

I now come to a point, perhaps the only one, in which women have the advantage.

3. The extraordinary power and influence over men, which women possess through that subtle intermixture of sexual and mental qualities which we speak of as love. The power may be evanescent, may pass away with youth and beauty, but it may survive the freshness of physical charms.

"Time cannot wither, nor custom stale,  
Her infinite variety."

And under all circumstances love, whilst it lasts, is the most powerful of passions. It will be impossible for any reformer to persuade women to forego the power they gain in this great natural advantage. All that can be done, and that should be done, is to teach the blooming girl how to hold the heart she has won so readily; to show her how short is the time which mere sexual love can call its own, and how this strong but evanescent passion can be transformed into the highest form of love.

4. The absolute necessity that men should have confidence that the children whom they rear are their own. This confidence lies at the very root of the institution of the family, and has from the earliest times in the known history of our Teutonic race been founded,

not on bolts or bars, nor on jealous guards, but on the chastity of the Teutonic women. Chastity must, therefore, under all circumstances, be one of the most supremely valued virtues of women. All kinds of excellent qualities may exist without it; but a sound instinct will always acknowledge its supreme excellence in the majority of women, and it is of majorities that I speak. Women who serve the State, not as mothers of families, but through supreme intellectual qualities, come under another category; we are concerned with what George Sand has to tell us with the grand interpretations of genius which Rachel and Sarah Bernhardt have shown us, and not with their private lives.

Four factors then I consider as immutable where the great majority of men and women are concerned, namely:—

1. The inferiority of women to men.
2. The permanence of the family as an institution.
3. The temporary but immense power possessed by women through sexual love.
4. The supreme value of chastity in women, as a virtue without which the institution of the family, so vital to the welfare of a healthy State, must perish.

I come now to those social relations which depend, not upon fundamental differences between the sexes, but upon laws and customs of a local character. Those, I conceive, which imperatively require reformation, are two in number.

1. The compulsory permanence of the marriage tie.
2. The prevalence of prostitution.

The compulsory permanence of the marriage tie I look upon as the most mistaken, as it is also the most fruitful of sufferings, of all these laws and customs. The poet and the moralist are equally agreed that love is the all-important thing in a woman's life. "Love," says Thackeray, "is an hour with us; it is all day and night with a woman. Damon has taxes, sermon, parade, tailor's bills, parliamentary duties, and the deuce knows what, to think about; Delia has to think about Damon." "Love is of man's life a thing apart," says Byron; "'tis woman's whole existence." Yet women, in all ages but our own, and still in most countries but those tenanted by persons of Anglo-Saxon blood, have been given in marriage without the smallest regard being paid to their own feelings, and have been bound to perpetual fidelity under terrible social penalties.

But even amongst people of Anglo-Saxon race, where a young woman—if she have sufficient strength of character—cannot be married against her will, the life-long bond nevertheless proves a cruel chain. The girl often decides for herself at an age when she is hardly competent to choose a new dress with judgment; knowing too, as a rule, as little of the real life and character of the young man as he, on his part, knows of hers. The man, too, is hardly

handicapped. He enters into the life-long bond under the influence of feelings which Nature intended to be equally strong and evanescent ; he is utterly unable to judge dispassionately, and he may find himself tied for life to a woman whose mind is incapable of advancing with his, or of appreciating any of his higher aspirations. It is on the very best amongst our race, the most refined, the most intellectual, the most brilliantly gifted, that this bond presses with its most cruel force. The ordinary "Philistine," male and female, valuable members of society as they undoubtedly are, are not those who suffer. The man has his business, the woman has her home, her servants, to occupy her thoughts ; they themselves, the man and the woman, are Mrs. Grundy, her laws are their laws, and the ordinary social fetters are forged to fit them comfortably. Even here, however, cruel sufferings are too common ; physical imperfections may render life utterly wretched, and two persons who might be perfectly happy with other partners, or if the marriage tie were simply dissolved, are rendered miserable. The woman especially may be exposed to hideous suffering and danger ; suffering and danger to be faced year after year, without hope of relief.

But the keenest tortures are those of the mind ; the man of high aspirations and noble ideals tied for life to a foolish doll ; the woman with a delicate sense of honour and refinement, linked to a brutal sensualist or a sordid cheat. I have known women, refined, highly educated, with every quality which marks the good wife and mother, chained for life, whilst still in the bloom of youth, to husbands who were respectively drunkards, felons, and hopeless madmen. Yet any other tie formed by these women would be followed by social ostracism, and few there are who can behold social ostracism from the same lofty pinnacle that George Eliot did. They are condemned to a suttee little less cruel than that of the Hindoo widow ; young lives utterly thrown away and wasted upon husbands worse than dead. Something must be vitally wrong where such things can be.

Clergymen of all schools of thought seem to think the chief remedy for immorality is to draw the bonds of marriage ever tighter and tighter. Did their course of education accustom them to that inductive reasoning which science demands, they would hardly propose this remedy of all others. They would see that in the Catholic Church, where the bonds of marriage are insoluble, immorality has been peculiarly rampant. It is not to those Catholic countries, Italy, Spain, and France, that we should go for examples of masculine fidelity and female chastity. The first thing which would strike a person trained in scientific habits of thought would be that the indissolubility of the marriage tie has either no effect upon morality or has a baneful effect, and he would be inclined, on reflection, to come to the latter conclusion. Characteristics of race have probably more to do with female chastity than any laws, whether divine or human. We have proof in history that the most

hideous penalties have not secured the fidelity of woman where she has been denied the right to dispose of her own person. Where women think, and are taught to think, that love is everything, they will brave every penalty to enjoy its delights, unless the race temperament is sufficiently cool to enable them to give up such joys altogether unless they are to be had legitimately. Such a race temperament has, I believe, lain at the foundation of the high position (compared with that of others of their sex) enjoyed by the women of Teutonic race. But what holocausts of victims have laid themselves down to build up this foundation. Thousands upon thousands of wretched, yet faithful wives, who have carried their unsatisfied affections and broken hearts to the grave. Thousands upon thousands of women who have not even had the hope of maternal joys to support them, nor even the praise of society; who have gone through life with stunted minds and starved affections as "old maids." That very society, those very moralists, who would deny that women had any legitimate functions except as wives and mothers, who would bar the door to every profession where the minds of unmarried women would be expanded and interests away from the home made possible to them, covered the old maid with ridicule.

Unmarried women, middle-aged and old, we shall probably have always with us; but I trust that the starved and stunted personality known as an "old maid" may soon be utterly a thing of the past.

2. With the question of the indissolubility of marriage is also closely bound up a question too large to be more than touched on in this article. I allude to the question of hetairism—to the fact that, under existing social conditions, millions of women are condemned to a mode of life destructive alike both to body and mind. Whilst marriage is indissoluble, men, at least of the educated classes, will refrain from taking a wife during their early years, during the very years when the passions are the strongest. A man wishes to be able to support his wife in the social condition in which he was born, or to which he aspires, and a professional man can seldom hope to do this much before he is thirty. He also wishes that his wife may not be old for a woman whilst he is still young for a man, as will certainly be the case if he marries at twenty. The practical outcome of this state of things is that, whilst a Mormon, who supports his wives to the best of his ability, is punished with all the rigour of the law, the "Gentile" indulges in a practical polygamy which involves him in no responsibilities whatever, whilst it involves an incalculable number of women in utter misery and ruin. Up to a time so recent that its years can be counted on the fingers of one hand, self-respecting women held aloof from these unhappy members of their sex. It was admirably convenient for men that good women should be blind to the horrors that were going on beneath the surface of "society," and to the iniquities on whose foundations their happy homes were built. It was admirably convenient that

good women, who accidentally came to know of what was going on, should shrink from their fallen sisters with fierce contempt and loathing. Men could thus have the utmost enjoyment of both worlds, the "monde" and the "demi-monde." But this state of things has gone by for ever; women of stainless character, have become tremblingly alive to the miseries which have come to their knowledge. Alexandre Dumas says that there are three kinds of women fitted respectively for the temple, the hearth, and the gutter; those fitted for the temple have virtues suitable to the single life; those fitted for the hearth shine in domestic life. The third class, living only for vanity and excitement, incapable of useful work or of love for husband or children, are fitted only for the life of degradation they naturally choose. But he adds that in our present state of society many women to whom the *ruisseau* is the natural position, are found making all around them miserable as bad wives and heartless mothers; and many women whom nature intended for loving guardians of the hearth are condemned to the gutter. It is, perhaps, too much to expect that hetairism will ever die out completely, but we can hope that none will be driven into this condition of degradation, unless they are totally unfitted both for the temple and the hearth.

There are two evils then which are dependent upon local and temporary laws and customs, and not upon fundamental qualities of human beings.

1. The miseries arising from indissoluble marriages.
2. The evils arising from hetairism.

With regard to marriage, some contract recognized by the State will always be imperatively needed for the due protection of women. They are at an utter disadvantage as compared to men, and the disadvantages come from natural differences impossible to ignore. A man must be bound to support a woman he has lived with as his wife, unless she contracts new ties, and he must be bound to support his children, otherwise these cares would inevitably fall upon the woman's father and brothers, and we should be returning to the "Bad old days."

There are many indications in the customs of early races, and of modern savages, that women might be too useful as general servants and beasts of burden, to be given up willingly by the tribe who owned them. The men hunted, fished and fought; the women did everything else, and were the most useful as well as the most helpless of slaves. It would be difficult to convince me that in savage times a woman was ever her own mistress; all traditions and laws, and social customs, point, back to three separate stages she has passed through, as the property of her tribe, as the property of her father, and as the property of her husband. The idea that a woman could be her own mistress, and dispose of herself at her own will, is decidedly a modern one, and the outcome of a high degree of civiliza-

tion; but there is a significant "survival," as Tylor would call it, in our marriage service, by which the fiction is maintained that the woman must be "given away" by somebody. It has been said that under a despotic government "on souffre beaucoup et l'on crie peu," whilst under a mild government "on souffre peu et l'on crie beaucoup," and it appears to me that, now our sex is almost as much emancipated as nature will ever permit it to be, the cries for justice are far louder than they ever were in the days of cruel oppression. This is only natural; the downtrodden serf will not complain of injustice with half the bitterness of the man who is in possession of almost all his rights as a freeman. Moreover, we have come to the conclusion that it is better that a man *should* have all his rights as a freeman, leaving him only those disabilities he inherits from nature herself; and we have learned to prefer the virtues and the faults of freemen to the virtues and vices of slaves. To this same conclusion will men come, I believe, on the question of the rights of women. Let women have all the rights of free citizens, subject always to their duties as free citizens. In the ordinary state of things men and women have equally important duties, which they owe to the state and to society, and these duties differ much from one another, so that little friction is necessary. The duty of the man is to fight when need be for his country, and with hand or brain to produce useful work for its welfare, to work for the woman he has chosen as his partner, and for his children, and to protect his wife and children against all dangers, so far as his strength will permit. On the other hand, the woman's chief duties are of no less importance to the State, in keeping together the homes, and rearing the children, which make the very foundations of a healthy State. No one can take her place with her young children; no home worthy of the name can exist without a woman. Her duties are as multifarious, and as important, as those of man, but different.

On the other hand, full scope must always be given to those exceptional women whose special talents or genius impel them to work beyond the ordinary domestic sphere. These women will always be comparatively few in number, but where a George Sand, a George Eliot, a Rosa Bonheur, a Mrs. Somerville exists, she must have free space to spread her wings. In one of the last works of the late Lord Lytton, the "Coming Race," a prophetic sketch is given of the probable future of the leading white race of the Western Aryans. Many parts of this once prophetic sketch one may see shaping themselves as visible facts, notably the storage of electricity. But the part of the book to which I now allude speaks of the women of this noble race of the future as wearing wings, with which they soared at pleasure during their unmarried years, but which they willingly laid aside when they became wives, though perfectly free to use them still. Many a clever young girl with talents still untried, with the whole bright world before her, spurns with indignant contempt the doctrine

that the only sphere of woman is the home, and her highest good to devote her life to her husband and children. She longs to buckle on the wings and try how high she can soar. And well it is that those bright pinions should be tried. Let the girl use her talents to the utmost; let her develop her bodily capacities in every game and amusement she cares for. Have no fear that the deeply rooted instincts of her woman's nature will suffer; they will but gather richness and depth as they lie dormant. Some few women will embrace a life of independence; they will throw themselves heart and soul into whatever profession they have chosen. If they marry, they will perhaps take the man's part as bread-winners. And if so, where is the harm? The conservative thinkers appear never to have regretted the fate of the hundreds of women who led stunted lives, with minds cramped like Chinese women's feet, in the villages of both Old and New England. Is it not a million times better that the women who remain unmarried should be those who can find rich and satisfying employment for their minds apart from the home? Such women, instead of wasting their lives, like the old maid of the past, in faded gentility and utter uselessness, can be, and already are, energetic and priceless servants of the State.

But for the immense majority of women, talents, accomplishments, amusements, all are unsatisfactory; Dead Sea apples, of which after a few years they inevitably tire. The right man appears; they pass into that happy land where the woman is queen and the man is her willing worshipper. Then they become wives and mothers, and all the "ologies," the Latin and the Greek, the mathematics or the music, have unusual power if they are even thought of in comparison to baby's first tooth, or a loving caress from the husband when he comes home. "An inheritance of generations of slavery," say the reformers; a wholesome provision of nature rather, never to be set aside. Mrs. Mona Caird would even have boys and girls brought up apart from their parents so that the mother may have time for self-culture. But we have learned to see that an enlightened altruism is the most elevating of virtues and the highest form (paradoxical as it may seem) of self-culture. "He that loses his life shall find it," is a truth of whose beauty we become more and more conscious. The man who devotes his highest talents and his best years to the service of the State or of his fellow-creatures, and the woman who can do the same; the woman who devotes her best years to the happiness and comfort of her husband and children; all these in giving up a life of selfish culture find a higher and a nobler life, and, moreover, the only life satisfying to that restless and discontented creature, civilized man. A small knot of writers have endeavoured to place self-culture, pure and simple, on the lofty pedestal it occupied amongst the Greeks and Romans, but we have before us a better, a purer, and a happier ideal than any self-culture for its own sake can give.



I have but touched the threshold of the great subject of marriage. I have not attempted as yet to sketch out the lines which reform may possibly take in the future. Prof. Cope would have unions contracted originally for five years. No doubt this arrangement would be welcomed as an 'immense relief by many unhappy couples now, and would be a convenient transition from indissoluble marriages. A slave bound for life, would joyfully welcome a five years' bondage with freedom at the end. But a man, once accustomed to freedom, would look on such an arrangement with a rueful countenance, and would assuredly refuse to submit to it. People who were unutterably miserable in their married life, either through physical defects or incompatibility of temper, would impatiently endure their five years of durance vile, and the old evils one hopes to stamp out would raise their heads.

Neither, on the other hand, should a contract, so deeply affecting the State and the family, be lightly broken. A twelve months' notice at least should be given where married persons wish to put an end to their contract. This would give ample time for reflection, for the making up of temporary quarrels, and for the good offices of friends. Such a system is pursued with great advantage in the Protestant States of Germany. A year's notice has to be given, and in the interval the magistrate of the district and the local clergyman endeavour to induce the couple to re-consider their intention to separate. We should not endure "paternal government" to this extent, but much might be done through the intercession of children, and the wise advice of private friends, to prevent the occurrence of divorces except for really grave reasons.

Under these circumstances I consider that no woman, worthy to be a wife, would break her marriage vows, and that female infidelity should be punished as a crime, and not only as a sin, as at present. If women desire to be treated as responsible persons and free citizens they must accept their duties to the State and submit to be punished for a breach of those duties, precisely as men are. And it is of the first importance to the institution of the family, and therefore of the first importance to the State, that men should have confidence that the children they are bound to support are their own.

On the other hand, I would make the seduction of a girl, previously of good character, a crime. It is now neither punished as a crime, nor as a sin. Women, to their shame, admit the seducer into their houses, whilst their doors are shut against the victim of his guilt. Before women make any pretensions to true morality (as distinguished from mere personal chastity) they must wipe out this foul blot, and treat the seducer as they do his victim. I speak of what is done in "society," for many women have risen now to a higher conception of morality.

ALICE BODINGTON.

## PROPERTY IN LAND.

THERE is no difficulty in making out that, for the utilization of the earth, some kind of private property in the soil is indispensable. As soon as we pass beyond the monkey stage we cannot satisfy our wants in respect either of dwellings or of food and clothing, without some kind of improvement of the land, and if we recognize private property of any kind, these improvements must be private property. The private improvements of the land necessarily become so mixed up with the land given by God, that some distribution and recognition of a possessory right of some kind is inevitable. No doubt in early ages that right generally takes to a great degree a Communal form; and Mr. Huxley may well enough argue that Communal property is just as much exclusive property as individual property, and that, if we insist on the general right of all to God's earth, we cannot confine the claim to particular communities, but must admit the claim of all mankind. We concede that the earth must be divided. It is divided among peoples. Those people divide it among tribes and village communities, and it is undoubtedly the case that as those communities advance they more and more divide among individuals. First the village site is divided for the purpose of building; then the infield near the village is divided and enclosed; then the cultivated land generally; the outfield is divided subject to periodical redistributions to correct inequalities. Eventually, as the land is more and more improved, the division becomes permanent, and there remains in common only the grazing land—still more or less represented by our commons—and certain common rights and privileges.

What is called in question is, not this possessory right to the land and to the improvements upon it, but the right to the unearned increment, or rent apart from the improvements, which accrues in all old settled countries. As a matter of fact, the expenses of the community are always, in early times, defrayed by a rate on the land thus held, in proportion to its extent and value. And subject to this liability, if that were all the history of the question, it might well be argued that, if one man's lot has by circumstances become more valuable than another man's lot, and one man, by superior industry or means, has been enabled to buy up other lots and make himself a larger landholder than his neighbours, he is entitled to

what he has so got. That is so far, and may continue to be, the history of land in the United States. But in the Old World it is far otherwise. The tenure of land is not on this original basis. Successive waves of conquerors have overrun all the old countries of Europe and Asia; and if they have left the tillers of the soil in possession of most of the land, they have appropriated the unearned rent, and probably a good deal more—a good deal of the ancient improvements of the aboriginal inhabitants. The present landlord title in this country is the feudal title of the conquerors, not the old allodial title of the Saxon communities. The allodial title has disappeared—individuals can trace no such title. If any claim can be founded on it, it is the claim of the community. The only claim in any degree to represent the old communities would be that of the copyholders. The freehold title of to-day is distinctly a feudal title—the claim of the conqueror to appropriate the unearned rent. The modern owner has certainly made very many improvements; he has thus established a right in the land of which he cannot justly be deprived without some compensation. Nationalizers and reformers do not seek to take away the land, but only to tax the unearned value. And they claim a right to resume land granted by the nation on a feudal tenure on payment of a just compensation. The only questions are, how much special taxation should be put on the unearned rent as distinguished from the improvements, and what is to be the scale of compensation when in particular cases the land is taken for public purposes. Evidently these two questions a good deal hang together.

. There are, however, one or two points which it may be well here to mention, points in respect to which the rigid law of the ultra-lawyers is at variance with the facts and the equitable law. Mention has been made of the commons and the common rights as a survival of the ancient communal rights of the people. The law of the lawyers is that the public have no rights whatever in commons and open spaces, only the feudal lords and the commoners. So also in regard to rights-of-way, they hold that there can only be right to go from one inhabited point to another, not to roam about. As a matter of legal history perhaps the lawyers are right. At this day an Indian or European village community might not admit any rights of the public in their grazing ground; but in England the village communities have died away, the materials composing them have melted, as it were, into the general community, the general community represents the mass of the village communities; the commoners who exist in some places are a nominal and not a true representation of the village community—mere faint remains. When the general community has for hundreds of years enjoyed the use of open land, it is no satisfaction to be told that the land has been divided, the lion's share going to the lord, and smaller pieces to a

few property-owners, under the name of commoners. Most of the commons have been already taken or stolen; much has been done to save the rest. But we want a distinct recognition of the reasonable doctrine of prescription in favour of the enjoyment of land by the general community. It should be laid down by law that when the public has enjoyed the use, or any use, of land from time immemorial, they should not be deprived of the use of that *use*, except for overruling public purposes. Surely that is not an 'unreasonable' or an excessive demand.

Another unjust survival of ancient law, peculiar to this country, is the law of fixtures—the rule of law that anything once planted on the soil belongs to the lord of the soil. It may be quite true that, public policy apart, there may be no actual injustice in saying that when an improvement or a building which is to revert to the landlord is matter of real contract, the contract should be fulfilled. If a limited building lease stipulates for the erection of certain buildings, to be surrendered at the end of the term, that may be taken as a substantial part of the contract. But it is otherwise when improvements are made or buildings erected which the tenant was not bound to make. In that case the landlord has no equitable claim to those improvements; it is nothing but a harsh feudal law which enables him to say to the tenant, "You shall not take away your materials; I am entitled to confiscate them, and I will." If the tenant is not entitled to compensation at the hands of the landlord, he is certainly entitled, in all equity, to take away things which he has planted on the land without obligation to do so, and which it is possible for him to take away. There have been modern relaxations of the strict law in particular cases under Agricultural Improvements Acts and Cottage Garden Acts. But the foundation of all equitable improvement in the law in these matters is to begin at the beginning, and to sweep away entirely the foundation of the injustice—the law of fixtures—to declare that a man may do what he likes with his own, and that a landlord is entitled to no more than his own.

If we admit that the force by which feudal rights were acquired is so old that it cannot be rectified, still the fraud by which the burdens attached to the feudal tenure were shaken off is not so very old—about a couple of hundred years ago. Even then the special burdens upon land were not shaken off altogether. There may not be an exact technical continuity, but the present taxes on land were the immediate successors of the old feudal burdens, and practically represent what remains of them. The present special burdens on the land consist of land-tax and local rates. It may be true that a landlord Parliament tried to put the tax on land upon personal property also. But the tax on personal property was soon commuted into indirect taxation. The land-tax, permanently settled a long time ago, remains, but is now an absurdly inadequate tax on the unearned rent.

Land, however, does undoubtedly bear a special burden of rates as compared with personal property. That rate-burden land shares with houses and buildings—and in these modern days the value of houses and buildings has so much increased that it is now more than double the value of the land. At present the annual gross value of the land of the United Kingdom, improvements included, is 61 millions; of houses, &c., 135 millions; so, in fact, more than two-thirds of the rates is paid by houses, and less than one-third by land.

The house-rate stands on a totally different footing from the land-rate. It is, in fact, a sort of rough income-tax, or expenditure-tax, and so touches all means. It is only the share of the rates borne by the land (and not including the buildings on the land) that is in any sense a special burden. The poor-rate is a very old burden upon the land. The school-rate is a new one. But as some burdens have been lightened, others have been imposed; and in spite of all the outcry, the burden of rates upon agricultural land is not at all very heavy. The great mass of the local taxation is borne by urban property, for urban purposes. If we were to take the school-rate alone it may be said that the land bears an unfair share of the burden. But if we look at the matter as a whole, we shall find that land-tax and land-rates combined are but a very inadequate substitute for the old feudal burdens. Altogether they fall to a far lighter rate than the land-tax alone as it was imposed at 4s. in the pound in 1692. Most of us would probably be willing to admit that after the dealings of two hundred years and more it is too late to re-impose in full the feudal burdens shaken off in Charles II.'s time. But at any rate we are entitled to insist that the small modern burdens which succeeded the old feudal burdens are not shaken off too. The danger is that, modern rates being common to land and houses, and those interested in houses being a much larger and more popular class, the remission of rates is rather too apt to be popular, even when it is done at the expense of the Imperial Treasury. Thus it is that sometimes by direct gift in relief of rates, and sometimes under the pretext of localizing Imperial revenue, rates are very much relieved with some popular applause. That is very dangerous, for the result is that the ordinary tax-payer pays three halfpence in taxes for every penny taken off his rates, while the landowner is very specially relieved.

What seems to be necessary is this—that the special burdens on the unearned rent of the land should be disentangled from the rates on other property; that we should settle once for all what special burden or proportion of the annual value is to be borne by this unearned rent in commutation of the original burdens; and, that done, we should deal with all property alike for all further purposes of taxation. The assessment of the unearned rent would be a difficult task, but if we once settle the principle it can be done as a land settlement is made in India. We really must face the question, or there will be

continual difficulties, and in the end the unearned rent will either escape all special taxation or will be confiscated.

The above is the general principle on which we would deal with the taxation of the ordinary agricultural land of the country. Any larger claims are so remote—the unearned increment has been so gradual and is so much mixed with the improvements of the last 200 years—and free communications have recently so much detracted from the increasing value of the land, that we could hardly go beyond the commutation of modern burdens which has been suggested. But the case of urban land, that is the land in and nearly surrounding towns and populous places, must, we think, be treated specially, both in regard to taxation and in regard to the acquisition of it for public purposes. The enormous increment in this land is not old, but has mostly taken place by leaps and bounds in these days, before our own eyes. And it is not due to the gradual progress of the nation generally, but to the enterprise and expenditure of the people of each populous locality. Moreover, it is very often or generally not due to the ordinary law of supply and demand. Suburban land does not merely fetch the price which it would fetch if freely offered: it is generally in the hands of a few monopolists who fix their own famine prices. Probably it might be difficult to subject this land to a very special taxation for national purposes. So far as taxation is concerned it may perhaps be enough to say that, beyond a national tax paid like other land, ground-rents should be fully subject to municipal taxation—and that when for purposes of monopoly land is kept back or not utilized, it should be taxed on its value, and not on its present rent or no rent. That is what they do in America, and it is a very great check on the bottling up of real property for speculative purposes and monopoly prices. The national tax would be assessed at the same rate as other land on present value.

For municipal purposes the plan we would suggest is as follows. A public authority to declare what land around each populous place is to be considered suburban land—*i.e.*, land likely to be wanted for residential purposes, say within twenty or twenty-five years. The proprietor of all such land to be bound to state the value and rate at which he is willing to sell or let it on a residential tenure. So long as the land is not brought within the urban area, the difference between the agricultural letting value and the value put on it by the owner to be subject to municipal taxation for the benefit of the municipality which gives it that additional value, till it is taken within the municipal area, and then subjected to full taxation.

The effect of an arrangement of that kind would be in great degree to deter proprietors from putting fancy monopoly values on the land, for if they put it too high and deter people from taking

it, they will have to go on paying heavy taxes on the value assessed by themselves.

When the land is within the municipal area there comes the question of taxing the owner rather than the occupier for permanent improvements. The principle seems unassailable. And collaterally it might put a check on the long leasehold system if the landlord were liable for rates, contract notwithstanding; or excepting only existing rates under existing contracts. All this, however, is a matter of so much detail that we do not attempt further to work it out here. Nor will we attempt to solve the question whether, apart from mere taxation, the community might claim a proportion of the unearned value of land transferred from an agricultural to an urban character. Certainly some levy on urban ground-value is a growing demand which must be satisfied in some shape. And the sooner the matter is settled the better, both to avoid contention, and because the taxation question must be settled before we can settle the price to be paid when land is taken in the public interest. Whatever taxation may be decided to be fair will be an abatement from the value on which compensation has to be paid.

The principle that land required for public purposes may be taken is pretty generally conceded. The difficulty is to settle the price. Whatever may be the theory there can be no doubt that in practice most exorbitant prices, far beyond the natural selling prices, are given. It is not merely the 10 per cent. for disturbance—but somehow in every arrangement or arbitration, the public interest goes to the wall. The private owner is naturally keen for his own interest, and, like most of us, estimates the value of his belongings far higher than other people do; while the representative of the public interest is highly impartial, if not indifferent or something worse, and only wants to get the thing settled. The mere fact of Government being in the market too, immediately raises prices. We all remember the price we paid for the telegraphs, and how water-shares were run up when the Government came into the field; and their representative proposed to deal liberally with the companies. It would be quite impossible to take up land for extension of towns with gardens and amenities and for small agricultural holdings and the like, on such terms. It never could pay to do so. If we are to have the social reforms we desire, it is absolutely necessary that we should establish an adequate machinery for arriving at the fair selling value of the land, after making allowance for sufficient taxation. Looking to the origin of landed property, we may at least claim that the price should not be more than a willing seller would obtain if the land were thrown into the market. We must not give a price sufficient to satisfy an unwilling seller, except in the case of residential demesnes and the like, which might probably be avoided.

Perhaps if we could establish an effective system of that kind, after having properly taxed the land, it might be all that there would be sufficient urgency for demanding in the case of ordinary agricultural land. It may well be conceded that a large system of State purchase and management of the land could never pay. For allotments and the like the quantity of purely rural land we should want would probably not be very large. The agricultural labourers have a great many allotments already; if in some places they want more, there are some where they will hardly have what is offered to them. The real question is in regard to urban and suburban lands. Even in respect to mere allotments the man who most wants and appreciates them, is the sedentary dweller in small towns and villages, the mechanic, the shoemaker and the like—the man to whom a little work in the open air is a change, a relief, a luxury. And for the largest social improvements—the decentralization of overcrowded cities, the sanitation of towns, the improvement of workmen's dwellings, the gardens, amenities to be attached to those dwellings, and by which in the country we may make a counter-weight to the temptations of the city—for all these things a good system of acquiring land is indispensable. Even the present Allotment Acts, with their almost savage prohibitions<sup>1</sup> of building upon the allotments, would be better than nothing for suburban purposes, if it were only possible to get the land upon reasonable terms. But it is notoriously quite impossible to do so. In truth, however, we want more than that. Besides public open spaces we want land upon which houses may be built with gardens attached to them. It is for such purposes that the municipalization of a good deal of urban and suburban land on reasonable terms would be very desirable. A further advantage of a municipalization of that kind would be that it would enable us to deal with the great difficulties between landlord and tenant which arise under the English leasehold system. That system is defended on the ground of the need of control over tenants to prevent their injuring their neighbours. But besides the confiscation of improvements, the control of a private landlord over free citizens is always irritating to individuals. That system does not exist in other countries, but the substitute for it is a more efficient public control by the municipal authorities. If the municipal authority took the place of the ground landlord, it would be quite reasonable to impose on tenants limitations, restrictions and conditions, so far as might be required in the public interest. We might reasonably expect that such powers would not be exercised capriciously and vexatiously, and individual citizens could not complain of conditions imposed and administered

<sup>1</sup> Allotment Acts, 1887, Sect. 7. "No building other than a tool-house shall be erected — and if erected the sanitary authority shall forthwith pull down such building and sell the material."



by a public authority duly elected. • Altogether a great deal might be done, if we could only get the land at a reasonable price. If we first settled the taxation, and the municipality then took over the land at the free selling price (and not the monopoly price), and let it out on perpetual building leases on fair terms and conditions, or sold it subject to conditions and general municipal rules, it might become possible for a working man to have a cottage and a garden. At present, when exorbitant building rates are charged, it is simply impossible for a working man to have a garden. He cannot pay building rates for a quarter of an acre of land. It is detestably hard that even in country towns he should be cooped up, when close by good land does not fetch more than £1 or £2 an acre. Under the monopoly system the moment it is taken for residence it is jumped up to an annual charge of £20 or £30 or £40 an acre. That is a hardship which must be abated. We cannot afford to deal too liberally with suburban landlords—in their case the claims of property may be dealt with somewhat strictly, so as to give fair terms and no more.

All the above refers to England, and *mutatis mutandis* to the greater part of Scotland—the principal difference being that in Scotland inferior rights are even less recognized than in England. There are no copyholders and very few commoners there.

The case is different in Ireland. In Great Britain the feudal holders have generally ousted the holders of subordinate rights, and become sole owners. In Ireland subordinate rights survived morally if not legally, and have now been confirmed by law. We have in full force the dual ownership—the landlord, owner of the unearned rent—the farmer, owner of the “dominium utile,” holding the possessory right and the improvements. We must realize that this is not an extraordinary and exceptional state of things, but is really the normal, and it may be said the natural tenure in almost all the countries of the Old World, whether in Asia or in Europe. The unearned rent is the public fund appropriated either by the State or by the assignee of the State, the feudal landlord or Jagheerdar. That is a right to which no individual has any economic claim, and which an individual only holds by service grant from the State, or quit of the service, as in England, because he has long so held it. The possessory right is the right of the individual founded on economic law—the partition of the soil for cultivation and the improvements made upon it. There is no *prima facie* reason why these two rights should be combined in a single person. Where the inferior holder survives, the superior has no right to oust him. And on the other hand, the inferior holder has no claim whatever to the unearned rent, which he did not create, and which he has never possessed.

Unless then there be some other ground of public policy, there is

so far no reason for objecting to the dual ownership in Ireland or seeking to put an end to it. On the contrary, all privileged ownership, to the exclusion of the general community, of the God-given portion of the value of the soil is revolting to strict logical reason, and invidious in democratic days. Why then should we seek at a vast expense to get rid of the dual ownership and present the unearned rent to a new set of privileged landowners? It is patent that the present tenants have no claim to any such thing. Apart from contentious questions as to the settlement of a fair rent, impossible arrears, and the like, they have, in theory, at any rate, all that they can fairly claim. The principle that when, within the term of a settlement, their relations are disturbed by an extraordinary change of values, some concession must be made to them, has been established by the Act of 1887. If then we are to go further, it is for those who propose doing so to make out a sufficient ground, and to show how the means for effecting a further change are to be obtained.

The proposal to purchase the rights of the landlords and present them to the farmers is not argued as founded on any just claim of the farmers. It is rather put that it would be a political object to make them absolute owners, and so put an end to agitation about rent. That is the ground of expediency. But as the rent has to be collected for forty-nine years, that hardly affects the present generation; and we may well doubt whether at the end of forty-nine years, public feeling will be favourable to a privileged land-holding class of modern creation. Some classes of Irish farmers may represent in a general way the Irish people (supposing the land to be divided among them)—but a large proportion of the land of Ireland is held by large farmers and others, who have not even that claim. There is a good deal of abuse of the tenant-right privilege. There are estates which have been sold and paid for where the brothers and sons of the old proprietors have turned up as tenants to hold a large proportion of the land against all comers.

The fact is that the motive power for Irish land purchase is not the claim of the tenants or the desire for a landowning peace half a century hence, but the feeling that purchase is the only way to settle the difficulties of the landlords, and to get rid of the political difficulty of dealing with their claims. In truth it is notorious that it is not the tenants who press for land purchase, but the organs of the landlords. They want not only the price which the land would fetch if put up for sale, but, as is said, to "open the market" and get the price which they deem that they ought to get, but cannot get. It is expected that, just as in regard to telegraphs, and water companies, and other things, the British Treasury coming into the market will raise the price and secure a good valuation.

No doubt the Irish landlords are much to be pitied—all landlords are, in these days, in other countries besides Ireland. And certainly the functions of an Irish landlord are far from agreeable. Nobody would be one who could help it. If a benevolent fairy would come down and buy them out, we should be very much obliged to the fairy. But as fairies have gone out in Ireland, where is the money to come from? The cost would be enormous. The reservations proposed by Mr. Gladstone could not be maintained. If a man is bought out of his estate, he can hardly utilize his demesne, he wants to go away. And as to the great grazing and other farms, the first thing a Home Rule Government would desire to do would be to migrate the people from the congested districts to the great farms now clear of small tenants. If we buy out, we must do it wholesale. The agricultural rent of Ireland is ten millions; that would bring the purchase money to two hundred millions; or making all deductions, say not less than one hundred and fifty millions. It is no use blinking the matter, under round-about forms and local guarantees, and all the rest; if we have to find the money and lend it at 3 per cent., and accept the risk which nobody else will take at 10 per cent. Under every plan which has been produced yet, we and we only are to find the money. And we may well believe that, however the thing may be disguised, no plan is possible unless we do find the money. The moral, we should say is, "Don't purchase," or if we do purchase, let us keep the unearned rent as the public fund for which God designed it, and don't let us give it away to people who are to pay not a farthing, but to get it for nothing forty-nine years hence.

What is required is not to purchase the landlord's right, but to establish a sufficient machinery for fixing the fair rent. That rent has been fixed hitherto in a very rough, makeshift way, to settle an emergent difficulty; but if the system is to go on we shall require more complete machinery to deal with the matter in a more exact way, and to minimize all grounds of complaint on either side. We must, in fact, have something like an Indian settlement department to make a settlement, on Indian principles, of the unearned rent.

The principal difficulty is to disentangle the rent proper from the improvements. To do that in a satisfactory way is a task which has occupied us in India for the last hundred years. It cannot be said that we have yet settled all the problems involved; but we have made much progress, and gained much experience. One important thing has been made clear—viz., that to save the improvements, and give fair play to the farmer, we must settle the rent somewhat indulgently—must not sail too near the wind, but must leave some margin to cover variations of seasons, and circumstances, and inequalities of all kinds. We must, as it were, run a sort of low-water-line to keep clear of the ups and downs of times and tides.

In principle, the Irish have nearly got this already, or ought to have it; it only remains to regularize the system, and settle existing questions of old arrears and liabilities.

To sum up this Irish question we must open our eyes to the fact that the dual ownership is founded deep in the nature of things—that we have already conceded to the Irish the right to a form of property which is all that they can justly claim, and which has all the advantages of property for the purpose of cultivation, improvement and free sale, while it is free from some of the disadvantages of absolute property—the invidiousness of exclusive privilege, and the extreme costliness of acquiring such a privilege. That cost generally ends in shutting out the people from ownership, and creating the fresh duality of capitalist landlord and tenant without any rights at all.

• If we cannot confiscate and are not willing to buy the rights of the landlords, we must just settle the relative rights of landlords and occupancy-proprietors as we do the relative rights of Jagheerdars and village proprietors in India. Rather than advance enormous sums for purchase, with an uncertain chance of getting them back again, if we are to pay for past misdeeds, it would be better to pay down a much smaller sum as a price to compensate the landlords for giving a certain margin of privilege to the tenants, and so avoid future questions and future troubles. We might thus at once establish a stable property without creating an over-privileged class or too much shutting the door in future to provident poor men desirous of acquiring farms. If, say, one-fourth of the estimated fair rent were struck off, there would be a sufficient margin, and the farmer might well pay the remaining three-fourths in good seasons and in bad.

All that has been said in this article is very general, and many points are shortly put, which could only be worked out at much greater length. It suggests nothing very new; but, feeling that Radical views on the land are at present rather undefined, the writer has attempted to present a synopsis of the subject, from the point of view of a moderate Radical, in which he has tried to dovetail and join in one whole the several aspects of the subject. He has tried neither to carry too far first principles inconsistent with existing facts, nor to shrink from going so far as under existing circumstances he thinks we ought to go and fairly may go.

•  
GEORGE CAMPBELL.

## NOTES ON THE "NEW ROUND TABLE" (IRELAND).

THE Conservative party cannot justly complain if, in certain quarters, an idea may prevail that they will some day "dish" Mr. Gladstone and his friends by bringing in a Home Rule Bill. But audacity of that kind requires a Disraeli to conceive it, and the energetic appeal made to them by Mr. Andrew Reid in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for November, 1889, will fall, I fear, upon deaf ears. Independently of that question, however, the various papers communicated to the "New Round Table," are full of interest. A careful study of the Irish problem, both in Ireland and elsewhere, determined me in 1886-7, to adhere to the old policy of the Liberal party. Perhaps a few notes from a Liberal Unionist, written from the point of view of the political student, rather than of the partizan, may be an acceptable contribution to the discussion. I must ask pardon for saying that the writers of the papers seem to me hardly to realize the huge importance of the subject in hand. It is, as Professor Freeman observed a few months ago, the most important question that has arisen among us since William III. landed on our shores. It has recently developed, in fact, into a proposal to undo the constitutional work of William, and to revert to something like the system which existed in the days of the Stuarts. The main difference would be that in place of one sovereign actively reigning over the three separate kingdoms, and disposing of their resources, there would be a supreme Parliament exercising jointly with the Sovereign that superior authority wielded formerly by the Sovereign alone. That might be a wise change, but it certainly would be an enormous one. For such a revolution an overwhelming need should obviously exist. When Mr. Andrew Reid says to the Tories:—"Now is your opportunity! Bring in with an Irish Home Rule measure, a Scotch Home Rule Bill, and a Welsh Home Rule Bill,"—he declares for federation; and that is a very large order indeed. It could not be settled in one, or two, or even half a dozen Parliaments. But limiting the discussion to Home Rule for Ireland, Mr. Reid certainly sees one of the grave reasons which determined me adversely to the project. That is, he appreciates the danger of it. "Why not," he writes, "bring in a scheme of Home Rule accompanied with plans

for the consolidation and reorganization of our Army and Navy? The stability of the Union should be maintained, not by demolishing home liberties, but by increasing our military resources. Leave battering rams and Irish cabins alone, and take to Armstrong guns and Irish fortresses. High rents will not protect the Union, but high forts might. . . . The despotism of arms should be enough for England's conscience and safety without adding to it in Ireland the coercion of laws. . . . With the British sentinel at the door of the Irish Parliament, how shall Ireland escape out of the Union?" This is strong, but not, I think, inadequate language; for I entirely share Mr. Reid's apprehensions. If "national sentiment" is the inspiring motive of the demand for an Irish Parliament, neither the statutory Parliament of 1886, nor any mere Federal Parliament, will satisfy it. With either body it would be necessary to guard against the example set by the limited Irish Parliament, which asserted and achieved its independence by arms in 1782. Whatever "national sentiment" exists on the subject (and in *rural* Ireland it is not, I think, much) clusters round that Parliament and its brief and brilliant life of eighteen years. Its numerous blunders, its continual "coercion," the thoroughly ruthless English way in which it suppressed an unjustifiable revolt, are forgotten. The men of the "Protestant Ascendancy," who alone struggled to save it, are painted as heroes. The rebels, like Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone, both free-thinkers, and Father Murphy and Father Roche, professing Catholics, who conspired to overthrow and supersede it, are also canonized. But the men, like Clare and Castlereagh, who voted for its union with the British Parliament, and who were the close friends and allies of the Catholic leaders in those days of crisis, are now denounced as ruffians and traitors. There is not much consistency in Irish "Nationalism," nor, perhaps, should we be very reasonable to expect it. But if ever it become necessary to confer on Ireland a separate constitution; this and this only is the Parliament that would give the slightest hope of success. Associated with it there are unquestionably some great memories. In the sad and dreary chronicles of Irish history it shines out with a sparkling lustre. Irishmen who oppose its revival are not forbidden to lament its fall. It really owed its ruin to French intrigues and invasions, and to a considerable number of Irishmen, Protestant and Catholic alike, sympathizing with and aiding them. At the time of Hoche's expedition Ireland was defenceless, and if the "unsubsidized allies of England" had not scattered his fleet, the fate of Europe would probably have been different. But these now-a-days are academic questions. I merely contend that an Irish Parliament without historic prestige, which would need "high forts, Armstrong guns, and British sentinels" to keep it in order and subjection, would not

create a "union of hearts," and would have a very short lease of life. If the various sections of the United Kingdom decide to substitute a feudal system of government for that which now obtains, Ireland will, of course, have to take her chance with the rest, and Ulster will, doubtless, insist on having a division of Ireland. But short of that, a limited statutory Parliament of the type of the project of 1886, would give Ireland the greatest and most legitimate grievance she has had since the penal laws: It would satisfy no one, and would outrage equally the two strongest political parties in Ireland—strong not in numbers, but in force and influence—the Fenians and the Orangemen, each of which is vigorously "nationalist" from its own point of view. A repeal of the union, combined with a settlement of the land question, the raising of the suffrage for a generation, and the grant of *ex-officio* seats in an Irish House of Peers to the heads of the three great Churches, might possibly secure to Ireland peace and prosperity under a separate Parliament. This would probably make her "a nation." It would, at all events, leave her the pride and self-respect so necessary to resist the fatal attraction of Irish-America, which uses her merely as the tool of an hereditary vendetta against England, with which it is idle to reason.

The other point in Mr. Reid's article which chiefly strikes me is his menace against the House of Lords. The next election, he considers, will bring Mr. Gladstone back to power, with, say a majority, of seventy or eighty in the House of Commons. This is, I observe, the utmost that the most sanguine Liberal expects. In other words, Mr. Gladstone's government would be absolutely dependent on Mr. Parnell. Let us clearly take stock of the situation that would then arise. Mr. Gladstone would of course, pass his Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, and equally of course, it would be rejected by the House of Lords. Mr. Reid thinks that this rejection would be so unpopular that an exceeding bitter cry would be raised against the Upper House, a cry that would sweep it and the hereditary principle together out of Great Britain. But is that so sure? There would still be a large majority in England (proper) opposed to Home Rule. At present the members of the House of Commons for England (proper) are, I suppose, about two and a half to one against Home Rule. The elections would have reduced, but not abolished, the English majority; the House of Lords would then constitute itself the special champion of England, *plus* Ulster, against the combined Scotch, Irish, and Welsh majorities. In that struggle England would be bound to win. Men are now moving about in Scotland and in Wales, as well as in Ireland, stirring up old bitterness and galvanizing into life forgotten jealousies and animosities against England, feelings which were all but dead. Englishmen are used to such censures, and bear them in large quantity with

a proud indifference. But some day they may be stung to resentment, for after all it is England that has led, taught, and mainly made the Empire. Some day English platforms may resound to the retaliatory language of scorn and defiance, and then? This is what I fear may happen at the next elections, or the next. In round numbers, England has four million votes; and Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, a million and a half between them. Mr. Giffen has just told us that eight-tenths of the wealth of the United Kingdom is England's, one-tenth is Scotland's, less than half-a-tenth Ireland's, and I suppose less than a quarter of a tenth Wales's. I cannot understand how a radical change in the constitution is to be accomplished by a Scotch, Irish, and Welsh combination overruling the majority of England. If the attempt is made, it seems to me that the House of Lords will be forced into the position of England's special champion, and its enemies, so far from ending or mending it, will immortalize it. The first condition of giving either to Ireland or to any part of the United Kingdom Parliamentary Home Rule is that a substantial majority of the people of England (proper) should be persuaded to sanction it. The federal development of the Home Rule scheme seems to me to have greatly diminished Ireland's chances. England (I ought perhaps to say Great Britain) is alone in the world in having imperial or external affairs which are of vastly more importance to her existence and prosperity, even than her domestic affairs. She dare not give the disposal of the army or navy, or the conduct of foreign, Indian, or colonial affairs, or the arrangement of her tariff, or sea traffic, into the hands of a federal assembly, unless she had in it a predominance even greater than that with which she is content in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. To ask her to enter a federation of various countries on anything like equal terms looks to me like inviting her to commit suicide. Some people appear to think that the great colonies would be more inclined for "federation of the empire" if we had federation begun at home, and that setting up a Parliament in Dublin is to begin it. I think, on the contrary, that federalism at home would greatly delay, and probably altogether prevent, "federation of the empire," with which, so far as I can understand so vague a phrase, I have much sympathy. No well-wisher of "imperial federation" would risk it upon the doubtful experiment of an Irish Parliament. However this may be, federalism is a vastly greater matter than merely reviving a parliament of some kind in Ireland. But the two ideas have got mixed up in the public mind of late, much, I conceive, to the prejudice of them both.

Passing the short articles of Lady Robinson, Sir Walter Foster, and Lord Monckswell, which are of a purely party-character, I note two thoughtful articles, by Lord Ashburnham and Mr. Evelyn. It is a pity that temperate thinkers and writers on this Home Rule ques-



tion will not endeavour to put themselves in the place of the Ulster Protestants and seek to comprehend their point of view. Ulster has prospered enormously under the Union, and men naturally cling to the government under which they have enjoyed prosperity, order, and liberty. Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, let us say, declare "We have not prospered under the Union, and therefore we want a Parliament for our own affairs." Ulster says: "We have prospered very much under the Union, and therefore we are determined to uphold it." Let us grant that the first contention is reasonable; surely so also is the second. Then Ulster says: "The 'Nationalists' object to be governed by the majority of the United Kingdom; well, we object to be governed by the majority of Ireland alone." Is not the objection precisely the same in both cases? Is there any precedent for forcing a very prosperous and contented people under the rule of an unprosperous and very discontented people even when there was no bad blood on either side? I should be much interested to learn how Lord Ashburnham would proceed to convince my typical Ulsterman that he was in the wrong. There are of course questions of reasonable sentiment as well as of self-interest which animate the Ulster Protestants. What Runnymede is to England, and Bannockburn to Scotland, Derry is to Ulster. Each means a successful resistance to an intolerable tyranny. The Ulstermen object to be under a Parliament which would, of course, be really ruled by the Catholic priests. Seeing that the priests objected to be ruled by the Protestant Parliament before the Union, this cannot be considered irrational. They also refuse to abandon their fellow Protestants of all denominations scattered throughout the rest of Ireland, by making separate terms for themselves. That is high-minded and chivalrous. It is not generally recognized in Great Britain how completely the disestablishment of the Irish Church has removed all jealousies and estrangement between the various Protestant churches in Ireland. I suspect that Mr. Gladstone's great and wise act of disestablishment out of which Home Rule sprang, has rendered Home Rule impossible, unless the Protestants can be converted to it. If "gallant little Wales" could be induced to unite herself with Ireland, and so equalize the two creeds, perhaps Ulster might become less coy. I gather from some of Lord Ashburnham's remarks, and also from the few observations of Mr. Evelyn, that they would agree with me as to the superiority of repeal of the Union over the creation of a statutory Parliament. Ulster, I fear, is equally determined against both.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre's article is chiefly remarkable as containing a declaration in favour of federalism. He considers that the relations not only "of Ireland to Great Britain" but also of "the component parts of Great Britain" amongst themselves are in question. He points as a precedent to "the severance to a certain extent of the two Provinces (of Upper and Lower Canada) and the substitution of

a Federal Union between them and the colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia." Canada was divided because the French Catholics feared being overruled and oppressed by the British Protestants—just as to-day Ulster and the Irish Protestants generally fear being overruled and oppressed by the Irish Catholics. The two parties could not live peaceably together in Canada, and had to be separated. Ulster claims the same *status* as Quebec claimed; supposing Home Rule to be decided upon, how can she, justly, be denied? Is it reasonable to require that Great Britain should be divided into three, or more likely six, Provinces, each with a separate local Parliament, because a certain unknown proportion of the people of Ireland desire a local Parliament? I say unknown, because, till the land question is settled, it is quite impossible to know how deep the Home Rule feeling goes in Ireland. Of the three and a half millions of Irish Catholics, a substantial number, chiefly of the educated and propertied laymen, are avowed and decided Unionists. How many of the remainder are "pious" Home Rulers, or would on the whole prefer to remain as they are, it is impossible to say. Vast numbers, from natural deference and respect, take their opinions blindly from their priests, who are all more or less decided Home Rulers. On the other hand, the parsons and ministers are Unionists, almost to a man. The situation is difficult no doubt; but I do not see that it affords adequate reason for breaking off Ireland, and I am convinced it affords no shadow of a reason for breaking up Great Britain. Lord Rosebery, whom, and Mr. John Morley, I regard as far away, the two ablest exponents of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy, said, at the close of the year, in Glasgow, that "an Irish and a Scotch Parliament involved an English Parliament, and this England was determined not to have." Lord Rosebery here puts the case in a nutshell. I suspect the Queen might righteously be advised to veto a Home Rule Bill that was not supported by a majority of the members of the House of Commons for England (proper). The veto cannot be pronounced obsolete since the prerogative was wisely, I think, used by Mr. Gladstone to abolish purchase in the army. The constitution of an American State cannot be altered by a vote in Congress, nor can the American Constitution itself be altered without a great majority, both in Congress and the States. Similarly it is not enough, I conceive, that a majority of the members for Ireland, Scotland and Wales, should vote for an Irish Parliament. There must also be a substantial majority of the members for England in its favour to ensure durability and peace.

It is worth remembering that in Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, a veto on any change in the statute constituting the Irish Parliament, was reserved to the authority that created it. Failing agreement between the two Parliaments no change could be made in the state until 103

members from Ireland and 28 representative peers were summoned to Westminster for the special purpose. In fact the old Imperial Parliament was to be reconstituted *ad hoc*. Following the analogy, the separate British and Irish Parliament should now be revived to decide the Home Rule question as they decided the question of Union, in 1800. It is curious that the possibility of England violating the Union settlement when she had secured a united parliament, in which she possessed a great predominance was actually discussed in the Irish House of Commons, but the idea was considered too absurd to excite apprehension. The Union was approved by the British Parliament, Lords and Commons, with practical unanimity. In Ireland, the only party that cared for her own parliament was the party of the "Protestant Ascendancy." By the Catholic party of the day, the Union was certainly esteemed to be a great deliverance. When long afterwards O'Connell required arguments to use against it he had to go to the speeches and writings of the "Ascendancy" to find them.

Passing by the articles of Mr. Winterbotham and Mr. Coleridge, which being only of a party character are outside the scope of my notes, I meet an interesting article from the pen of Mr. Page Hopps, who is, I believe, a Unitarian clergyman. Mr. Page Hopps, I think, appreciates the situation very clearly. He alone sees that the great issue is "Local Government for Ireland *versus* Home Rule." This statement of the case needs amplification. I should describe the issue to be, whether the decentralization which we all approve shall proceed by way of Local Government or of Federal Parliament; and this is so grave a question, it so deeply involves the safety and power of the empire, and especially of England (proper) that we shall be fortunate if we can get it settled without civil convulsion. I am for Local Government in Ireland as in Great Britain, for county, district and parish councils. Rural society in Ireland has been broken up by the agitation of the last ten years, aided, if not caused, as it has been by agricultural distress. For the broken authority, example and influence of the landlord, substitutes have to be devised. Mr. John Morley, Lord Spencer, Professor Bryce, and Mr. Gladstone himself, have recently spoken in favour of this system of rural councils for Great Britain. *A fortiori* it is needed in Ireland. But you cannot have both this and "Home Rule": they are incompatible and exclude each other. An Irish Parliament would have a fierce struggle for existence. There would be men from Ulster pardonably eager to use against it the methods by which it was wrested from the Imperial Parliament. There would be many men in the Union States active and skilful in setting it at war with the British Parliament. It would be bound to centralize—to collect all possible power within itself so as to resist its numerous enemies. On the other hand, the institution of local government would leave an Irish Par-

liament nothing to do but collect taxes for the British Treasury, and it would soon perish of weakness and contempt. Mr. Page Hopps has formulated this issue very clearly and correctly. He is not so happy when he refers to Ulster and its possible submission to Home Rule. The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is a close corporation, which appoints its own prelates, and manages Church affairs without interference by the laity. The Irish Protestant Churches are highly democratic bodies in the government of which the laity take a very large part. Their assemblies have declared in the most uncompromising terms against Home Rule. If, then, the priests truly represent the opinions of their people, surely, it follows *a fortiori* that the parsons and ministers must represent truly the opinions of theirs. Whatever may be the merits of Home Rule I hope, for the peace of the realm and the honour of England, it may never be forced on an unwilling Ulster.

Lord Brassey, in declaring himself for Home Rule, observes that—"It will give us the hearts of the Irish people not only in Ireland but throughout the world." These certainly would be worth possessing. As regards the hearts at home, I feel sure none would be gained by any such measure as that of 1886, and as some speaker has said "there are hearts to be lost as well as to be won in Ireland." As regards the Irish hearts in the United States, no English legislation for Ireland will influence them. They are the slaves of a vendetta handed on blindly from father to son, and, as I have already said, it would be waste of time to reason with a vendetta. We must only reckon with it and possess our souls in patience.

This vendetta, it must be remembered, is useful politically to the Irish-Americans; a common hatred of England serves as a sort of cement to keep their party together and perpetuate their political power. The idea that any measures of administration in Ireland will moderate or assuage the wrath of this party against England seems to me quite visionary. Their anger is founded quite as much in policy as in feeling, and must be left to time which, aided by American good sense, can alone extinguish it. We shall do better to be just and fear not. The difficulty, of course, is for us to agree on what is just.

On this point I trust I shall not unduly offend susceptibilities by saying that the Home Rule policy of 1886 seemed to me to bear all the worst features of the Anglo-Irish legislature of the 18th century. It was prompted really by English convenience not by Irish needs. In no way can England exercise a more powerful and less legitimate influence on Irish affairs than through a limited Irish parliament. Many of the most oppressive laws against Ireland were passed in the old subordinate Parliament, and often by the very men who suffered most from their oppression. Acts of the Irish Parliament extinguished the Irish woollen industry. England cannot escape the

consequences of her own predominance, and if she cannot exercise it directly, as at present under open criticism, she had better surrender it altogether. As regards Ireland herself, I am unable to see any safe and honourable place for her in the world outside the Union, and there is certainly a very great and secure place for her to fill inside of it.

By "Ulster" in this article, I mean the Plantation comprising about three-fourths of geographical Ulster. Donegal was never planted, but is nominally an Ulster county and returns four Home Rule members to Parliament. The Celtic remnant in Ulster after the conquest was pushed west into Donegal, much as the conquering Celts themselves many centuries before had pushed the persisting Irish race into the sea whence a few survivors reached the Western isles of Scotland. Ulster altogether returns 33 members to Parliament of whom the Plantation returns 26—viz., 16 Unionists and 10 Home Rulers. Some of the latter won their seats by narrow majorities, as in Derry city by a majority of one, and in Belfast West of 112. These 16 members are the only representatives Ireland supplies for the two-fifths of her population, which, whether right or wrong, is fiercely opposed to Home Rule. In truth, the failure of our representative system to represent is exceptionally conspicuous in Ireland.

EMERSON DAWSON.

## A THEORY OF LAUGHTER.

It may, perhaps, be assumed that no one who has cared to pay attention to the subject is thoroughly satisfied by the theories of laughter. Taken separately or in combination they give a more or less sufficing explanation up to a certain point; but all at length come either to a *nec plus ultra* or are mere balderdash, like that resounding old definition of humour as the interpenetration of the finite and the infinite, or the making of laughter itself a mere function of the mysterious spleen.

The best definition of a good witticism is perhaps that which, greatly abridged, attributes to that particular form of laughter-excitant a *tertium quid*, as it were; one of the stock illustrations of which is the venerable anecdote of the man who met another carrying a hare, and said to him: "Is that your own hare or a wig?" Here (in the definition) the third element is the other man's own hair, understood or subsumed; and the essence of the joke is said to consist in two necessities: the incongruity and the suddenness of the subsumption. The more intense these two qualities are, the better for the joke and for the laugher. Agreed. This then is what causes the laughter. But how does it do so? Why should we laugh at a highly incongruous and flashingly sudden subsumption, at what French well calls *le mot pour rire*?

Here is the *hiatus caldè deflendus* which has never been bridged over by any of the theories; the world is made no further in that direction; we have come to a dead wall, or are in a *cul-de-sac*, or however else we please to phrase it. It seems, at least, that, in electrician's terms, the connection has not been made here; the circuit remains to be completed.

Before going farther, the witticism question must be a little better threshed out. "Something incongruous or unaccountable, exciting surprise in the laugher . . . seems to be the commonest cause of laughter," said Darwin (*Expression of the Emotions*, p. 200); and again: "Something unexpected—a novel or incongruous idea which breaks through an habitual train of thought—appears to be a strong element in the ludicrous" (p. 202). Schopenhauer, who is not, we believe, cited by Darwin, says that laughter arises from our remarking suddenly the disparity between a concept [*e.g.* wig], and

the real object [hare] which in thought we connect with that concept; and the laugh itself is only the expression of this disparity. Here, in this last clause, Schopenhauer seems to leap the "deep gulf fixed," without seeing that he does so. Again, laughter results then from a paradoxical and therefore unexpected subsumption, either in words [hair] or in acts. Here is, very succinctly, the true theory of the ludicrous (*Die Wille, u.s.w.*, Bk. i. § 13). Again he adds, in the Complements to the same first Book (ch. viii.) that the source of the ludicrous is the paradoxical and consequently unexpected subsumption of an object [hare] under a conception [hair or wig] with which it is otherwise completely heterogeneous; and the phenomenon of laughter therefore indicates the sudden apprehension of a relation of incongruity between this conception and the object really thought. . . . "It is possible, indeed, to bring everything that excites laughter to a syllogism, with an undisputed major, and an unexpected minor that is imposed in some sort by a trick."

[e.g.: A wig is not your own hair;  
That is not your own { hair } ;  
  { hare } ;  
∴ It may be a wig.]

"From this connection results a conclusion partaking of the ludicrous quality." "The discovery of the incongruity which exists between the thought [hair and wig] and the perception, that is the reality [hare] causes pleasure." [Here, in the words "causes pleasure" is the same chamois-bound over the same chasm] "and we abandon ourselves willingly to the convulsive spasms which the discovery provokes." This last wind-up is a mere trite statement of actual fact, masquerading as an explanation; and seeing this, perhaps, Schopenhauer goes on to expound its reason.

Perception is the original form of knowledge inseparable from animal nature, in which everything that gives direct satisfaction to the Will presents itself. It is the medium of the present, of enjoyment and gaiety; moreover it costs no effort. With thinking, the opposite is the case; it is knowledge raised to the second power, and is never exercised without effort; often not without considerable effort. Besides, it is the conceptions of thought that oppose the gratification of our immediate desires; for as the medium of the past, of the future, and of serious reflections, they are the vehicle of our fears, our repentance, and all our cares. It must therefore rejoice us to find this severe, perpetual, importunate governor, the Reason, for once caught in the act, and convicted of insufficiency. That is why laughter is the near relation of joy.

This exposition is pleasant reading, but it does not tell us *how* the laughter takes place; all it does, at best, is to throw a bright light upon the precise juncture where the laughter comes in. When he says, too, that as a rule, laughing is a pleasant condition; and accordingly the apprehension of an incongruity existing between the

thought and the perception, that is the reality, gives us pleasure, he is merely begging the question. Indeed, though Schopenhauer, following Marshall Hall, referred all involuntary movements—sneezing, yawning, sobbing, “cramps and convulsions of all kinds,” especially from epilepsy, tetanus, hydrophobia, or an electric current—to the spinal cord and therefore to the Will, he did not mention laughter in that connection, nor (Complements to Bk. ii. Ch. 20) does he ever, when treating of laughter, refer laughter to the Will, so that it almost seems as if we might conclude from every side that Schopenhauer, who was so often cocksure of himself, was conscious of not being quite crystal clear on the subject of laughter.

The subject is extremely complex, said Darwin (p. 200); “why the laughter of man should be a rapidly reiterated sound cannot be explained” (p. 93). “The problem of the origin and true significance of laughter was posed as far back as Cicero,” wrote Schopenhauer, “but only to be at once dismissed as insoluble.”

Cicero’s points were these: What is laughter; in what manner is it formed; how does it produce itself, and burst forth all at once, impossible to be controlled; and how does it simultaneously affect the sides, the mouth, the veins, the face, the eyes (*De Orat.*, ii. 58). He did go on to refer to ugliness (*turpitudō*) and deformity as subjects of laughter, but not in a satisfying manner; and for deformities we must now read in perhaps incongruity.

And then Schopenhauer rapidly alludes to many theories, including his pet Kant’s, which all very quickly self-disclose their insufficiency. But then he goes on to boast that “here, after so many previous fruitless attempts, the true theory of the ludicrous is discovered, and the problem stated but given up by Cicero is definitively solved.” For the reasons indicated above, it does not seem that this can be conceded to Schopenhauer. He has not completed the connection between his sudden psychical disparity—Darwin’s unexpected incongruity—and the actual bodily laughter.

It would not seem that, by the nature of the case, the subject can be so “extremely complex.” The effect is ever the same, and always immediate; and for those two reasons the nexus sought ought to be simple rather than complicated.

Let it be supposed that the brain-substance can be tickled; and before this notion excites a smile, let it be remembered that in the case of persons who are bodily very ticklish, actual touching of the surface of the body is not necessary; it is quite enough that, in Mrs. Jarley’s immortal words, “the fingers should be crooked as if in the act of tickling” in order to produce the full effect, and the consecutive spasmodic laughter. Mrs. Carlyle wrote to her uncle (Dec. 13, 1847): “Everybody has seen children thrown almost into convulsions by someone going through the motions of tickling them.” The



imagination is said to be tickled by a ludicrous idea; "and this so-called tickling of 'the mind,'" said Darwin (p. 201), "is curiously analogous with that of the body." This is just what is now being pushed a little further home; for tickling the mind is an expression like wooden iron.

Let it be supposed then that the brain-substance can be tickled by the currents in the nerves of sight and hearing, which are the conduits of the ludicrous, just as the nerves of touch convey to the brain the sensations of being muscularly tickled. If the nerve-messages can thus tickle the brain-substance at all, it is obvious that they cannot always tickle it; and their tickling power must be limited to the cases in which there is a sudden and unexpected and unaccountable incongruity in their information. This occurrence is so exceedingly sudden that it may be supposed to take place in an inconceivably brief instant of time, on a spot of the brain-substance so inconceivably small as to resemble a mathematical point. Brain-tickle then would be caused by the inexpressibly fine and close impact of a flash-like *volle-face* or alternation of the nerve-current. In fact the intervals of space and time we are now considering are so utterly minute as to be like the differentiations in the Calculus, about which Sir W. R. Hamilton could never satisfy his imagination. Comparison of this infinitesimality with the tickling delicately effected with a hair by one child on the lip of another furnishes but a clumsy analogy; and the end of the hair is but a coarse stump to the fine point of the joke.

Of course the case here taken is that of a man who is a good judge of a joke, who "sees the point," who "knows when to laugh" in fact, in the excellently evolved common phrases; and not a case in which there exists a readiness to giggle, or to guffaw after the manner of the laughing jackass—a human character well known in many a coterie—at words or occurrences that are only very moderately ludicrous; and sometimes not ludicrous at all; containing only the sudden element, and not the incongruous. Cicero's Apronius laughed both in wine and in danger; and this facile readiness would, on the theory here sketched, indicate an abnormal ticklesomeness of the brain-substance, which can be well understood by those who may have seen the curious spectacle of two ultra-ticklesome and attached friends endeavouring, in nervous paroxysms of laughter, to get seated side by side on the same sofa for a much-wanted confab after long separation. In such a condition as this are the brains of the idiots in an asylum, described by Darwin as exploding in laughter when complaining of a black eye; and grinning, chuckling, and giggling, when food is given, bright colours seen, or music heard. Here would be the very thing guarded against above, in the case of the normal brain, of the sudden messages of sight and hearing almost always tickling the diseased brain-

substance. With idiots, as Dr. Crichton Browne informed Darwin (p. 199), "laughter is the most prevalent and frequent of all the emotional expressions." Happy idiots!

But this is not confined to convicted idiots ;

Per risum multum  
Poteris cognoscere stultum,

said the middle-age doggrel ; children and the uneducated, wrote Schopenhauer, laugh at the most trifling things, even at misfortunes if they are unexpected ; and Martial (ii. 41) could neatly say what we all join in—provided it degenerate not, into the perpetual giggle—

Ride si sapis, O puella ride.

Abnormal ticklesomeness of the brain may be fostered by other causes ; as in the German soldiers round Paris who, after continued strong excitement from exposure to extreme danger, were prone to burst into loud laughter at the tiniest joke. This was what would be generally called relief from tension, that is, the brain and the body obtained at long last what they had been demanding, the tickle and the consequent shaking which is so beneficial. For laughter, and habitual laughter is, we all know, beneficial. Laugh and grow fat says crowd-wisdom in the proverb. Darwin, with excellent directness, said the sound of laughter is produced by a deep inspiration, followed by short, interrupted, spasmodic, contractions of the chest, and especially of the diaphragm (p. 202), and it is probably the important benefit of the vibration, shaking, convulsion, of the abdomen—which promotes full digestion, and thence the health of all the organs, including the brain—that is the *final* cause of laughter, and not "cheerfulness of the mind," as is commonly said. And so a *not* should be inserted in Darwin's speculation that "laughter seems primarily to be the expression of mere joy or happiness" (p. 198). Thus, too, that leading benefit from shaking may be the true ultimate reason of the pleasantness of laughter, and of the pursuit by the throng of the amusement they so rarely find. The mental cheerfulness is an effect, and "the mien or appearance of laughter is very closely related to joy" (Schopenhauer) for the grossly physical reason just stated.

Mr. Herbert Spencer, however, in his able *Physiology of Laughter* (*Essays*, 2nd series, 1863) takes an opposite view from the above ; and, with his great authority, asserts that "the movements of chest and limbs which we make when laughing have no object" (p. 111). But he also, if we interpret aright, says that his own main theory "does not apply to the laughter that follows certain perceptions of incongruity" (p. 113). Of this kind of laughter—the kind which most concerns us here—his explanation seems to be, briefly, that an excess of nervous energy discharges itself as "an efflux through the

motor nerves to various classes of the muscles, producing the half-convulsive actions we term laughter."

A consideration of a totally different nature, which falls in here, seems to deal a fatal blow at the broad theorem that laughter *expresses* happiness and cheerfulness. In the last analysis, and in its inmost essence, a witticism is ever cold and neutral; there is no sentiment, no warmth, no passion, left about it. Being purely cervical, it is, as it were, by the nature of the case, when carefully considered in the abstract, steely, clear-cut, edged, angular, mathematical; it is stripped of all emotion; it is simply and nakedly the swift alternation of two incongruous nerve-messages; and this being so, the laughter it excites would seem to have no possible parentage in an immediately previous state of happiness or cheerfulness in its hearer (although a predisposition to laughter of course helps the witticism to its effect). Cheerfulness and happiness, on the other hand, are, according to their degrees of warmth and intensity, conditions of the sentiments, the emotions, the passions—that is, of the satisfied Will—and not conditions of the intellect, of the brain-function *per se*.

On the theory here developed, then, the *efficient* cause of laughter would be brain-tickle. And proneness to laughter, uncommon susceptibility to brain-tickle, would, on the laugh-and-grow-fat principle, produce one of the dyspeptic Carlyle's abominations (in others), a "eupeptic" man. Great men are seldom great laughers, said Oxenstiern's sufficiently remarkable great-nephew, and it would seem only natural to conclude that an extra susceptibility to tickling in the brain-matter might interfere with its graver work. Alone of mortals, Zoroaster, according to Pliny and Parsi tradition, laughed while coming into the world; but this, like the similar stories in the Jupiter and the Hercules myths, must be regarded as the metaphorical laughter of all thunder-gods, which is still preserved in the Persian expression for the peals: *kandah i barq*, the laughter of the lightning; which, again, will remind any one of Shelley's *Cloud*: "I laugh as I pass, in thunder."

The brain-substance theory of laughter would sort well with the existence of a laughing disease. Dr. A. Campbell, superintendent of Darjeeling, brought back in 1849 accounts of such a malady in Eastern Thibet, which is called the *jūmtūk*, and consists of violent fits of laughter, with excruciating pains in the fauces and throat. It attacks both sexes, and kills in a few days without fever. The effect of the so-called laughing-gas, too, would not be counter to the hypothesis. Dr. F. P. Smith's *Materia Medica* of China mentioned in 1871 that some Chinese mushrooms, the *t'ukw'an* and the *titan*, are said to cause irrepressible laughter. Most persons have ex-

perienced the unpleasant effects of overdoing a fit of laughter; and the attendant pain at the back of the head may not be wholly external or muscular. We have been struck, on referring to Rabelais for a dimly remembered passage about dying of laughter, that he too was on the road towards a brain-substance theory. It is where Ponocrates and Eudemon go into fits, as the fit and familiar phrase runs, at the harangue of Master Ianotus.

Le sophiste n'eût si tôt achevé, que Ponocrates et Eudemon s'esclaffèrent de rire tant profondement qu'en cuiderent rendre l'âme à Dieu. . . . Ensemble eux commença rire Maître Ianotus à qui mieux mieux, tant que les larmes leur venaient aux yeux *par la vehemente concution de la substance du cerveau*, à laquelle furent exprimées ces humidités lacrymales, et transcoulées juxte les nerfs optiques (I. xx.).

Exactly as Darwin puts it: "the orbicular muscles are spasmodically contracted, in order to protect the eyes [from blood gorging]. Tears are freely shed" (p. 208).

The opposite to the violence of laughter is of course Cowper's "never smiled again," in *The Task*; and that sad indemnity from brain-tickle may be referred to depression or great shocks. And of course this particular susceptibility of the brain would be diminished by pre-occupations, just as the ticklesomeness of the body is lessened by severer moods. Here must be catalogued, too, the type of man who is dense to a joke, whose brain-fibre is naturally dulled and toughened against tickling; and this is where the well-known surgical operation comes in. There is another striking analogy that might be mentioned. A slight blow will not tickle the most ticklish body; and neither suddenness nor incongruousness separately will produce the spontaneous laugh—they must both be combined. It is not strictly accurate, as asserted by Darwin (p. 218), that "with respect to joy, its natural and universal expression is laughter." Sudden tidings of great joy will not bring the relief of laughter; a crisis of that kind resembles rather the heavy blow than the tickle; the result may be disastrous, *la joie fait peur*. When Wordsworth, at twenty-nine, wrote the delightful lines:

A temper known to those who, after long  
And weary expectation, have been blest  
With sudden happiness beyond all hope,

he was not contemplating laughter, as any one may see who chooses to read "Nutting" again. Voltaire was much nearer the truth when he said: Every joy does not cause laughter; great pleasures are serious; those of love, ambition, avarice, never yet made any one laugh. And Middleton was happy in

our sweet'st delights  
Are evermore born weeping.

As to the element of suddenness, it might be objected that, as Darwin said, hardly anything excites laughter so easily as mimicry

(p. 209) ; and the further objection might be made that the exciting cause of suddenness is absent from the laughter aroused by comic acting. But, as a matter of fact, all good mimicry is not alone incongruous (because of A's peculiarities being markedly displayed in B, who most clearly is not A), but each successive gesture or tone is, by the nature of the case, unexpected. The same is evident as to the "business" of a good comic actor. And that explains why bad or even indifferent mimicry and comic acting are as tedious as a repeating decimal. As Garrick said to Jack Bannister : " You may humbug the town well enough as a tragedian for a while ; but comedy is a serious thing, my boy ; so don't try that just yet." Voltaire mentioned in the preface to *L'Enfant Prodigue* that " at the play," a general outburst of laughter was always produced by a mistake. Here of course we have at once the posited combination of the unforeseen and the incongruous.

The theory of brain-tickle would fall in with the vibratory nature of genuine laughter. If a young chimpanzee be tickled, wrote Darwin (p. 132), a decided chuckling or laughing sound is uttered. Schopenhauer, one of whose leading weaknesses lies in a contempt for the animal powers which are not human, says that on account of the want of Reason, and thus of general conceptions, the brute is deprived of the faculty of laughter as well as of that of speech. He does allow the dog, and the dog alone, an analogous gift in the wagging of the tail ; but that too is a vibratory movement. Those who have closely observed the " laughing " hyæna when scratched or tickled by its keeper, will probably agree that the sound it emits is of a vibratory nature. Young orangs when tickled likewise grin and make a chuckling sound. The monkey known as *Cebus azaræ*, " when rejoiced at again seeing a beloved person, utters a peculiar tittering sound." " Why the tittering of monkeys should be a rapidly reiterated sound cannot be explained," wrote Darwin (p. 93) ; and again : " Why the sounds which man utters when he is pleased have the peculiar reiterated character of laughter, we do not know " (p. 207). But it would seem that the " rapid vibratory movements in the respiratory muscles, and even in those of the limbs," which he records on the same page (207) go a considerable way towards an explanation. Our neat expression " a ripple of laughter " is clearly a vibratory analogy from wavelets of water ; and the pleased purring of the cat is indubitably a vibration.

Again, Darwin says : During excessive laughter, the whole body often shakes, or is almost convulsed (p. 208). Schopenhauer, as we have seen above, uses the term " convulsive spasms "—well illustrated by Milton's admirable figure of Laughter holding both his sides. " When we laugh heartily, a quiver may be observed more or less distinctly in our jaws ; the lower jaw often quivers up and

down" (Darwin, pp. 134, 202). Again he remarks (p. 207) that in "the sounds uttered from joy" the expirations are short and broken, and the inspirations prolonged; of course, in the process of recovering breath. Littré was a practised physiologist, and his definition of laughter was "a series of little staccato (saccadées) expirations, more or less noisy, depending in great part on contractions of the diaphragm, and accompanied by contractions equally involuntary of the facial muscles." And it is certainly curious, as Darwin keenly notes—though not in these words—that the unexpected is as necessary in body-tickle as in brain-tickle: "it seems that the precise point to be touched must not be known; a child can hardly tickle itself, or in a much less degree than when tickled by another person." To this we may furnish the analogy of the production of a joke not necessarily producing brain-tickle and laughter in the joker; he cannot tickle himself; the unexpected is absent. He doubtless feels mental pleasure; but laughter is not produced, or if it is, it is not spontaneous, but to help the joke, perhaps on the principle that laughing is catching. But the effect is quite other, for this prepares the listener, and thus does away with the necessary suddenness.

Such terms as cachinnation (καχάξιν), tittering, teeheeing, giggling, chuckling, purring—for which French has the reduplicated *ronron*—whatever their roots, cannot be formed wholly under the influence of sound-imitation. Indeed the word titillation closely resembles tittering, and titillation cannot be onomatopœic. Twittering is a similar word, and we apply it to the slight trembling of the nerves—"the poor old Trot was all of a twitter." Quivering and shivering also have to do with the trembling or vibration of the body, though not in a pleasurable sense. Professor Skeat makes the roots *kak* in cackle, *kuk* in chuckle, and *lik*, "all refer to convulsive motions in the throat," which is just in the line of the present considerations as to tickling and vibration.

That curious condition we call "the fidgets" seems, according to Sir Henry Holland, to be due to an accumulation of some cause of irritation which requires muscular action for its relief. This would have delighted Schopenhauer, a leading point of whose great theory was that the irritability of the muscles is a direct manifestation of the Will itself, *propria personæ*; and the fidgets would thus be the Will, in default of the muscular exercise which it demands, inflicting on us the uneasy sensation. In a minor degree the fidgets are appeased by stretching—perhaps the lowest form of exercise known to the sluggard. How much greater is not the relief of a wholesome fit of hearty laughter to a man who, in the good old homely phrase, "fairly splits his sides." The abnormal condition of the muscle and brain in idiots supplies another illustration. Some of them, said Dr. Crichton Browne, laugh more than usual when they walk about, or

attempt any muscular exertion ; and Darwin noted (p. 198) that children at play are almost incessantly laughing. Madame de Genlis, in *La maison rustique* (ii. 245) made the sensible remark that “ le rire bien franc et bien naturel vaut mieux pour eux que tous les médicaments du monde.” Here the bodily motions of laughter and of muscular exertion seem to meet ; the latter, if anything, exciting or helping the former.

The summing up must, as usual, labour under the disadvantages of great condensation ; but this theory of laughter might be sketched as follows :—

i. The *final* cause of laughter is the benefit it produces in all the bodily organs, especially in the digestive apparatus.

ii. That benefit is produced by the actual shaking or convulsive vibration of the organs, which convulsive action produces from the vocal apparatus the sound we call laughter.

iii. The convulsions, which *are*, essentially, the laughter, are involuntary, that is they are independent of the volition (though not of Schopenhauer's Will).

iv. The vibration of laughter is pleasurable in common with, but in a greater degree than, some other involuntary disturbances of the body which are beneficial and a relief—such as yawning, stretching, sneezing, and even crying (which is a safety-valve convulsion closely akin to the laughter-convulsion). The laughter-convulsions also bestow a pleasure like in kind to that imparted by muscular exercise to the healthy normal subject:

v. But the *final* cause of this pleasure is, as above, the bodily benefit that is to accrue.

vi. That bodily benefit brings what we call cheerfulness, which is not a cause of laughter, but a result. (Of course laughter is not the sole cause of cheerfulness.)

vii. The *efficient* causes of laughter-convulsions are tickle of the muscles or of the brain substance ; the latter of which, brain-tickle, is effected by a sudden and incongruous alternation of the nerve-currents or messages, as explained above.

No notice is here taken of the bad and spurious forms of laughter, such as the affected and forced ; the simper, the snigger ; the nervous laugh, to mask shyness ; or the ill-natured, the laugh of scorn. We are concerned solely with the natural, honest, spontaneous, outburst.

Darwin and Schopenhauer are good names to conjure with, and that is why they are so much cited here ; but every reader's experience will at once endorse the truth of the quotations or, indeed, at need supply similar instances.

Hobbes has some famous paragraphs on laughter ; Platner in his *Anthropologie* (1774, § 894) collected the opinions of the

writers from Home (Lord Kames) to Kant who have philosophized about laughter. Hutcheson's *Moral Philosophy* (1747) seems to contain the oldest attempt at a psychological explanation. The *Traité des causes physiques et morales du rire*, which Schopenhauer called anonymous and not without merit, was by Poinssinet de Sivey (Amsterdam, 1768). Jean Paul Richter also contributed to the subject. There was a somewhat important *Traité du ris*, not known to Schopenhauer, "containing its essence, its causes, and marvellous effects," by Laurent Joubert (Paris, 1579). There is a whole chapter *De risu* in Quintilian (vi. 3). Statius wrote a poem on the *Risus Saturnalius*, which is in Dornaw's collection. One Philippus Matthæus is answerable for verses on the question: Whether Laughter be Lawful (*An ridere liceat*); Goclenius wrote a poem called *Physiologia de risu*; and Erycius Puteanus, Gaspard Diepeli, and Calcagnini, have also added pebbles to the cairn. Cairns have a lugubrious explanation; and Voltaire, in himself writing on the subject of laughter, truly said that those who search out metaphysical causes for it are far far from gay. For all that, though, one might quote Rabelais's

Mieulx est de ris quo de larmes escripre.

JOHN O'NEILL.



## HOME. AFFAIRS.

THE end of the Parliamentary recess has been preternaturally dull and uninteresting, and we approach the meeting of Parliament with the least possible amount of curiosity. The reason is not far to seek. The Government and their friends have determined to "mark time," so as to gain another year of life. All big schemes for Ireland are set aside as dangerous. To undertake anything of the sort would be much too risky for the virtuous people who live simply to save the legislative union. It must be gratifying to these good souls that they can square their consciences to the painful necessity of doing nothing and at the same time to taking the profits of "the offices." There is, indeed, no reason why, if this is to be the rule of conduct, they should even do anything this side the General Election. Unfortunately, the country does not appreciate this attitude, and so if nothing is to be done there must be a pretence of work. Hence we find much discussion of a Land Purchase Bill for Ireland, and of a rumour—it is nothing more—that Mr. Goschen, the quondam opponent of free education, is to give England and Wales the boon which was given to Scotland in the Local Government Act of last year. It is said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be in "possession" in April of a "prospective" surplus of about four millions sterling, and that half of this will go to freeing the schools and half to the relief of the income-tax payer. Allowing this report to stand good, we may add the introduction of a Tithe Bill or Bills, and then we have the full programme of Government work for the coming Session, so far as we know anything of it. All the great promises or suggestions of last August have gone to the winds. Ireland is defrauded—clearly defrauded. The voluntary Land Purchase Bill is condemned even by Ulster, and, beyond this Bill, we are not likely to see anything for the benefit of the sister country, save, possibly, the Main Drainage Bills, which may or may not be revived, and (as we hear) some scheme for improving harbour accommodation. But it is, of course, all right to the Unionists, who but the other day called so valiantly, some for local government reform, and some for a great scheme of land purchase which was to knock the bottom out of the political agitation. It will be interesting to see how these worthy folks justify themselves. We

fancy that Mr. Courtney and Mr. Chamberlain will find themselves in a tight place before long.

The influenza epidemic is partly responsible for the political dullness of the month just concluded. Lord Salisbury was one of the earliest victims of the disease. He was seized at the end of Christmas week, and immediately an engagement to speak at Grantham on the 17th of January was cancelled. One can understand that in his case caution was necessary, but the early announcement of the abandonment of the tour seemed to suggest that Lord Salisbury had nothing particular to say to the country as the consequence of the previous Cabinet Councils. Since then, up to the time of writing, there has been no meeting of Ministers; Lord Salisbury has not been able to leave Hatfield; but it is of no consequence, seeing that the work of next Session is to be of the most limited character. All the same, the Session will probably be stormy. It is understood that the Liberal leaders will think it their duty, in the absence of any measures of importance for Ireland, to press from their side of the House the case of the sister country—a thing which they have not done for the last two sessions; and, of course, the report of the Special Commission will afford matter of warm debate. Mr. Parnell's course is not clearly defined as yet, but there is little doubt that he will push home his demand for an inquiry into the origin of the Pigott frauds. As to the Liberal leaders, we have it on the authority of Mr. H. H. Fowler that they will not abstain from any criticism for the sake of the Judges, since these gentlemen sat not as Judges but as Commissioners, and are consequently properly open to remark. Again, the Government measures will all be opposed. The Land Purchase Bill will be assailed as inadequate, and as failing to carry out the pledges given on the subject; and any proposal to free the elementary schools by giving the same treatment to Voluntary as to Board schools is sure to raise objection. The Liberation Society has already sounded a note of alarm on this head, and has pointed out that there are already more than 10,000 parishes in England and Wales in which the children of Nonconformists are by law compelled to attend Church of England schools without any adequate guarantee for the rights of conscience. Mr. Fowler thinks that the masses should have "a free breakfast table" before the income-tax is lowered, and Mr. Goschen will, no doubt, have to consider this point, which promises well for those who take it. As to the Tithes Question, we may be sure that, however the Government deal with it, they will burn their fingers. It is pretty certain that the Welsh landlords have no stomach for taking the burden of payment of the tithe, and it is just a little too late to talk of redemption as the solution of the problem. Sir William Harcourt, in an able letter, which shows that he has been getting up the historical side of this question, and means mischief, pointedly tells

Lord Salisbury that he has put his hands in a hornet's nest, and will pay the penalty before he is clear of it. So that, spite of all their calculations, the Government may have anything but a quiet time in the days that are coming. Their own friends are divided upon Free Education and the Tithes question, and this will add to the embarrassments of Ministers. For our part, however, we do not attach much importance to what is said about these divisions. The Tories will do nothing to upset the Ministerial coach, and that the Government will avoid a crisis is probable. At any rate, they will do all that is in their power for this end. It is all they think of at present. So that the rumours of dissolution this year, which have been so prominently put about—it is said by the friends of Lord Randolph Churchill—do not get much attention. It is thought that these rumours have an object in securing Lord Randolph's future, hence the suspicion attaching to them. At the same time, it is just possible that they are founded on what has passed in the Cabinet.

It is believed in certain quarters that the question of an early dissolution has been debated in the Cabinet. Ministers have had many small disagreements of late. This is said to be shown by the fact that a big programme of legislation has been whittled down to the bones, of which some description has already been given. The same people declare that there may be distinct advantages in an early General Election. If Mr. Goschen can make a brave show with his Budget—if the Special Commission reports adversely to the Irish party—and if certain other prejudice is laid upon the shoulders of Mr. Parnell—then there would be a chance of the Unionists coming back with a majority. Such is the current talk of a section of Tories, who may be found in the Junior Carlton Club more especially. Spite of some semi-official denials, they insist that there is yet an even chance of a dissolution about Whitsuntide. And this is said to be supported, rather than otherwise, by the dubious replies made by the Tory Whips to letters sent by Tory members asking for information as to the real intentions of the Government. For ourselves, we do not profess to know the exact state of the facts. What we wish for is that the Government should find themselves in difficulty with their legislation, and give us the early chance of meeting them at the polls. It has been said, indeed, that the longer the election is delayed the better will it be for the Opposition. It may be so, but a dissolution in the course of the present year would probably suit us best. There is nothing more demoralizing to a band of fighting men full of courage and dash, than to be kept continually on the watch for an enemy that never comes. Hence we trust that if the Government, of their own choice, do not give us an early chance of meeting them at the polls, our leaders will do all that is possible to create the chance for us. In the fifth session of a Parliament it is time to begin aggressive action. The Tories,

who act upon the dictum that it is the duty of an Opposition to oppose, would have begun it long ago. Why should our own friends further stay their hands? If the Partick election confirms the run of previous elections in Scotland, there will be ample justification for giving the Government as bad a time of it as can be arranged. If ever the verdict of the constituencies condemned a Government, this Government is it.

On our own side, the reasons for action of this sort are pretty well understood. It has already been said that we are in danger of rusting for want of occupation. But it may as well be said frankly, that there is, in certain quarters, a disposition to kick over the traces. The Home Rulers in Scotland and in Wales are getting just a trifle out of hand. The Scotsmen have thought it wise to send indirectly to Mr. Gladstone a very plain communication calling in question his too exclusive regard for the Irish claims. It is said, also quite plainly, in this protest, that the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, giving them control over British legislation, while they have at the same time exclusive control of their own, is intolerable to Scottish public opinion; further, that Mr. Gladstone would do well to turn a favourable eye upon a federal scheme, as the only adequate and proper solution of the Home Rule question. We give the sense, not the *ipsissima verba*. We quite agree that the federal plan is more logical, or, as Lord Derby says, more "arguable." But we do not believe that this cry for local Home Rule has taken any firm hold of the rank and file of the Liberal party, either in Scotland or in Wales. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the Scotch and Welsh Home Rulers are about to join forces. They desire to give an impetus to their movement, and they are coming up to London to enlighten members of Parliament as to the Home Rule question in their respective "nations." The Welshmen will bring with them a draft Bill, drawn by a prominent member of the Carnarvonshire County Council, Mr. W. J. Parry. This relates, of course, only to Wales. It proposes to establish a provincial Parliament to sit at Aberystwith, and to give it jurisdiction over taxation, the raising of money, the appointment and payment of officials, the maintenance of prisons, the government and sale of Crown lands, "the administration of justice, and all other matters having specific reference to religion, education, agriculture, and labour in the provinces." This is a decidedly large order. It goes beyond—much beyond—the limits of the permissible in Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill for Ireland of 1886. It is true that the Governor to be appointed by the Crown would have the right of veto, and that (as we read the draft) the Imperial Parliament, on appeal against the Governor, could incontinently put an end to any matter by disallowing it; but we take it that it would be quite within the power of the local assembly to decree disestablishment and disendowment—as to which we should have no objection

of course—to endow any one of the denominations, and even to interfere with contracts. Now, in his Irish Bill, Mr. Gladstone distinctly provided against both these latter, and, though we do not think that in Wales the necessity for prohibition would be equally great, it seems rather bold to take powers for a Welsh Parliament which were not offered in the case of Ireland. It is, perhaps, a mistake to treat Mr. Parry's scheme so seriously, but we have been informed that this question is in the hands of bold and determined men, and is to be pushed energetically forward. We may take it that the Scotsmen, who have yet to fill in the details of their own scheme, will not be backward in giving it "breadth."

Meantime, affairs in Ireland run their normal course. The Executive has had one or two checks, but in the main Mr. Balfour finds it not difficult to work his will. The other day the Chairman of the Waterford Quarter Sessions, who is also the County Court Judge of the district—Mr. Waters—surprised Irish officialdom all through by coming out as a stern champion of the legal rights of the public Press. Messrs. Considine and Quinn, Resident Magistrates, acting in the spirit of their class, had sent to prison Mr. Redmond, the editor of the *Waterford News*, for publishing in his paper matter which they held to be an intimidation. By an ingenious arrangement of his punishment Mr. Redmond would have had to "do" seven months'. He appealed to the Quarter Sessions, and the Judge laid it down that it was not sufficient evidence of intent to produce the paper, but that the prosecutors were bound specifically to prove the criminal intent. It is unnecessary to add that the sentence was quashed. And, of course, the Loyalist war-dogs were immediately let loose upon the judge who had stood for the liberty of the Press. He was told, and the world at large, that he had set himself in opposition to the Lord Chief Baron and other Justices of the Supreme Courts—that it had been laid down by these authorities that if an editor published intimidatory matter, his intent to intimidate would be premised from the fact of publication, and the onus of proving the contrary would rest with him. But Judge Waters's enormities do not rest here. He took occasion at the same sessions to order the release of a convicted prisoner, on the ground that to order a man to find bail was in itself a punishment, and that the effect of it was sufficient, in this case, at any rate, to invalidate the rest of the sentence. The magistrates were told point-blank that they had no more right to deal with the prisoner as they had dealt with him, than they had to hang him. This dictum fairly staggered the officials, and the gaoler was so exasperated that he had to be coerced into letting loose the prisoner. Here, again, Mr. Balfour's backers cite the Lord Chief Baron to the supposed confusion of Mr. Waters, but the Chairman of Quarter Sessions is in a measure master of the situation, and the magistrates have since complained that he has "coerced" them into certain interpretations of the law which we understand are not their

own. This is something new under the Crimes Act, and we find that it has given mighty offence at "the Castle." Indeed, Mr. Waters is to be brought to book with all despatch. The thing is to be done in this way. The Waterford "Removables" have had before them Mr. Fisher, of the *Waterford Express*, also for the publication of an alleged intimidatory notice. They dismissed the charge (under the "coercion" of Judge Waters), and on the application of the Crown solicitor very promptly agreed to state a case for the Superior Courts. In the second matter, the Dublin Castle authorities have applied direct to the Queen's Bench to bring up the judgment of Mr. Waters, in order that it may be quashed. The presence of Mr. Balfour at Dublin—he has actually been in Ireland for a whole month—may have had something to do with this speedy attempt to score off the irremovable County Court Judge of Waterford.

Apart from these incidents we have little cause for satisfaction in Irish affairs. Mr. Smith-Barry and his Tipperary tenantry are between them making ruin of an ancient town, and it must be years before Tipperary can recover its prosperity. In Gweedore, Father McFadden is looking forward to another eviction campaign among his people, and makes appeal for help in a despondent sort of way, which is calculated to excite apprehension. At Yonghal matters are also approaching a crisis for the Ponsonby tenantry. All this is disturbing. Concerning the Coolgreaney "plantation," Mr. T. W. Russell corrects Mr. Parnell and others on certain points, and it is but fair, since reference has been made here to the circumstances of this "colony," to give Mr. Russell's statement. He tells us that he has himself nothing to do with "The Cultivation of Derelict Land Trust," and has had no hand in arranging affairs at Coolgreaney. The tenants, he says, bought their own cattle, and, so far as they were assisted with any loan, were assisted only on the security of their capital. It is quite untrue they were let off the first year's rent. So far Mr. Russell. Our own observations were based upon the report of the special commissioner of the *Freeman's Journal*, who had been over the estate in company with, and at the invitation of, the agent. We cannot ourselves get beyond this statement and rejoinder; and must leave it to our readers to draw their own conclusions as to the character of the Coolgreaney "plantation." At best it seems a little onerous to those who are responsible for it, and we do not think this sort of colonization will go far in Ireland. There has been some talk of the Queen going to Ireland this year, so vastly improved is the state of the country, if we are to take the Loyalist stories on this head as reliable. No doubt the Loyalists would like to bring about the visit. They think it would help them powerfully in various ways. Unfortunately for them the visit is not likely to happen. The Queen has been compelled to forego the intention to open Parliament on account of her increasing

rheumatism, and is shortly going to Homburg for a course of baths. But if the visit could have been made, the Nationalists were prepared to give Her Majesty a cordial welcome. In a discussion of the matter in the Dublin Corporation lately, Mr. Sexton made it clear that the Nationalists draw a wide distinction between the Crown and the Cabinet, and it was distinctly stated, in a resolution which was passed, that "the people do not hold Her Majesty responsible for the grievous wrongs they endure at the hands of her Ministers." In this connection it may be mentioned that at the last banquet given by Mr. Sexton, as Lord Mayor, in Christmas week, "The Queen" was reinstated, after a long absence, in the toast list of the Dublin Mansion House.

In a recent speech Sir Michael Hicks-Beach gave a challenge to Mr. Parnell to show his interest in the improvement of Irish affairs by helping forward the schemes of the Government for developing the material prosperity of the sister-country. The acceptance of this challenge or otherwise is to settle for Sir Michael the question of Mr. Parnell's "sincerity," since we are told there is no sort of connection between these things and Home Rule. The latter is not prejudiced by the execution of public works. We must wait for the meeting of Parliament and the presentation of the Government Bills before any sort of judgment can be taken upon Mr. Parnell's resolution here; but meantime it is pertinent to ask Sir Michael, who is willing to reconstruct the Irish Board of Works on an elective and popular basis for the benefit of the Nationalists, whether the latter are to have any independent opinion as to the methods by which the Government proceed in relation to public works. It must be admitted that the Irish members know as much about Ireland as the Government, and if they quarrel with the method of execution in the improvement, say, of the drainage of the Bann or the Suck, surely this is the vital point, and justifies any opposition. If we ourselves have any complaint to make on this head, it is of an entirely different character, for we should say that the Nationalists have only been too ready to take everything which offered advantage for Ireland, even when they have not thought well of the working character of the schemes. It is a pity Sir Michael Hicks-Beach is not now at the Irish Office. He would have had a rare opportunity of putting into action his benevolent aspirations for Ireland. For instance, he might have met with some sympathy the appeal of the Ulster Land Committee and the Antrim Central Tenant Right Association for a compulsory Land Purchase Bill. In the statement which the representatives of these associations left with Mr. Balfour recently there is the following pregnant passage:—

"We submit that no permissive system [of land purchase] can ever cover the ground, inasmuch as it must in the nature of the case be partial, slow, and uncertain in its operation. Apart from the improbability of obtaining any wide extension of grants of public money, it is evident that

this machinery can only be availed of where the desire of the tenants to buy is coincident with some special reason for sale on the part of the landlord. Landlords whose relations with their tenantry are satisfactory, and who regard their rents as well secured by a substantial tenant-right interest in the hands of peaceful and industrious people, are not likely to make such terms as tenants would consider themselves safe in accepting, and so occupying ownership has no chance of being adopted exactly where the conditions are most favourable for its success."

This is well put; but it makes no impression upon Mr. Balfour. Yet there is distinct prospect of trouble in the neglect of the claims of the Ulster farmers, and they do not hesitate to point it out in words which say that the contrast set up by the existence of purchasing tenants gradually obtaining absolute ownership under the Ashbourne Act, and that of their less fortunate neighbours sitting under the old rents because their landlords will not sell, must lead to the further spread of discontent and agitation in the country. That the Ulster men are not unreasonable is clear from the further statement that they would only exercise compulsory powers of sale where the large majority of tenants on an estate desire to purchase. Then it would not be unreasonable, in their opinion, to give to that majority, or to a district authority charged with carrying out land sales, the right to buy out the interest of the tenants who declined to purchase. Unfortunately, Mr. Balfour has preferred to listen to the landlords rather than to the tenants, and we are to have the result in a Bill, which, according to report, is to be little more than an extension of the Ashbourne Act. A further sum of ten millions is to be provided, as we are told, to be spent at the rate of five millions a year. Some change will probably be made to satisfy the critics hostile to the financial arrangements of the Ashbourne plan, and the Bill may be expected to include a scheme for consolidating and reforming the various *bureaux* which have, of recent years, been constituted in connection with land legislation. If, in addition, it has clauses giving the Irish tenants the benefits of the Scotch crofter legislation, as has been rumoured, we shall be less disappointed at its obvious serious omissions. To give the Irish peasantry the arrears clauses of the Scotch Act would of itself be an enormous boon. We have a singularly cogent proof of this at hand. The Crofters' Commission have just completed three years of work. They have dealt in all with about 8000 applications for fair rents, and have reduced the total rental in these cases from £40,496 to £28,448, equal, as it has been put, to an annual grant to the crofters of £12,000. And at the same time, the arrears of rent due by the crofters have been cut down from £80,903 to £29,500! Practically two-thirds of the arrears have been wiped out.

Mr. Gladstone kept his eightieth birthday quietly at Hawarden. He was overwhelmed with congratulations from all parts of the world, and, as he gratefully acknowledged, from many persons who were



ranked among his political opponents. The usual banquets, and somewhat more, were held by provincial Liberals in celebration of the event. At Derby Sir William Harcourt spoke admirably on the character of Mr. Gladstone as a popular leader, and explained, for the benefit of the Tories, the grounds of that admiration, amounting to affection, which inspires the followers of the right hon. gentleman. It is pleasant to know on authority that Mr. Gladstone, spite of his eighty years, is full of all sorts of activity, and that he meditates spending some days at Oxford prior to the meeting of Parliament to get up certain literary questions which are just now much in his mind. A man who can voluntarily add so much private work to his manifold public duties is still a power to be reckoned with, and his friends regard the fact with unbounded satisfaction. One or two other matters may be briefly noted. First, that we are on the eve of the trial of Mr. Parnell's action against the *Times* for the Pigott forgeries, and that as yet the report of the Special Commission has not made its appearance. This must be intensely disappointing to the *Times*. There is, however, just a possibility that the advantage which the *Times* wished to obtain by the publication of the report prior to the action may yet be forthcoming, though the moments are ominously slipping away. And meanwhile the *Times* has had to bear the annoyance of a refusal from the Solicitor-General (Sir E. Clarke) to accept the leading brief for its defence. The Solicitor-General may or may not have acted of his own motion, but in any case it is certain that he has acted wisely for himself and for the Government of which he is a member. His conduct sets in strong contrast that of the Attorney-General, who, with much less excuse, went "bald-headed" into the *Times*' prosecution at the Special Commission. Finally, the so-called influenza epidemic deserves notice, as having taken from us one of the greatest of our soldiers—Lord Napier of Magdala. There have been numerous less distinguished victims, as is evident from the fact that the death-rate in London doubled in the course of a single week. But here, at any rate, the epidemic has been much less deadly than abroad, and we are hoping that we have now seen the worst of it. Its origin and character remain for settlement by the medical experts.

## CONFEDERATION AND HOME RULE.

LORD BEACONSFIELD once said that the key of the empire was in London, but such hardly seems to be the case at the present time. For whilst the rest of the world moves on, England at home—led as she is by men who think that statesmanship consists in governing contrary to the representative principle, and who believe it possible to fight for the maintenance of such a method of government even to the verge of the twentieth century—England at home does little else than mark time. If this position could last, it would resemble that of France and Germany, brought to a deadlock amidst outside universal movement, but in our case, unfortunately, a great part of the rest of the world consists of a Greater Britain, which prevents “the stupid party” from either governing her wrong or arresting her march altogether.

For confederation grows whilst we sleep, it grows whilst we are awake, and it will grow as it has grown, with every act, whether for or against, whether of friend or foe. It is indeed already a living organism, and its life exists in the willing minds, the better and higher human nature, the life, habits of thought, and traditions of millions of our race, settled on some of the best “front blocks” of the world; it will have, as soon as justice is done to Ireland, nay, it has already on the pledge of Gladstone’s life and initiative, the enthusiastic adhesion of millions of expatriated Irishmen; and it has the best wishes of the greatest nation of the world if the American can, as a nation, be distinguished from the British. Set down Anglo-Saxons (or whatever else Professor Freeman will allow us to be called) anywhere, and they will build a nation and then an empire, as naturally as bees make honey, or the ants a nest. Wherever they go they take with them their God, their Bible, their Shakespeare, and their history. There is the family, the unit of national life; there is the school, the chapel, the municipality; there are “free schools, free church, free press, and free assembly”; the great factors of that development by which men associate and act.

For them, Alfred still organizes, and Cromwell makes England free; for them Milton upholds the right of unlicensed printing. For them Chatham, the mighty, still “rejoices that America revolted,” and Pitt, the little, still vainly tries to divide Canada in twain, to destroy the Irish nationality, to put down democracy in England, and freedom in Europe, “to right the boat of the fisherman,” and to re-establish the Holy Alliance, till his last despairing cry is heard, “roll up the

map of Europe." For them Burke still thunders in the capital of the power of English citizenship, and of how, "as from the throne of heaven," England should conciliate and unite her colonies; and for them London is still the capital, very much because it was there that Burke thundered and Cromwell ruled. For them, for all our colonies, and for all of us, we say, the conception of an aggregate Britain, with one flag, one faith, one Queen, one centre, is the greatest and most orderly within the range of practical politics, the most sentimental and sacramental, the most matter of fact, and the most ideal, at once the homely and the universal; it is, as Strauss said, the goal of the irresistible urging of our race!

There are plenty of instances, during the last month or two, of the growth and movement of which we speak, for confederal or federal movements are reported to us from Melbourne and Ottawa, within a few days of one another. We have also Sir Charles Dilke's new great work, *Problems of Greater Britain*, on the imperial and colonial situation, whilst Lord Derby and Mr. John Morley have been discoursing at home on opposite sides of the deadlock.

Lord Derby spoke at Liverpool on 'federation in connection with Home Rule, with a good deal of candour and a good deal of ability, and his "Imperial Council, dealing with foreign, colonial and Indian affairs, with defence and Imperial finance," is a just, true, and great conception. But he attacked the idea that Irish members should sit at Westminster while Westminster is to have nothing whatever to do with Irish affairs, contending that that proposal made nonsense of the whole, was fairly blown out of the water by the fire of adverse criticism, and that we have quite heard the last of that old-world plan!

Mr. John Morley soon followed at Liverpool, talking of Lord Derby's "conundrums," and saying that "the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament is absolutely incompatible with Federalism," under which system "each assembly comprising the body is not subordinate but co-ordinate." Of course this is true of all Parliaments except the Imperial Federal one. The Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and English National Parliaments would all be co-ordinate among themselves, and subordinate to the central Imperial Parliament or Council at Westminster, if Westminster be the Imperial centre. Lord Derby is clearly wrong as to the absurdity of an Irish contingent at Westminster, but as a matter of fact, as soon as Irish Home Rule begins to act, it will be found that rich as Ireland is in genius she cannot afford to send us a hundred good men. If she is to rule herself she must keep them at home, and the hundred will soon be reduced to thirty-two, which is one representative for each Irish county, or to some such number. Thirty-two would also be about Ireland's quota to an Imperial confederal assembly. On the other

hand, Mr. Morley is equally wrong when he says that "the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament is absolutely incompatible with Federalism." He was thinking of a federalism which shall only federate Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England, whilst Lord Derby meant a really Imperial Federalism.

Lord Derby, "who never wishes to argue unfairly," admits "that the Federal Home Rule theory is not in itself absurd and impracticable. No doubt the federal system can be made to work. You would have first an Imperial Council dealing with foreign, colonial, and Indian affairs, with defences and Imperial finance, and next a merely local English Assembly. But neither of these bodies, *both so limited in their functions* (we quote from the *Standard* newspaper) could possibly possess the influence or power of Parliament as we now have it." Lord Derby then goes on to complain that the Federal system would destroy both House of Commons and Cabinet, and that unity of administration so necessary for administrative efficiency. How, he asks, are England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland to be represented in the Council which is to be common to them all when the English equal vote would outweigh the rest and place them in a hopeless and permanent minority? This is "the little puzzle" which Lord Derby commends to his Home Rule friends.

Now we thoroughly believe in his lordship's fair intentions, but how comes he to describe an Imperial Council of vast powers, and then to refer to it as "one of these bodies both so limited in function?" and how, seeing that this Imperial Council concerns forces which encompass the earth and wield almost resistless weight, and which already demand some such representation—how, and in whose name is Lord Derby going to refuse it? The demand for Federalism is valid because the English Empire has grown too great to be ruled otherwise. When power demands functions that are natural and normal they are not to be denied in the name of other functions that are outworn, outgrown, and superseded. We want, not idolatry of form, but loyalty to fact. Since when has the clay successfully remonstrated with the potter? Forms follow power, and do not make it, and if, to carry on the simile, the development of England's colonies demands a nobler constitution, a vessel of greater honour, a machine all powerful within and all glorious without, the fact that another constitution, another vessel, another machine has to be superseded will not stop the way.

We come now to Sir Charles Dilke, and to the Conferences at Ottawa and Melbourne. "To support the whole edifice of British rule by the assistance of all the component parts of the empire," that is what Sir Charles Dilke advocates as the first step towards imperial and colonial security. And his *Problems of Greater Britain* are devoted chiefly to the consideration of the colonies, and

of their tendencies, generally and individually, with regard to a closer union with each other and with the United Kingdom.

"To promote periodical conferences of representatives of the self-governed committees of the empire," that is the policy of the Dominion branch of the Imperial Federation League, declared at Ottawa, on February 3, on the occasion of its annual meeting. It also resolved in favour of an imperial penny postage, and expressed its sympathy with Australasian movements for federation. "United Australasia" was the toast at the banquet given in Melbourne, on February 6, to 200 delegates of the Federal Conference of representatives of the Australian Colonies, convened to consider a scheme of federation and defence. Sir Henry Parkes, who received a splendid ovation, said, "the creation of national unity was an event which could never recur. They were four millions of people, all of British origin. If they were incapable of making a nation they were hardly fit to occupy their bounteous country. The crimson thread of kinship ran through all. This implied no separation from the empire; nor the creation of a separate political organization. All the free committees must have a political head, and what head could be more attractive, more ennobling, or more consonant with the true principles of liberty, than the Sovereign, who, during her beneficent reign, had seen more improvements for the amelioration of the human race than ever Sovereign saw in the world's history. It should not go forth for a moment that in seeking complete authority over their own affairs they were seeking any separation from the great empire. No power on earth was strong enough to keep the people of Australia asunder." The company present sang the National Anthem.

By unanimous resolutions, all the Australian Colonies, as well as Tasmania and New Zealand, now stand pledged to a Federal Union, and by the time that the Convention now appointed shall have met, no doubt a strong popular feeling, amounting to a mandate in favour of such union, will have been developed throughout the island continent. The Melbourne Conference held its first sitting on the 6th of February, and its last on the 14th, and the rapidity and unanimity of its so momentous proceedings are of the happiest augury. In Sir Henry Parkes's closing speech, he said he prayed God that Australia might always remain under the British flag. He hoped that all groups in the Colonies might continue to form part of this magnificent empire.

On the 14th, and last day, the Conference unanimously adopted an address to the Queen, as follows:—"We, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, members of a Conference assembled at Melbourne, to consider the question of creating for Australasia one Federal Government, and representing the Australasian Colonies, desire to approach your Most Gracious Majesty with renewed expressions of our devoted

attachment to your Majesty's throne and person. On behalf of your Majesty's subjects throughout Australasia, we beg to express our fervent hope that your Majesty's life may be long spared to reign over a prosperous and happy people."

Now *that* we call confederation. It may be confederation only in embryo, but it is an embryo in which all the members are written. "The creation of national unity. Four millions of British origin: the crimson thread of kinship ran through all—no separation from the empire, or separate political organization, no not for a moment." And then the reference to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, as the head of United Australasia! "What head could be more attractive and ennobling" than the already Empress of India, and Queen of Great Britain and Ireland! "United Australasia" and the "National Anthem"! "Advance Australia," is all we need say to that.

If Canada is more explicit, demanding periodical conferences of the representatives of self-governing communities of the Empire, it is because Canada is already federated, and is, therefore, free to think of the next step after that confederation. The same crimson thread of kinship runs through them both, no separation, one crown, one Queen, one defence, one ocean-wehr. The same great scheme of Statesmanship is in the mind and heart of Australasia as of Canada. In this mighty race of honour and glory, of national unity and imperial confederation, they both alike press forward towards the work.

There are difficulties in both cases, but in both difficulties seem to be met in a way or turned. Canada plainly says and resolves at the annual meeting of her Imperial Federation League just held, that "No commercial treaty should be entered into containing any provision precluding preferential trade relations between the different parts of the Empire." A commercial union between Canada and the United States would, of course, involve free trade in favour of a nation of another flag, and differential duties as against England; but Sir Charles Dilke opines that so difficult is a permanent continuance of the present state of things if Canada refuses to provide adequately for her defence; that England may agree to an arrangement even so anomalous as that. And Sir Henry Parkes at the recent Melbourne Convention for Australasian Federation and Federal defence, declared that the question of a common tariff was a mere trifle compared with the question of national existence. Subordinate questions should be sunk. New South Wales was prepared to go into this national union without making any bargain, and without stipulating for any advantage whatever; but trusting to the good faith and sense of a Federal Parliament. Small questions ought not to be considered at the present time, and should not deter them from the great consummation in view. He believed (and his speech

throughout was loudly applauded), that the people of Australia had already made up their minds to be united, and that no hand on earth was strong enough to keep them asunder.

In confirmation of this view we learn at the same time how the Western Australian Constitution Bill is being pressed forward in London. Sir William Robinson, the newly appointed Governor of Western Australia, Sir F. Napier Browne, the ex-Governor, Sir Thomas Cockburn Campbell, and Mr. Parker, two leading colonists of Perth, who recently arrived in London as a deputation to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of granting responsible government to Western Australia, had a lengthy interview with Lord Knutsford, on January 30, with reference to the course to be pursued in the matter when Parliament meets. It is understood that the Bill will be introduced into the House of Commons early in the Session, and that a Select Committee will be appointed to take the matter into consideration, before which the deputation will be called to give evidence. The Bill to be introduced is practically the same as that which engaged the Lords last Session. Great interest is felt throughout Australia on the subject, and the Government are represented to be quite favourable to the passing of the Bill, so that Western Australia will, in all probability, speedily be placed on the same level as the other Australian colonies.

There is, however, one note of caution, often sounded before, and which should now be the subject of careful conditions, in granting the Western Australian constitution. In a previous article in this REVIEW we showed how, of nearly 80,000,000 of acres sold or "alienated" in four Australian colonies, 72,286,693 were used for feeding animals on the natural grasses, and how later emigrants were thus reduced to the alternative of selecting less desirable land, or of buying some of the 72,286,693 acres already alienated, at many times more than the Government price. This must be avoided as to Western Australia, and middlemen, or, as they are called, "land-sharks," speculating at the expense of the immigrant labourer from home, must be provided against. The pre-occupation of Australasia by non-cultivating owners is truly a disquieting portent, and now that Canada, the United States, and even South America, are filling up, British emigrants must not be left dependent on possible terms with foreign governments or colonial squatters in possession. Western Australia, whilst still a Crown colony, is the last region to which the mother country can emigrate her superfluous population, and its land should be held and remain in trust for the emigrant labour of the empire.

There is no fear of a rampant democracy in Australasia. "There is in our colonies," says Sir Charles Dilke, "no such sign as is to be seen in the mother country of the growth of extreme views hostile to the institution of property, and obnoxious to the richer classes.

Revolutionary Socialism, as contrasted with State Socialism, is far stronger in Europe than in our colonies; and if it be true that the Australian colonies, and in a less degree Canada, and portions of South Africa, present us with a picture of what England will become, we shall find reason to suppose that the changes of the next few years will be much less rapid and sweeping than many hope and most believe. The practical programmes put forward by moderate European Socialists are, indeed, mostly law in the Australian colonies; but the larger proposals which lie behind appear to have less chance of being entertained there than they have in the Old World. Revolutionary, or Democratic Socialism, in short, in Australia, in Canada, and in the United States, is not popular with workmen, who largely own their houses, and possess land and shares; but, on the other hand, State Socialism advances rapidly in Australia. The Australian colonists feel that their Governments are Governments of the whole people, and that the people should make full use of the capacity of government to do all that can be done."

It ought, therefore, to be the less difficult to protect in the West Australian Constitution those interests of labour which are the basis of the social superstructure. The question of Australasian Federation is now, as we see, out of danger, and it was always certain that the moment Colonial Federation should be realized, Imperial Confederation would become obviously the next step and the next duty, and, in the opinion of all British citizens, an imperious political necessity. It is precisely the same with Great Britain and Ireland—the making of the nations precedes the making of the empire.

Since Lord Derby, in 1883, suggested Confederation to the Agent-General, the progress of Australasia upwards and onwards towards union and unity has been both rapid and uniform. At the Sydney Convention of November in that year, a draft Bill was adopted for the establishment of a Federal Council of Australasia, and, with certain amendments, it passed into law, and received the Royal Assent on August 14, 1885. On January 25, 1886, the Federal Council opened its first Session in Hobart, three self-governing colonies, Queensland, Victoria, and Tasmania, and the Crown colonies, Western Australia and Fiji, having availed themselves of the provisions of the Imperial Act. There was no Session in 1887, a *pro forma* one only in 1888, but a very important one in 1889, leading to the momentous meeting of the present year, which has settled the future of Australasian Federation, and a good deal besides. A continuous process of development towards unity has been, and no doubt will continue to be, until its consummation, the dominant note of the movement.

Sir Charles Dilke criticises the conditions of Australasian Federation, and examines the present position of the Australian Federal Council, which he describes as "a periodical conference of some of the leading



statesmen of six out of the eight South Sea colonies, New Zealand and the mother colony standing out. In form it is one of the most dignified assemblies in the world." Respecting the vexed question of the import duties, he says :—" It is all but certain that a fuller Confederation, when it comes, will come with customs union and with protection at all the ports : and the adoption of protection for New South Wales would make the way clear for a customs union as far as Victoria is concerned. The Melbourne manufacturers would then have Australia or Australasia for their field ; but the manufacturers of New South Wales are protectionists of a different kind, and say that protection against England would be of no use to them without protection against Melbourne also. The Victorians, say they, have had too long a start, and New South Wales would be swamped by their competition." Sir Charles Dilke thus analyzes and describes the factors of the present happy position of Australia : " The present happy position of Australia, a country virtually without a native race, makes the greater portion of a colonization country such as is unknown outside America. Australia, by climate and by absence of a settled native population, falls exactly within the conditions, which, in his essay on plantations, Bacon laid down for us speculatively as the best."

" We now have to consider the condition of another colony in the Southern Seas, able, if she chooses, to be represented on the Federal Council of Australasia, but widely different from the Australian colonies, both in scenery and in the relation of the government to the indigenous population. New Zealand in her northern island has a large population of the warlike and intelligent Maori race, and the serious wars which were carried on against these people have affected the political and financial condition of the colony. There were no roads across the north island for a long time. Travel was entirely round the coast, and the country grew up in the form of a succession of independent provinces, at one time almost completely separated, politically and socially, the one from the other. The fact that so many virtually separate colonies had been formed in the New Zealand islands, each as a separate State with its own capital, prevented any one city from gaining a preponderance."

One more extract from *Problems of Greater Britain* and that as to the Canadian Dominion, and we must leave the gifted author. After describing the wonderful progress of Canada, he refers to its future relations with England, to its present secure position, and to the advantages of the Federal principle : " That desire of the lower Canadians to retain the French nationality which kept them on our side during the American wars, will always leave the Quebec province rather English than American in its sympathies. The Canadians do not believe that it would be possible for them to enjoy the same measure of insurance of national peculiarities in the event of their

absorption in the United States, as they now enjoy under the Act of 1867, which makes Quebec a separate province with a Parliament of its own. If there were not many other reasons for desiring that the bonds between the Canadian Dominion and the United Kingdom should be rather strengthened than relaxed, there would be a sufficient one in the fact that we are now ourselves upon good terms with both French Canadian Roman Catholics and British Canadian Protestants, between whom, under an independent system, a conflict would be probable. The success that the principle of Federal self-government has achieved in uniting in one Canadian power two races and two religions so distinct—the success the same principle has had in uniting three races and two religions in Switzerland—seems to show that no difficulties are too great to be conquered in this fashion. It is probable that Federation such as that of Canada would have kept the old American Colonies themselves in permanent connection with the British Crown. One reason for the present attachment of the French Canadians to the Empire is to be found in the fact that, although for many years they had their disputes with us as to their liberties and rights, they had not enjoyed free institutions when under the Crown of France, and the liberties which they possess in so full a measure at the present time are of wholly modern growth.

What, then, is to be done? The Dominion branch of the Imperial Federation League, which is in such close sympathy with the Australasian movement, tells us what should be done. "It is the policy of the League to promote periodical conferences of representatives of the self-governing communities of the empire."

And we may remind our readers that this REVIEW gave the same advice in November last. "In the first place we must at once go beyond Mr. W. E. Forster's dictum—that we may do more harm by any scheme than by no scheme at all." Events multiply, and the world shrinks too fast for such counsels. Two things at least can be done at once, and they can and ought to be done together. We want at once and together an ocean "wehr," or Imperial navy, and an Imperial advisory representative council in London. If the provincial men in London will not propose, let the Imperial colonists "disposé." Let them elect and send to London men whom they can trust; send them as actual representatives, and then see if there are any politicians in London who dare disregard the opinions and advice of these delegates of countries, compared with which Great Britain is but a speck, and of nations that will soon outgrow us." We want such a council, representative in form, confederal in character, and, soon to become, supreme in decision. "It would grow in power and influence, and would inevitably weaken and depose what ought to be weakened and deposed."

And now let us all remember that when the strongest desires and greatest interests of some of the most active populations of the world

point to a political union already heralded by a union of sympathy, traditions, habits of life, and based on a unity of race, language, institution, and religion, we are only contending for the form, and we already possess the power to mould it. Nobody ever put this "fluidity" of society better than Emerson, in his treatise on "Politics":—

"In dealing with the State, we ought to remember that its institutions are not aboriginal, though they existed before we were born; that they are not superior to the citizen; that every one of them was once the act of a single man; every law and usage was a man's expedient to meet a particular case; that they are all imitable, all alterable; we may make as good, we may make better. Society is an illusion to the young citizen; but the old statesman knows that society is fluid; there are no such roots and centres. The law is only a memorandum. The statute stands there to say: 'yesterday we agreed so and so; but how feel ye this article to-day?' Nature will not be fooled by the pertest of her sons, and as fast as the public mind is open to more intelligence, the code is seen to be brute and stammering, and must be made to speak articulately."

J. A. PARTRIDGE.

## RESULTS OF THE NON-ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

THERE are few persons who deny that, as a matter of right, justice, and logical consistency, the Parliamentary Franchise should be extended to women who fulfil the conditions which now entitle men to vote. The question of the enfranchisement of women has been keenly debated for nearly a quarter of a century, both on the platform, and on the floor of the House of Commons; all objections to it have been answered times without number, and opposition has practically yielded to tacit assent.

At this stage of the movement it is, therefore, needless to make any sort of call to the unconverted; if such there still are, they have elected to remain in the rear of progress; for, in spite of them, the ideal, which is surely but slowly gaining ascendancy over the world, is that men shall act towards women as they themselves would be done by.

Unity of standard and of purpose for the two sexes is succeeding to the old idea of divergence in all things. But in a practical question, such as the enfranchisement of women, academic assent will not suffice; there must be a constant pressing forward through the realms of practical politics. Belief in a great cause is worthless if divorced from active enthusiasm. Mere conviction too often fossilizes into apathy. Earnest, determined, persistent efforts are more than ever necessary, if the enfranchisement of women is ever to be realized. Those who believe in the justice of the claim must realize that it is far more than a question of mere abstract right, which may safely be left for posterity to carry into practical effect: it is one of the most pressing importance. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that the acquisition of the vote by women is an immediate duty, the non-fulfilment of which is a stumbling-block to true national progress.

And by national progress is here understood—not the mere acquisition of new territories and increased wealth; the advances of commerce, science, art, or any one of these many things which we may prize; but a steady rise in the standard of well-being of the poorest, humblest toilers in our land; an ever-increasing enjoyment by the masses of those things which have hitherto been more

exclusively enjoyed by the privileged few. No man or woman who has received the baptism of Liberal conviction, who has mastered the most elementary principles of Liberalism, but is ready to do battle for the great truth that all good government must be by the people and for the people; and that all forms of government, no matter how speciously disguised, must, of necessity, be wrong: if contrary to the peoples' will.

It is merely uttering a truism to say that self-government is the backbone of our British constitution as opposed to all forms of autocracy. The means of self-government are found in the Parliamentary vote, which renders every male householder, no matter whether he be a simple peasant or a philosopher, a *Cicero*, or a poor over-worked cab-driver, a recognized and equal unit in the vast scheme of self-government. In this lies the secret of our nation's deep political enthusiasm, or, as Mr. Gladstone has said in one of his memorable articles: "All those who live in a country should take an interest in that country, love that country, and the vote gives that sense of interest, fosters that love." While all are practically unanimous in believing that self-government is the key-stone of our national life, that without it the whole fabric of liberty, which it has taken centuries to rear, must crumble into dust, and while tacit assent is given to the claim for women's enfranchisement, all are not agreed as to the immediate and pressing necessity of its realization. We are unanimous in thinking that in all forms of local government, of local administration, of philanthropic endeavour, of social and domestic intercourse, men and women should be on a free and equal footing. The progress women have made is enormous. Their social strides are akin to those of Hans Andersen's famous hero with the seven-leagued boots. A woman of the educated classes would be startled if accused of being inferior to men of her class. In these respects the days of ignorant pride and prejudice are past. It is no longer considered a clever pleasantry to hurl the terms "blue stocking" or "strong-minded" at a thoughtful woman's head. The most obtuse now realize that strength of mind and body in women is no less good a thing than sweetness. In the great bulk of the middle and upper classes—not alas! yet so fully amongst the working classes—the idea of free and equal co-operation in all social matters is taking ever deeper root. But in matters political, the same strong, sweet, true, and thoughtful women are still content to take a subordinate position, to be the servants of men politicians, their canvassers, their subscription collectors and even cancellors of men's club debts, their committee-room clerks, and even their platform orators. All this, and much more, they do while still remaining political outcasts, a position which they consider one of too great indignity for even the most ignorant and debased male householder in the country. Now all these duties which women politicians perform are admirable *per*

se, and if women prefer to retain this position of political inferiority, they have a perfect right to do so, provided that such retention does not in any way affect the condition of their less fortunate sisters of the working classes, above all does not affect the whole body politic.

One cannot advance beyond human nature, and it is almost equally difficult to advance beyond acquired tendencies; and there are, doubtless, some ardent political women, even in this age of enlightenment, content to remain the political subordinates of men. What is more, while the vast majority of women maintain that their enfranchisement is not only just, but ultimately inevitable, they nevertheless prefer to leave events to take their course, without doing their share in hastening them forward, and this too out of sheer political timidity. While admitting the undeniable justice of the claim of women to political equality with men, they are afraid of the effect a definite expression of opinion might have on some of their leaders. Still more are they afraid of their sister women of the Primrose League. Their faith in the ultimate triumph of great principles is not so strong as to resist the storm and stress of the hour. They would prefer, in short, that all women should be denied legitimate and effective expression of political bias, rather than that some women should give effective expression to views contrary to their own. Now if women could possibly relapse into mere political nonentities, if they could exist as mere unrecognized appendages to the body politic, and if they wished so to exist, it would be impertinent for any class of politicians to attempt to hasten forward a change in the condition of Englishwomen contrary to their will.

But the political exclusion of women is not merely injurious to themselves, it is through this exclusion they act unconsciously as a drag and a direct hindrance to true national progress. It is to the interest of men, as much as to the interest of women, that political enfranchisement should no longer be the exclusive privilege of one sex. Women are, in reality (like all unenfranchised classes of men), a drag upon the progress of the enfranchised. The rural voter whom Mr. Gladstone's beneficent act enfranchised in 1885 was not placed upon the political footing which the artisan of our towns secured in 1867, merely and solely to advance the interests of himself and of his class, but because the artisan voter needed the co-operation of the rural voter to hasten general reforms. Again, the artisan in 1867 was not enfranchised merely for his own class interests, but because the progressive spirits already enfranchised in 1832 could not afford to dispense with his assistance. And it is a matter of history that each extension of the franchise has been the precursor of reform in existing wrongs. And more important still, each extension of the franchise has strengthened the bonds of that sympathy between man and man which class prejudice has ever tried to snap, but never in our country has succeeded in snapping: from the extension of male

household suffrage we may date a wondrous revival of sympathetic feeling and impulse which makes that day-dream of poets, the Brotherhood of Man, not seem after all such an utterly unattainable ideal.

Within the last few years the ideal of man's duty to his fellow-man (which should include also woman's duty to her fellow-woman), has, it is no exaggeration to say, been completely revolutionized; and is it a mistake to imagine that the Woman's Liberal Federation finds its very *raison d'être* in a desire to secure by all legitimate means the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number? The very reforms which its members are now exerting every muscle and mental fibre to promote, are based on a generous acknowledgment of the scanty justice hitherto accorded to the great masses of the people. The phrase, "the poor we have always with us," is understood now in a very different sense from that in which it was interpreted fifty or even five years ago. The evicted peasant, trembling in the cold of a keen December night; the dock labourer standing outside the closed yard gates, and "striking" that his wife and family may be better fed; the overworked omnibus driver, who pathetically remarks, "I never see my children unless they are asleep in bed;"—all these people do not merely demand, but they have commanded, our very best and highest sympathy. At length, we see a beginning of an extension into practice of that old, but ever golden rule, of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us. As has been well said, the "old economic purism," the gospel of *laissez faire* and unlimited license to individual selfishness, has been broken up." What, then, has been one of the most powerful factors in the promotion of this sympathy which, for example, made the great strike of 1889 of 100,000 dock labourers possible? An answer is found in the following words of Mr. Frederic Harrison: "The transfer of political power effected in the various Reform Acts of the last twenty years has exercised a profound silent revolution, and the fact that the workmen are now the depositaries of power, has forced the rich to listen to their demands with ears entirely new."

This testimony to the immense value of the vote as a very revolutioniser of social conditions, as the great source of democracy, is confirmed in more homely words by every working-man to whom the plain question is put, "Are you and your comrades any better off for the acquisition of the Parliamentary vote?" Mr. F. C. Baum, secretary of the Upholsterers' Union, said, with more force than elegance: "Happily, our masters have political aspirations and then we catch them." It is not that every man has practically the vote, but every man has it potentially; and what is more, the classes, as a rule, are not able to discriminate between the potential and the actual voter. There has grown up between the shepherd on the

rugged hills, the factory operative of our great cities, the fisherman baiting his lobster pots by the lonely shore, and the miner in the dark depths of the coal-pit, a great solidarity of feeling, what one might almost term a great brotherhood of the vote.

To perfect this beneficent political machinery should now be the aim of all those who have the interest of the masses of the people at heart. And if "the transfer of political power effected in the various Reform Acts of the last twenty years has excited a profound silent revolution, and the fact that the workmen are now the depositaries of power has forced the rich to listen to their demands with ears entirely new," may we not fairly argue that an extension of political power to women, making them, too, depositaries of power, would force those in authority also to listen to their demands with ears entirely new. Women now are not outside the other movements which have done so much to lift up working men. They have breathed the same air as men, "purified by the books of Carlyle, Kingsley, Maurice, Ruskin, and the later writings of Mill." They have also come under the influence of the Salvation Army, Toynbee Hall, Newton Hall, and many other organized movements. Women have shared, do share, with men in all these social advantages; where they differ from men is in the non-possession of the Parliamentary vote: and because they differ in this great essential, we find that, in spite of social efforts for their amelioration, they are distinctly on a lower labour plane than men: no matter what political aspirations their employers may have, "women have not the wherewithal to catch them." But here the very natural objection may arise: this argument is after all sophistical, in so far as that women, being physically weaker than men, cannot hope in any case to compete in the labour market on equal terms with men. Vote or no vote, they remain at a disadvantage.

Now, as a matter of fact, there are many trades in which women perform precisely the same duties as men, and at about half the rate of wages. Take the following examples: About fifteen years ago, in Edinburgh, the men printers struck for shorter hours, and women were introduced to defeat them. The women's wages are from 4s. [girls] to 20s., and the men's wages are from 4s. [boys] to 30s., per week; and it is to the employers of these women that the Government work in Edinburgh is sent to be printed. Again, at the Army and Navy Stores Printing Works in London, women are employed at wages below half the scale wages of men. And this is so notwithstanding the fact that the Society of Men Compositors has offered to admit women to its Trades Union, provided they will enter on equal terms with men.

Mr. Stephen N. Fox, who recently made an exhaustive inquiry into the condition of the tobacco-workers in the East End, states



that, with the exception of about a dozen houses in East London, the whole of the trade there attempts to do everything as cheaply as possible, careless both of the nature of their leaf, and of the character of their work. Men are as a rule paid from £1 to £2 a week, in exceptional cases only 15s. a week; but the women cigar-makers get from 15 to 40 per cent. less wages than men. It is true that they are as a rule set to do a lower class of work; but even when full workers and able to make cigars of the best quality, they receive a much lower rate of remuneration than the men. And we find, just as might have been expected, that women and girls are continually being introduced to take the place of men, with a view to cutting down the expenses of labour. In the cigarette department the same state of things exist; female labour has here made extensive inroads, with the result that there has been a diminution of wages all round. Men are still paid at the rate of from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per thousand cigarettes, while women are paid from 1s. 3d. to 2s. 3d. per thousand. A clever worker can earn as much as 15s. a week, but in a very large number of cases a girl after a full week's work can only make 6s. A significant fact to be noticed is, that while the men are banded together in trade organizations, more complete in character than obtains in any other industry, the women and girls were, until the last few months, entirely without union of any kind. Quite recently the East End women have formed a union, which already embraces more than half the workers, and Mr. Cooper, the secretary of the men's union, is of opinion that by this action they have virtually prevented a reduction of 2s. per week in the men's wages. No perceptible rise has taken place in the women's wages, but the men are beginning to realize that women may become their comrades instead of their underpaid competitors in the trade. So long, however, as women are deprived of the fighting power which political privilege gives to men, they will be like soldiers who should go to the battle-field with their right hands fettered.

Another industry which furnishes an even more striking example of the inequality with which women are treated is that of rope-making. Since the great Dock Labourers' Strike, which inspired new courage in the hearts of tens of thousands of toilers, the rope-makers have formed a Union. The women were the first to take the initiative, to the number of between three and four hundred; and they have since been joined by upwards of two hundred of their men comrades. The other day their new banner was unfurled amidst a scene of great rejoicing; its motto is "We live in times that call for earnest deeds." The disparity of treatment accorded to men and women is more obvious in this trade perhaps than in any other, because men and women are employed to an unusually large extent upon precisely the same class of work, in point both of texture and general quality. While men can earn in a week of

fifty-four hours wages not less than £1. women's wages for equal work performed during equal time fluctuates between 7s. 6d. and 9s. 10d. per week; the chances are that men would be driven out of employment altogether in certain branches of the trade, were it not that the Factory Law prohibits women from working overtime, and hence men are kept on, and not infrequently are enabled to make 2s. a day extra beyond their usual wages. The loyal spirits of comradeship existing between the men and women employed in this industry is very striking. Recently the women struck in order to make it possible for the men to remedy a grievance, and the men now—unhappily with little effect—are endeavouring to encourage their women comrades to claim fairer treatment. Some time ago, in one of the East End factories, an experiment was made in order to test the relative quality of the men and women's capacities for work. Two sheds were selected, one worked by a given number of women, the second worked by the same number of men. An equal quantity of hemp was placed in each shed, to be spun into yarn of equal quality. At the end of a fortnight, it was found that the women had manipulated four tons more hemp than the men, although working precisely the same number of hours; and yet for this work the men were paid more than twice the wages paid to the women. It is not surprising to find that under some pretext or other men are constantly being replaced by underpaid women.

Miss Clementina Black, who is doing so much to foster Unionism in the East End of London, quite recently visited a cotton factory in the West of England, where wages are from 40 to 90 per cent. lower than in the Lancashire mills. And why? Largely because nearly all the operatives are women who have been engaged to take the place of men. Last autumn, during the protracted and unsuccessful strike of the operatives at the india rubber factory in Silvertown, investigations were made which conclusively proved that the competition of disorganized female workers with the men workers was one of the chief factors in the general low condition of wages. The strike, however, was not without good results, for 240 of these women joined the men's union. They are remarkably intelligent specimens of their class, and they study causes as well as effects. It is from women such as these—who for ten weeks were enduring hunger and cold, and privations which brought some of them to beds of sickness, and well-nigh to death's door—that a direct expression of opinion is valuable. Their belief is that the denial of the Parliamentary vote to women is distinctly injurious to their labour interests, and that its acquisition would not only be to their own personal advantage but also a distinct gain to men. Under existing conditions they are now endeavouring, but with small success, to co-operate with men in the struggle for human progress. There seems to be but this alternative—expel women

entirely from the labour market, or admit them to all the privileges which men enjoy. The sentimentalist may wish for, but cannot succeed in the extinction of, female labour; the practical politician can and must grant the Parliamentary vote. In those occupations where women do not compete, the men, aided, as Mr. Harrison has shown, by the vote, have made distinct advances. Indeed, the only recent labour movements of any moment brought to a successful issue have been those where voteless women do not compete—*i.e.*, those of the dock labourer, the omnibus men, and the bakers of London; the last two happily accomplishing their ends without a conflict. Would any movement in industries, carried on exclusively by women, such as shirt-making or fur-sewing, have any chance of success, supposing the women who now earn 1*d.* per hour were to ask for a further rise? Let it also be remembered that shirt-making and fur-sewing are highly skilled trades compared with omnibus conducting, a post into which any casual labourer may easily slip. As Mr. G. J. Holyoake truly says, in a letter which appeared recently in the *Women's Gazette*, "There will be neither equality nor justice so long as they who labour are poorer than those who govern, and it is not less true that there will never be equality or justice for women so long as they are politically poorer than men." And we would venture to add to Mr. Holyoake's words, there will never be complete equality or justice for men either, so long as they are in competition with those politically poorer than themselves. Ask any audience of working men, whether the exclusion of women from trade equality, and above all, from political equality, is not reacting disastrously upon men themselves, and with one voice they will answer "Yes, most assuredly."

It is the terribly cruel, grinding, competition of women with men, which is the great stumbling-block in the path of men. Combination of employers, together with co-operation of employed, may do much, but it will never accomplish all that it might, while political power is denied to women—that political power which creates in men the feeling of individual responsibility, of loyal comradeship. Men are not all equals in birth, education, talent, wealth, character, power; but they are political equals. The State cannot suddenly endow all women with men's powers, education and opportunity; but because women cannot at once acquire all that is necessary for their social advancement, is this any reason for denying them the use of the one lever which men have found so potent, the Parliamentary vote? The vote which has so educated, stimulated, and elevated the working man, would no less educate, stimulate, and elevate the working woman. No longer the "blackleg" of the political world, she would cease to be the "blackleg" of the labour mart. She has been truly termed under her present condition the Chinaman of the industrial classes. Union of women with men on

terms of political as well as social equality will alone raise the standard of both sexes.

It, therefore, behoves all women who, as Liberals, profess to work for the well-being of all (the only real national progress) that they shall strain every nerve to obtain for themselves and for their fellow women of the working classes, admission to what may be termed this great "fellowship of the vote." Let not personal indifference breed apathy for others.

It is the cause of the speechless multitude which is here set forth, not the cause of the rich, the educated and the strong. It is for those who can never hope to influence public opinion, through the press or from the platform, whose only means of expression must be that anonymous missive the vote.

Depend upon it, federate, agitate, canvass, memorialize as we may, the perfect *circle* of our national life will never be complete until the crooked *line* of our present electoral system has been *rounded* by the entrance of women into political life on the same conditions as men.

## INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.<sup>1</sup>

CAN France be among the Prophets of Peace? is the question that may occur to many on reading the title given below. Few people are aware that for some years two Peace Societies have continued to exist in Paris, one "The International League of Peace and Liberty," presided over by M. Charles Lemonnier, the other, the "Comité de Paris," which is a branch of the International Arbitration Society, formed under the energetic auspices of Mr. Hodgson Pratt, and whose president in Paris is the well-known late Deputy, M. Frédéric Passy. A conference of peace societies was, mainly through M. Passy's efforts, held during the Exhibition at which several valuable resolutions in favour of the settlement of international disputes by a judicial tribunal were agreed upon. Such facts may not be considered to amount to much, yet at least this can be said. It is a gain to discover a body of Frenchmen recognising the principle of international equality. It is a further gain to find such a recognition being made in France, whose side still bleeds from the laceration of Alsace and Lorraine. The question of Alsace-Lorraine is the open sore of Europe. The other question of the nationalities in South-eastern Europe is in a hopeful condition; light is already thrown on its possible solution. The Triple Alliance has its *raison d'être* not in the eastern, but in the western question. It may be worth while, then, to consider a Frenchman's appeal for a pacific solution of this and other international disputes.

In his eloquent opening preface, M. Passy gives us the pronouncement of an Englishman and a Frenchman respectively, on the possibility of the treatment of international relations on a reformed basis. Mr. Seebohm once dismissed the subject, with the phrase, "practical men will not trouble themselves with matters which can have no future." That was said fifteen years ago. Shortly afterwards, M. Charles Lucas, an eminent and venerable member of the French Academy, thus referred to efforts after international arbitration: "In such efforts ideas are being evolved and things are in the making" (*Ce sont là des idées qui s'avouent et des choses qui se font*). M. Passy points out how since that time not merely the idea but the practice of such arbitration has grown. The Republics of Central

<sup>1</sup> "*De la Solution Juridique des Conflits Internationaux.*" Par Chevalier de Mouglins-Roquefort, Docteur en Droit, Avocat à la Cour d'Appel d'Aix, avec une Préface de M. Frédéric Passy, Membre de l'Institut, etc. Paris: 1889.

and Southern America have entered into numerous treaties binding themselves to arbitration in case of international disputes. Commercial treaties in which an arbitration clause has been inserted have been entered into between European States; notably between Great Britain and Italy. Motions in favour of treaties of this description have, he points out, been submitted to the Parliaments of Great Britain, of France, and of the United States, and in the latter have been definitely voted. M. Passy also instances the recent deputation of English members of Parliament to the United States in 1887, and to France in 1888, in order to lay before members of the Congress and of the Chamber, the basis of collective action in favour of International Arbitration. The necessity of rules and regulations, upon which such an international system must be based, has stimulated many eminent writers to delineate an international code. Mr. Dudley Field, in the United States, has been followed by M. Mancini in Italy, by Professors Leoné Levi and Lorimer in England, and by M. Kamarowski in Russia, all of whom have busied themselves in formulating a Code by which the action of an international tribunal could be regulated. The present writer under review, the Chevalier de Mougins-Roquefort, does not, however, profess to attempt this specific task. What he attempts, and that very successfully, is to deduce from historical and practical instances, a scientific basis for the principle of arbitration between States. His own summary of his work will best illustrate the method, in which he aims at establishing what Mr. J. K. Stephen has, in a Cambridge Treatise, termed "The Science of International Relations"; for the regulation of such relations can be deduced rather from a record of instances of what relations have been established between various nations on varying occasions than from any *a priori* code of a *Jus Gentium*. That a code must follow, while it need not necessarily precede, the establishment of an international tribunal is clearly seen by M. de Mougins-Roquefort and his primary aim being to show the feasibility, rationality, and historical continuity of a system of arbitration or mediation for the solution of international disputes, he does not distract his readers by the intricacy of any code. The fact of such codes being in preparation must undoubtedly add to the weight of argument in favour of the establishment of international tribunals, but to postpone their creation until a codification has been authoritatively sanctioned would be to refer the whole matter to the Greek Kalends.

To return to M. de Mougins-Roquefort's method of proof, it is as follows. The State is the unit of international society; until that unit is evolved from the agglomeration of races and tribes, international relations are indefinable. But the study of history will show us States being gradually formed, no matter through what causes, and, when, once formed, acquiring an individuality. That indi-

viduality once established, there arises a necessity for some system of international regulation, just as some system of social order is necessary to regulate the relations of any community of individuals. A political system grows up, through which individual States can enter into communication and relationship. This system cannot be left to arbitrary development or restriction. It must be founded upon a scheme of morals. The eloquent French idealist appeals to some "superior and eternal moral law, which embraces all human creatures, however grouped." The style of language has a tendency to alarm the average Anglo-politician. Yet it recalls the maxim of that most practical, because most moral, of politicians, Burke, when he says: "Refined policy has ever been the parent of confusion. Plain, good intention, which is as easily discovered at first view as fraud, is surely detected at last, is no mean force in the government of mankind." The argument that a so-called Nation or State cannot be treated as an individual, because it is in itself but a nomenclature and has no individual existence, can always be stultified by the reply that it is precisely because the term State or Nation is a mere name for a group of individuals that the same moral and social ideas which apply to individuals can be applied to groups made up of individuals.

It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the author's review of the historical formation of States. We need barely notice in passing the truth of his remark that, so long as only one or two States, such as the Greek States and the Roman, stand out of the ruck of great tribal empires and shifting races, whom they classed as "barbarians," much as an Englishman was wont to talk of "foreigners," no real international system of policy or relationship can be evolved.

States, then, being once formed, if their mutual relations are left solely to the arbitrament of war, international society is simply left to indulge in unbridled passions, in which ambition, greed, egotism, or anger are the motive-powers, and force or astuteness the main weapons. To temper such a condition, diplomacy is invented. But, the author says, diplomacy will always be insufficient really to remove the causes of international friction. That it may chance to do so on some one or other occasion does not disprove its incapacity as a system. Diplomacy is purely a political machine acting on political motives. Opportunism and Expediency are its guides. It may temporize, localize, or evade international difficulties, but for the final settlement, so far as human conditions admit of finality, it is and must be inadequate, because, in the first place, it acts upon no universal code of law, and, secondly, because, as a tribunal, it has the inherent flaw of admittedly being constituted of representatives adjudicating upon their own cause. If a judicial international system is ever to be recognized as such, it must not contravene the

vital principle of law that "no one can be judge in his own cause." Upon that principle the advocacy of international tribunals is based.

The author then proceeds to show how this principle has been recognised continuously throughout history. He seeks, by examples, to show the constant tendency of peoples towards "judicial and pacific ideas" (*des idées juridiques et pacifiques*), until, finally, in this century, "nous verrons la cause de la paix, et du droit faire de grands progrès; nous verrons la question se placer sur son véritable terrain, le terrain juridique, et le recours à l'arbitrage devenir pour ainsi dire le style pour trancher les conflits internationaux."

The author's proof of this part of his thesis is very interesting reading, since it traces in a summary way features in the history of international dealings, which are seldom portrayed in such a facile manner. Beginning with the instance of the Amphictyonic Council of Conciliation between the Greek States, he passes on to the institutions of the Recipratoros and Fetiales at Rome: The former were constituted by special treaties, and a clause of a treaty in 261 B.C. between the Romans and Latins, constituting such a body as judges, recites, that "there shall be peace eternal so long as the sky and earth endure between the Romans and all the Latin towns, and that they will never make war on each other." The duty of the Fetiales was to be a court of reference on questions of peace or war, they being required to examine if a war would be just or unjust. They had no right of deciding the main question, but limited themselves to examining if there were just grounds for war, and only upon their affirmative response could the Roman Senate and people declare war. Passing on to the Middle Ages, the Papacy stands out as the great arbiter of Europe. The "truce of God," indeed, was merely applicable to a cessation of private discord, but the Roman church, under Gregory the Great, and subsequent Pontiffs, did not confine itself within these narrow limits. Exhortations on internal government were freely addressed to kings and emperors. That the mediation of the Papacy was invoked by international disputants, rather than its arbitration in the actual cause of dispute, is freely admitted; but the idea and custom of addressing neutral powers, or accepting their services as mediators before resorting to extreme measures, seems to derive its origin from the old appeals to the Pope, as a supreme arbiter of morals in the sphere of politics as of religion. The author cites as a survival of this idea an appeal addressed to the Pope by Mr. Urquhart, Protestant though he was, praying him "to re-establish the public law of nations, and to found a tribunal of peace." The modern instance of actual arbitration by Leo XIII. between the German Empire and Spain in reference to the Carolina Islands is, of course, duly noted as an example of the continuous growth of the idea above-mentioned. The other instances more directly noticed are the arbitrations of Boniface VIII. in 1298



between Philip of France and Edward I. of England, of Joan XII. in 1319 between another Philip of France and the Flemish, of Leo X. in the fifteenth century between the Doge of Venice and the Emperor Maximilian, and finally of Alexander VI. in 1493, who determined the rival claims of Spain and Portugal in the American Continent, and in the Indies.

The Emperors of the Roman-German Empire, and the Napoleons as Emperors of France, succeeded the Papacy in adopting the rôle of arbiters of Europe, though we must not omit the similar attempt of Henry IV. of France, inspired by his great Minister, Sully, to constitute a "Council of Confederated European Christian States," which he enumerated as fifteen in number, whose limits were to be permanently defined. Each of these States was to send four representatives to the Council, which was to sit at Metz or Cologne, as the most central place, and to which all differences between the several States were to be submitted. The Council was to be called the Senate of the Christian Republics, and was to elaborate rules "to prevent the tyranny of princes, and the rebellion of subjects." The project must be described as a marvellously "advanced" one, and sufficient to make the mouth water of the most visionary of universal philanthropists. It must be acknowledged, however, that once this Council of Christian States was well established a common attack on the Turks was to be projected, as well as the other more pacific and ideal matters.

It may be conjectured that these instances of powerful arbiters over the destinies of other nations are treated by the author as unpractical and arbitrary, however interesting they may be as historical instances of the continuity of the idea. It is when we come to the nineteenth century that the advance of the idea of a better means of restricting or regulating international disputes than by war becomes apparent.

The author illustrates this in three ways: (1) By the action of Congresses; (2) of Parliamentary action; and (3) by private Societies. In 1818 the Holy Alliance in the Conference at Aix-la-Chapelle proclaimed their "invariable resolve never to evade either amongst each other nor in their relation with other States the strictest fulfilment of the principles of international law, principles which in their application to a state of permanent peace can alone guarantee effectually the independence of each government and the stability of general society." The resolution in view of the subsequent action of the Holy Alliance in interfering to restrain nationalist movements or of people's "rightly struggling to be free" is doubtless open to sarcastic comment. A far more real advance in united action in favour of the peaceable settlements of disputes is to be noted in Article 8 of the Treaty of Paris in 1856. Here the contracting powers, having in view the Eastern Question, agreed that "if there should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more

of the contracting powers any dispute menacing the continuance of their peaceable relations, the Sublime Porte and each of the contracting powers before having recourse to force, shall place the other contracting powers in a position to prevent such an extremity by mediatory action." This was supplemented in a more general sense on the the motion of Lord Clarendon at the instigation of "the Friends of Peace" by Article 23 in which "the plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the name of their Governments, the wish that the States, between whom any serious dispute may arise, shall have recourse so far as the circumstances might admit, to the good offices of a friendly power; and the plenipotentiaries hope that Governments not represented at the Congress will associate themselves with the idea which has inspired the expression of this protocol."

Here we have the definite conception of a European League of Peace which has since at different times found shape in the alliance of the Three Emperors, the Concert of Europe, and to some extent in the present Triple Alliance of Central Europe. This conception may be deemed somewhat far from the creation of definite international tribunals but at least it establishes the idea of organized Mediation, which is a long step in the direction of Arbitration. And before proceeding to allude to the actual instances in which Arbitration has been adopted, it may be as well to admit at once that Mediation will always be an alternative in, or rather an addition to, any schemes of International Arbitration. This M. de Mougins-Roquefort very clearly points out. To submit to Arbitration implies a consent of the parties to abide by the decision of the Arbitrators. But there are some questions which no State will bind itself to submit to any external decision. We may be permitted to quote on this question from a leaflet of the International Arbitration and Peace Association.<sup>1</sup> "The object of the advocates of Arbitration is not to do away with war but to minimise the causes which lead to war. What, however, has been said is that Arbitration will never be made use of in certain prominent cases where war has been generally recognised as the only resource. Doubtless that is so. No nation will ever submit to the Arbitration of a third party the question of its own existence as an independent State. Nor, again, would it probably do so in reference to territory which it considers vital to its own integrity. Nor, again, will it willingly consent to submit to any Arbitrator questions of internal dispute. As to these points the views of all advocates of Arbitration were expressly summarised in the resolution drawn up at the recent Paris Peace Conference, namely, that no decision of Arbitrators can affect the independence or internal government of

<sup>1</sup> "What Arbitration Means;" A Reply to the "*Economist*," by S. L. H. International Arbitration and Peace Association, 41, Outer Temple, Strand, W.C.

any nation." This is equally enunciated by M. de Mougins-Roquefort in laying down the principle of the recognition of the individuality of States. The analogy of States to individuals may be carried further, and the principle that "a man may do what he likes with his own provided that he does not thereby injure his neighbour" may have to be adopted between nations. Under such a plea the internal disturbances of the Turkish Empire might be included as coming under the purview of International Arbitration as they have already practically been held to be so. But the questions open between England and Ireland, or Russia and her Polish provinces, could hardly nowadays be included on any such grounds as within the scope of external arbitration. The question of Alsace-Lorraine is more in point as a test of the limits of International Arbitration. It must be considered as too vital a one for France or Germany to submit to any external Court of Arbitration; but even here a joint Court of the two nations referred to is not an inconceivable means of solving the dispute. A mutual agreement for the neutralisation of certain territory after the manner of Luxembourg could be honourably drawn up by such a Court upon the terms of Arbitration. On this point the French author's opinion is necessarily of interest. He asks "How would war bring any definitive solution of this dispute? Assuming a successful attack by France, would not the same bitter hankering after a war of revenge be nursed on the other side of the Rhine? As the Bishop of Angers wrote to M. Castelar in 1888, 'A new war would solve nothing!' Conquerors and conquered would nourish the same sentiments only, to recommence in a few years at least the extermination of one or other of the two nations. A peaceful solution is demanded in the name of religion and humanity, and that solution can only be the restoration of the provinces to France *in conformity with the expressed wishes of their population*. The jurisconsult and the statesman, placing themselves above all prejudice and hatred, would have to study the elements of the conflict, and taking into account the claims of France for almost two centuries over the provinces, the conditions under which their annexation took place, the character and manners of their population as well as their aspirations and desires, they would be brought to the conclusion of the legitimacy of the demands of France. Thus could they, on a basis of equitable terms, divert and reduce to emptiness a question ever charged with storm." Excusing the French author's assumption of the overwhelming legitimacy of French claims upon the provinces, we may point out how the method suggested of a mutual court of lawyers and statesmen of the two countries might adjust the rival claims after a manner not open to any diplomatic effort or conference. Such claims once defined and adjudicated upon by a body independent of diplomacy, a basis of conciliation or of mediation would be

evolved, or at any rate attempted, before any recourse to a war evoked by popular passion. All such methods are practical and sensible efforts to hedge round the outbreak of war with obstacles so as to prevent its being anything but a last and desperate resource.

But, granting that Arbitration may not be applicable to certain forms of what are termed "great questions," small worrying questions may just as likely be the causes of great wars. To quote again from the above-mentioned leaflet, "the dimensions of the subject in dispute bear necessarily no relation to the magnitude of the war arising from such disputes. The importance of the question in dispute is a merely relative term dependent on a host of surrounding or prior circumstances. The Alabama might have brought about a vast internecine war between two nationalities intimately related. The seizure of a Newfoundland fishing-smack, or the cutting of its nets by an over-keen rival, might, under given circumstances, do the same. The magnitude of the war risked is the criterion, and not the diminutiveness of the subjects in dispute. . . . Apart from the kind of disputes mentioned as outside the limits of external arbitration, there are many causes of dispute, likely to lead to war—'regrettable incidents' of many kinds brought about by over-zealous officials or over-suspicious rivals. The legal rights to fisheries, the exact delimitation of frontiers, hereditary disputes (such as those of Schleswig-Holstein), questions of prior possession in colonial enterprise, disputes arising out of contracts between private companies and foreign States (such as the Delagoa Bay Railway dispute); disputed facts, again, as to any alleged breach of proper neutrality by the subjects of neutral States (such as gave rise to the detention of an English missionary at Madagascar in a French man-of-war, or the Russian complaint as to the conduct of British officers at Penjdeh). Surely any one of these causes, if left to fester, might lead to war. Yet they are subjects eminently fitted for arbitration, because nearly every one of these contentions simply implies facts in dispute, as to which, if explained one way or the other, each party would be amply satisfied by the withdrawal of the complaint, or the settlement of the right to possession, or the payment of compensation. War does not settle disputed facts. On the contrary, the facts are smothered under the dispute. Many a war, too, is brought about by misconception and misunderstandings over facts with which, had the people of the contending nations been acquainted, they would never have allowed the war to proceed." "They are questions of right and questions of fact, not questions of national honour, with which international tribunals would be required to deal. Nor would the arbitrators act as judges but rather as a jury. Their findings would be of certain facts upon which facts they would decide what would be the reasonable remedy. Sometimes a verdict carries little or no

consequence, nevertheless the very fact of such a verdict being found by an impartial tribunal would of itself be a deterrent to any other course being adopted, and would tell against the party refusing to be bound by such finding. And here we touch upon another supposed stumbling-block of International Courts of Arbitration. 'What force would such tribunals have at their back? And if no force, of what value would they be?' The answer is that they would have no force at their back for the *raison d'être* of arbitration is the voluntary submission of the parties of their dispute to such a tribunal. This is the distinction between a regular legal tribunal and a tribunal for arbitration. True it is that, once such submission has been made, the decisions of arbitrators can be enforced by process of law. But the condition precedent of submission to arbitration is voluntary consent, and, that consent once given, public opinion is the main force which procures acquiescence in the decision. We have seen this illustrated lately in the submission to an absolutely lay tribunal of a certain racing dispute and an absolute acquiescence in the decision of the lay arbitrators. Public opinion and the advantage of good faith can be the only forces which will support the decisions of International Tribunals. The submission of governments to the decisions of foreign Maritime Prize Courts might be cited as a proof of the feasibility of such acquiescence, although, as the French writer points out, they are composed exclusively of members of the belligerent State which has a direct interest in the prize being declared a valuable one. In spite of this anomaly the jurisdiction of such tribunals, he says, has never been contested, and the Institute of International Law has at present drawn up a scheme by which such tribunals could be constituted as International Courts. He cites further instances of other bodies which are, in fact, International Tribunals whose regulations are absolutely acquiesced in without their having any direct force at their back, although doubtless they could depend in extremity on the forces of the powers who instituted them, namely, the mixed Commissions such as that appointed by the Congress of Vienna for assuring the free navigation of the Rhine, and that of later date for the regulation of the navigation of the mouth of the Danube; and more particularly the mixed Commissions established between the United States and most of the other American States, composed of divers representatives of the several States and having almost exclusive cognizance of the subject of frontiers, of claims of individuals or of companies of one State against another State, or of one State against individuals or companies in another. They are only constituted in each case by the express consent of the parties, and the commissioners are nominated by the State and agree upon an umpire in case of their own disagreement. These American commissions are much on the increase and tend to assume a more and

more judicial character. They have been established by numerous conventions such as those between the United States and New Grenada in 1857, as also with Columbia in 1864, with Perú and Mexico in 1868, with Spain in 1871. All such tribunals are dependent upon the voluntary submission of States, and none have any direct means of enforcing their decisions.

Finally, the numerous occasions on which arbitration or mediation has been directly sought and been found effective may be cited in proof both of the feasibility of such a system being adopted by States without any derogation of their sovereignty or their national honour, and also of the increased feeling in favour of the solution of international disputes by such means. M. de Mougins-Roquefort cites Calvo also as an authority for saying that twenty-five such instances have occurred within the last fifty years. He himself cites some of the more notable instances and touches upon their details. It will be sufficient here merely to mention some for reference. Mediation has been successfully invoked by Spain and Morocco in 1844, referring their dispute to England and France: by the adjudication of the Pope between Spain and Germany in 1885 in reference to the Carolina Islands: by that of Spain between Italy and Columbia in reference to an Italian, Cerrutti, an inhabitant of the Columbian territory. Cases of the successful solution of disputes by arbitration are instanced, among several others, by that of the King of the Belgians between Great Britain and Brazil in reference to the arrest of English officers in 1862: by the Senate of Hamburg between Great Britain and Peru in reference to the action of a Captain White in 1861: by the British Envoy at Pekin between China and Japan in 1875 as to a conflict in the Isle of Formosa: by the President of the United States between Great Britain and Portugal as to the Isle of Bahama in 1869: by the President of the French Republic between the same States in reference to Delagoa Bay in 1875: by the King of the Belgians between France and Spain in 1881 in reference to certain prizes taken by the French during their intervention in Spain in 1821 and which led to prolonged contention: by the King of Prussia in 1813, and by the British Minister at a later date between the United States and Mexico: and finally by the tribunal at Geneva between Great Britain and the United States in reference to the Alabama. The suggestion of arbitration between Russia and Great Britain in 1885 over the Penjdeh affair might be added as an instance of the effectual shelving of a very critical dispute, though no one has ever had the curiosity to ask what became of that proposal.

All these instances, however, of the successful application of the practice of International Arbitration are, so to speak, accidental. They are not linked together by any principle of action. Many were only effected with difficulty, as compromises of international *amour propre*

unnecessarily aroused. The rule and regular method of such arbitration will only be generally adopted when the principle has been recognised as the regular and obligatory first step in relation to international disputes, and that principle will only be recognised when treaties of arbitration on certain specified classes of questions have been generally adopted, and the constitution of the International Tribunals has been laid down beforehand. What that exact constitution should be may be profitably discussed in detail elsewhere. The draft scheme of the late Professor Leoné Levi proposed that "each State should nominate a given number of members, publicists, and jurists, or other persons of high reputation and standing, to constitute a Council of International Arbitration. Such Council should be held as constituted, as soon as any two States concur in its organization and have nominated members for the same." The Council, so formed, would invite other States to nominate their members to the Council. "On the occurrence of any dispute between any States represented in the Council, or not so represented, a meeting of the Council should be summoned to consider what steps might be adopted for immediately arresting any war measures already taken, or about to be taken, by any contending States, and for offering, if desirable, the aid of the Council, in the shape of mediation or arbitration" (Art. 9). "When the contending States agree to leave their disputes to arbitration, the Council will appoint some of its members, and some other persons specially nominated by the contending States, to be a High Court of International Arbitration, and its award in the case shall be binding on the contending States" (Art. 10). This scheme leaves the initiative action somewhat too largely to the Council itself. Governments would hardly care to delegate their responsible duties in such critical matters to any such Independent Tribunal. The reference of the dispute to the International Tribunal must be at the initiative, and, as we have endeavoured to show in this article, must be the recognised ordinary action of the Governments of the two or more States involved in the dispute.

M. Kamarowsky's outline of a scheme, cited by the French author, is of a more practicable kind. "The States being equal in rights, each one should have an equal number of representatives, after the manner of the representation of the United States in the American Senate. The judges would be severally nominated by their representative States, but might be empowered to add to their number, as in the case of the Roman *Fetiales*. The jurisdiction of the tribunal would not be forced on any State. The tribunal would only deal with disputes voluntarily and specifically submitted, or agreed to be submitted, to it by previous treaties. In case of one of the States so submitting thinking itself seriously injured by the decision of the mutual tribunal, an appeal should be open to it to the general assembly

of the entire tribunal, as constituted by representatives of all the States bound together by treaties of general arbitration." Permanent treaties to the above effect would of course tend still more to establish the custom of such submissions to arbitration being made, and the very fact of their being customary, and recognised as such, would go far to do away with the feeling that such submissions were derogatory to national honour, or an infringement on national sovereignty. In more delicate causes of dispute mediation should be recognised as the rule, and the condition precedent to any resort to force. In any case, provided that once representatives, or Councils of International Arbitration (who might properly be termed Peace Councillors, in analogy to Privy Councillors) have been generally and mutually nominated, great elasticity would be advisable in the constitution of tribunals out of such councillors in specific cases. For instance, such tribunals could be constituted either out of one or more States not parties to the dispute, or out of joint councillors of the actual disputant States either with or without the representatives of other States; or, again, in certain cases, each Government might agree to refer disputed questions of fact or of law to their respective Peace Councillors at home, merely to obtain their findings on the points referred to them, and then upon those findings it would be for the respective Governments, with the consent of their Parliaments, where available, to decide whether there should be peace or war. The Peace Councillors would act in such cases analogously to the Roman Fetials, in finding whether there were rational causes for war or not, though in these days of representative governments it would be for the Governments to say whether there should be war for such causes or not.

This last point brings us to the question, whether some restraint upon the power to declare war is not a necessary complement to any scheme of arbitration? M. de Mongins-Roquefort, rightly estimating the difficulty of throwing such a decision on to the Parliament, or to the nation through the means of a *referendum*, suggests that this power should actually be entrusted to, or at least be subject to the consent of, "un areopage d'hommes, éminents et âgés, imbus du sentiment de la hauteur de leur mission et des responsabilités qui leur incombent, enfin jugeant, non d'après des discours mais d'après des documents écrits et en pleine connaissance de cause." But are not Ministers presumptively analogous to such a body? Responsibility to the whole nation gives weight to and steadies a ministry which, in other respects, is dependent upon party majorities. To put off that responsibility upon some other body would make it more easy for Ministers to indulge in their own predilections, and, if any unpopular peace or war were maintained through the decision of the all-wise areopagus, what more tempting for ministers than to enact the part of Pilate, and wash their hands of the whole affair? The declaration



of war in modern days may undoubtedly require very careful handling. A long debate in an excited House of Parliament or Assembly upon the question of peace or war, while active measures must inevitably be proceeding on both sides in case of war being decided upon, is an almost impossible indulgence in representative and party government; the same objection applies to any form of national *referendum*. The obligatory practice of mediation or arbitration would really afford the best form of restriction upon the sovereign power of an executive government to declare war. The knowledge that such was a condition precedent to any appeal to force would prevent the necessity of preliminary hostile demonstrations, while the parliamentary support of a Government in referring the matter in question to mediation would imply support of any declaration of war which that Government might find themselves compelled to make, in case of the failure of mediation or of the reference to arbitration. The previous consent of Parliament to attempted mediation or arbitration would also be a sufficient guarantee of national consent to such steps, and ought to satisfy any feelings of national dignity and *amour propre*.

We have now sufficiently alluded to M. de Mongins-Roquefort's main thesis and to the comments and objections it calls forth. These can be more fully considered by reference to the book itself. It only remains for us to urge that the proposal for the settlement of certain classes of international disputes to International or Internal Tribunals of Arbitration should take a definite place in the Radical programme. The evil influences of the Crimean War still haunt our foreign policy; the Palmerston traditions are hard to eradicate. Few subjects told more against the Radical party in the general election of 1885 than the Anglo-Egyptian imbroglio. Whether the Gladstone Ministry were driven or drifted into the Egyptian and Soudan wars, the results of that policy seem likely to remain long with us. That policy clogs our real imperial development, which is in the direction of colonies and not of conquests. India is a sufficient inheritance of the latter kind for us. Let the rights and claims of Great Britain, of France, of Egypt, and of Turkey, as also the more strictly commercial interests of other European Governments in Egypt, be submitted to an International Tribunal of skilled arbitrators, and a more practicable solution than the present would be likely to be attained. International interests have been satisfied by the neutrality of the Suez Canal, for which it is strange how chary the Tories are in claiming credit; a fact however, which may be explained by the initiative having been taken by Lord Granville, who, had he been able to carry it out, Lord Salisbury has done, would have been denounced in all the loose tenets of Jingo oratory. The argument of the Mahdist danger has been a handy one in supporting our stay in Egypt; but it is a moot question whether our military occupation of that country

has not been as much the cause as the effect of this seemingly recurrent danger?

"Peace" has been too much a *quantité négligeable* in the old triple motto of the Liberal party. This may partly have been due to the unpopularity of the Manchester school of peace politicians and of unpractical philanthropists. The advocates of International Arbitration do not profess to cherish impracticable ideals. "Peace," as M. de Mongins-Roquefort says, "is not to be the aim so much as the consequence of their proposals." Only a certain class of disputes as to facts and legal rights can be expected to be submitted to legal tribunals. Mediation in other questions can be usefully attempted. All that is asked for is, that practicable measures shall be taken to make war only a last resource, and that reasonable steps shall be recognized as *obligatory* on nations to bring about the real settlement, instead of the mere diplomatic shifting, of international disputes where war is unnecessary, and therefore unjust.

SPENCER L. HOLLAND.

## THE ARTIFICIALITY OF ENGLISH NOVELS.

It must have frequently occurred to the intelligent reader of English novels that even in the best of them there is a singular tendency to suppress some of the most important facts of life. In England the novelist is either afraid to tell the whole truth, or else he is intellectually incapable of revealing the complicated mechanism of the human heart. He barely hints at certain matters which the votaries of Mrs. Grundy consider it an indelicacy to speak about; and, whenever he attempts a bold piece of realism, he mars the effect of it by introducing some irrelevant bit of didacticism, intended, no doubt, to appease the "virtuous indignation" of the Pharisaic middle-class reader, to whom the naked truth is unpalatable. If seduction forms an element in the novel, the man must invariably be referred to as "the betrayer," or "the villain," and the woman as "the victim." Moreover, the unhappy female who has lapsed from virtue must die before the story ends; otherwise the proprieties are offended, and the book is declared to be "immoral." Adultery must never be called by its real name; and, if it is introduced, owing to the exigencies of fiction, it must be hidden behind a veil of cumbrous circumlocutions. The approved mode of dealing with this dreadful topic is to indicate in some indirect fashion—perhaps through the agency of popular rumour or local gossip—that the lady has "eloped," or that her husband had "mysteriously disappeared." Possibly the explanation may be found in the cynical remark of an ingenious French writer, that "it is the name of a thing which shocks the English mind rather than the thing itself."

It was not so in former days. Shakespeare was explicit enough, too explicit perhaps, in dealing with the nasty side of life. At a later period in English literature we find the drama entirely devoted to the exposition of licentious intrigues. Nobody reads the comedies of Congreve and Farquhar nowadays; but they are generally supposed to present a fairly correct picture of society in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The old English novelists, with one exception, generally "called a spade a spade." Defoe is nauseously minute in *Moll Flanders*. Fielding and Smollett describe the escapades of rakes and the amours of loose women in tolerably coarse

language. It is not necessary, or at all desirable, that such coarseness should be revived; but the novelist, when he grapples with social problems, should not be intimidated by hypocritical censure. Since Fielding's days novels have become so artificial in England that even a precocious schoolboy cannot fail to perceive their inadequacy as literary presentations of our many-sided modern life. The first English novelist in whom this artificiality is a distinct feature—the exception above referred to—is Richardson. The satirical genius of Fielding could not destroy the popularity of his rival, whose sentimental platitudes and exaggerated love-scenes won the hearts of the English maids and matrons of that highly artificial age. Even still, *Pamela*, with all its ridiculous affectation, draws tears from feminine eyes. In Maria Edgeworth's productions we have a series of pictures characterized by a certain wooden uniformity, and a careful elimination of natural traits. Even Jane Austen, in spite of her marvellous powers of observation, treats Nature, more or less, as an intruder, and in none of her works does she travel outside the strict limits of conventionality. Scott—great master of romance though he be—shows himself ridiculously timid when he comes down from the high horse of history, and pretends to portray the Scottish middle or lower class of his time. In the *Heart of Mullothian*, Effie Deans is condemned to death for concealing the birth of her illegitimate child; but throughout the entire novel no clear idea is conveyed either as to the circumstances attending her fall, or as to her original relations with her lover, who of course figures, in the conventional language of English fiction, as her "betrayer." English Pharisaism will not allow the slightest allusion to the physiology of love; and the only relation between the sexes that the novelist is at liberty to describe are flirtation and marriage—and the latter only in its ceremonial, not in its social or intimately domestic aspects. A French novelist knows no such limitations. If he undertakes to describe love in all its phases, he is not afraid of lifting the veil. Balzac gives us the anatomy of the passions in such a manner that he makes our nerves vibrate with sympathy. Every one feels that Eugénie Grandet is not a mere character in a book, but a real human being. Alphonse Daudet has the same quality of thoroughness. Compare his *Numa Roumestan* with any English work of fiction, and the defects, both from an ethical and æsthetic point of view, of the English system will be self-evident.

In this respect American fiction has been immeasurably superior to English fiction. Nathaniel Hawthorne has not shrunk from depicting the moral consequences of adultery. In *The Scarlet Letter* he unfolds the agonies of an erring wife, and the remorse of her miserable paramour, with all the power of a great psychologist. A clerical critic charged Hawthorne with "selecting the intrigues of an adulterous minister as the groundwork of his ideal." It is scarcely

necessary, at this hour of the day, to justify the author of *The Scarlet Letter*. That great masterpiece of fiction has been well described as "a massive argument for repentance." Its moral is so high that it covers mere Puritanism with shame. It teaches us how worthless is the morality of empty professions—how idle it is to conceal a mortal sin, while assuming the outer garb of chastity. The clerical critic who found *The Scarlet Letter* repulsive to his tastes exclaimed: "Is the French era really begun in our literature?" This resembles some recent English criticism of French naturalistic fiction. The English critic must play the part of a pseudo-moralist, and he cares not if England is reeking with impurity and all kinds of abomination provided the facts are never allowed to get into print.

Among living American novelists, Mr. W. D. Howells has shown a freedom from conventionality which places him in favourable contrast with English writers of fiction. His descriptions of scenery are fresh and vivid, and are not marred by any of the stale platitudes of the guide-book. Take, for instance, this exquisite word-picture of a scene in Venice from *A Foregone Conclusion*:

"They were rowing across the lagoon to the island of San Lazzaro, where for reasons of her own she intended to venerate the convent in which Byron studied the Armenian language preparatory to writing his great poem in it: if her pilgrimage had no very earnest motive, it was worthy of the fact which it was designed to honour. The lagoon was of a perfect, shining smoothness, broken by the shallows over which the ebbing tide had left the sea-weed trailed like long, dishevelled hair. The fishermen, as they waded about shaking their nets, or stooped to gather the small shellfish of the shallows, showed legs as brown and tough as those of the Apostles in Titian's Assumption. Here and there was a boat, with a boy or an old man asleep in the bottom of it. The gulls sailed high, white flakes against the illimitable blue of the heavens: the air, though it was of early spring, and in the shade had a salty pungency, was here almost languorously warm; in the motionless splendours and rich colours of the sea, there was a melancholy before which Mrs. Vervain fell fitfully silent. As they passed the madhouse of San Servola, a maniac standing at an open window took his black velvet skull-cap from his white hair, bowed low three times, and kissed his hand to the ladies. The Lido in front of them stretched a brown strip of sand with white villages shining out of it, on their left the public gardens showed a mass of hovering green; far beyond and above the ghost-like snows of the Alpine heights haunted the misty horizon."

There is nothing like this in Dickens's *Pictures from Italy*. We have the artificial style of fiction remarkably exemplified in the works of the late Lord Lytton: Most of his novels are so utterly unreal, that they add nothing to our knowledge of life. They

display ingenuity, talent, learning; but the characters have no counterpart in the world of reality. They are mere puppets specially manufactured to suit the requirements of the narrative. A discussion of such books from the standpoint of realism is, therefore, unprofitable. If the great object of a novel should be to teach us something new about human nature, *Zanoni*, *A Strange Story*, and nearly all the other productions of this great writer, can scarcely be classed as novels at all. They belong to the same category as *The Arabian Nights*.

In Dickens the suppression of the natural is so marked a characteristic, that the best works of that great humourist have been emasculated by this absurd practice. It has often been said by thoughtless though well-meaning persons, to whom a work of fiction seems nothing better than a religious tract, that even a child might safely read any of Dickens's novels. This, surely, is sorry praise! The novel which goes no deeper than the intellect of a child, is necessarily a very imperfect picture of life. Unless Dickens wrote for the frequenters of Sunday-schools he must have intended to pose as a painter of realities; and he could not give us faithful portraits of the men and women of England in the nineteenth century without shocking puritanical decorum. Indeed, he has avowedly entered the list as a realist, though not a realist of M. Zola's school; for in *Oliver Twist* he undertakes to describe the daily lives of thieves and prostitutes. Some people may imagine that Bill Sikes is no caricature; but can any one above the years of adolescence deceive himself with the idea that Nancy is not a purely imaginary character? The scene in which Sikes murders her is a childish piece of melodrama unworthy of any novelist laying claim to high rank in literature.

In another book—a more ambitious one, perhaps—Dickens advanced a few steps beyond the conventional lines of propriety; but he had not the courage to disregard English prudery; and the result was that he lamentably failed. This will be perfectly manifest from a more detailed reference to the novel, which is, of course, well known to English readers—*Dombey and Son*. It would be hard to find a better example of a thoroughly artificial work of fiction than this book. No doubt there is humour in it, and the death of "little Paul" is really a pathetic scene. But in structure, in character-painting, and in the proportion between the different parts of the work, it is so hopelessly inartistic as to be positively grotesque. A contemporary of Dickens once remarked that it was a pity so great an observer of faces seldom went much deeper than the mere physiognomy. This hits off the weak side of the novelist admirably. He was a master of externals; but had no psychological depth. In *Dombey and Son*, the impenetrable pride of Mr. Dombey resists every appeal, including even that of an affectionate child, until the flight of his second wife suddenly turns his head. The character is simply

a moral impossibility. Mr. Dombey could only exist in a book—we find nothing like him in real life. But the most glaring piece of unnaturalness in the novel is the elopement of Edith with Carker the manager, and the scene which takes place between them at Dijon. As to the character of Carker, it is at best a very superficial study; his villainy is of a distinctly melodramatic type. The interesting manager “shows his white teeth” a little too much whenever he makes his appearance. Opening a page of the book we find the following painful repetitions of the unpleasant allusions to Mr. Carker’s teeth:

“As he bent forward, to be nearer with the utmost show of delicacy and respect, and *with his teeth persuasively arrayed* in a self-deprecating smile, she felt as if she could have struck him dead.”

“She raised her eyes no higher than *his mouth*, and she saw the means of mischief vaunted *in every tooth it contained*.”

“Withers, meeting him on the stairs, was amazed at *the beauty of his teeth* and brilliant smile; and as he rode away on his white-legged horse, the people took him for a *dentist*, such was the dazzling show he made.”

Surely such literary tricks of expression might almost be called mechanical. The scene at Dijon is so good an example of an attempt at realism perfectly spoiled by artificiality, that a portion of it may here be appropriately quoted:

“He was coming gaily towards her, when, in an instant, she caught the knife from the table, and started one pace back. ‘Stand back!’ she said, ‘or I shall murder you!’ The sudden change in her, the towering fury and the intense abhorrence sparkling in her eyes and lighting up her brow, made him stop as if a fire had stopped him.

“‘Stand back!’ she said; ‘come no nearer me upon your life!’

“They both stood looking at each other. Rage and astonishment were on his face; but he controlled them, and said lightly:

“‘Come, come! Tush, we are alone, and out of everybody’s sight and hearing. Do you think to frighten me with these tricks of virtue?’

“‘Do you think to frighten me,’ she answered fiercely, ‘from any purpose I have, and any course that I am resolved upon, by reminding me of the solitude of this place, and there being no help near? Me, who am here alone designedly? If I feared you, should I not have avoided you? If I feared you, should I be here in the dead of night, telling you to your face what I am going to tell?’

“‘And what is that,’ he said, ‘you handsome shrew? Handsomer so than any other woman in her best humour?’

“‘I tell you nothing,’ she retorted, ‘until you go back to the chair, except this, once again. Don’t come near me! not a step nearer! I tell you, if you do, as Heaven sees us, I shall murder you!’

“‘Do you mistake me for your husband?’ he retorted with a grin.

“Disdaining to reply, she stretched her arm out, pointing to the chair. He bit his lip, frowned, laughed, and sat down in it, with a baffled, irresolute, impatient air he was unable to conceal; and, biting his nail nervously, and looking at her sideways with bitter discomposure, even while he feigned to be amused by her caprice.

"She put the knife down upon the table, and, touching her bosom with her hand, said :

"I have something lying here that is no love trinket ; and sooner than endure your touch once more, I would use it on you—and you know it while I speak—with less reluctance than I would on any other creeping thing that lives."

Let any man who knows anything about human nature, and especially female human nature, ask himself—Is such a scene likely or even possible? No woman ever speaks in such a sham heroic fashion, save in cheap novelettes. Edith's conduct is not only inconsistent but ridiculous. Why should she meet Carker in her own room at midnight in a foreign town, merely to tell him she hated him, and, after having brandished a knife in his face, to point to a dagger concealed in her breast? After having fled with him from London, she allows him to take a suite of rooms for her in a French hotel, and meets him ostensibly that they might have supper together, but, in reality, in order to abuse, threaten, and defy him! The whole conception is worthy of the most extravagant order of melodrama, or the most silly specimen of cheap romance.

There are other passages in this novel which are entirely overstrained—indeed, quite revolting in their non-naturalness—such as the death of Edith's mother, which is truly a very characteristic piece of *Dickensism*. Here is the closing part of it :

"Edith touches the white lips, and, for a moment, all is still. A moment afterwards her mother, with her girlish laugh, and the *skeleton of the Cleopatra manner*, rises in her bed.

"Draw the rose-coloured curtains! There is something else upon its flight besides the winds and clouds. Draw the rose-coloured curtains close."

The rapid conversion of Mr. Dombey from mulish obstinacy and brutal hatred of his daughter Florence, to humility, tenderness, and sensitive regard for others, is one of those things which occur only too often in the pages of Dickens, but never in the world of ordinary men and women.

This artificiality increased as the novelist grew older. In *Our Mutual Friend* it is so pronounced, that any rational reader feels nearly driven to desperation by the mannerism and the needless repetitions of the same old stock phrase which he encounters in almost every page. What could be more unnatural than the description of the Veneerings and their automatic dinner-parties? In the fragment of *Edwin Drood* the selection of names for the characters and the entire style are marked by a morbid antagonism to anything like naturalness. Why should any man be called "Mr. Honey-thunder," for the mere purpose of suggesting some trait of character? and why should a Dean be described as a "rook"? The only answer appears to be that Dickens found a pleasure in distorting



facts, and treated probability with contempt. And yet the English people thought his pictures of real life perfect, and enjoyed him as much as their roast beef.

In Thackeray, a natural keenness of observation may be traced, and his books at the same time reveal a considerable knowledge of the world. Charlotte Brontë—herself a high-souled worshipper of Nature—described him as “the first social regenerator of his day;” and there is some truth in the words. Nevertheless, he allowed his genius to be fettered by conventionalities. He is always trying to settle the question whether a man is a “gentleman,” instead of taking a broader field of inquiry, and determining what manner of man he is. *Vanity Fair* is a clever satire; but it has not the qualities of a great novel. The author contents himself with skimming on the surface of society. He tells us about Becky Sharp’s green eyes, and her social trickeries and intrigues; but we never get a glimpse of her heart. Even if Becky can be literally described as heartless, Amelia, on the other hand, is an idiot; and so the female characters in the book are scarcely human. They are more or less the creation of Thackeray’s own satirical fancy. In *The Newcomes*, perhaps his greatest work, he abjures satire, and tries to give us a glimpse of a man’s real nature. Colonel Newcome is a splendid character, rather idealized; and the description of his death does not offend probability so violently as similar scenes in Dickens’s novels. But where does Thackeray give us a thoroughly psychological study of womanhood? Surely, even Ethel is superficially sketched: and, at best, she is only partly true to life. Are we to assume that the best type of English girl in Thackeray’s day had not an idea in her head beyond flirtation and a certain subdued sense of sentimentalism? We miss in his heroines the hot breath, the pure flame of genuine passion. Compare the Amelia of Thackeray with the Amelia of Fielding, and try in that way to determine their relative merits as novelists. The modern prudish school of critics may protest against the indecencies of *Tom Jones*; and of the other works of the older novelists; but Fielding knew how to picture a woman’s love in all its intensity and faithfulness. Thackeray, no doubt, painted a good woman in the character of Lady Castlewood in *Esmond*; but why should a woman be over forty and a widow, in order to be loving and lovable? We miss, too, in Thackeray those bits of literary landscape-painting which we find scattered through all the masterpieces of modern French and Russian fiction. From beginning to end of *Vanity Fair* we do not get a glimpse of the blue sky, of the sea, or of the green field. How different it is with Flaubert, with Daudet, with Zola—with Tourgenief, Tolstoi, and Dostoyevsky. For them places have a physiology as well as persons. How vivid is the local colouring in *Madame Bovary*! In *Numa Roumestan*, do we not feel the “mistral” of

Provence blowing in our very faces? Who can read *terminal* without realizing all the weird features of the miner's pit. How many grand and striking aspects of Nature are recalled to the memory of all who are familiar with the great Russian prose epic of this century, *War and Peace*! And how boldly Siberia is painted in the closing scene of *Crime and Punishment*.

The genius of George Eliot almost raised English fiction out of the old groove, and made it something better than a succession of more or less ingenious book-making experiments. In *Adam Bede*, the human interest overrides mere questions of class, and the lives of even the humblest present fascinating features. In *The Mill on the Floss*, we have a splendid type of female character—Maggie Tullivar. But, alas! English Puritanism proved too much for George Eliot as well the others. Maggie cannot afford to make one false step without expiating her error—for it is no more—by a sudden and violent death, which is rather artificially brought about by means of an inundation. The early portions of *The Mill on the Floss* are marked by literary power of the highest order; but the *dénouement* is a wretched makeshift. As for George Eliot's later works, there is too much "philosophy" both in *Middlemarch* and *Daniel Deronda* to make them readable novels. She never wrote anything in the shape of fiction finer than *Adam Bede*, and there is very little "philosophy" in that work, unless it be in the home truths of sharp-tongued Mrs. Poyser.

There is a certain literary kinship between George Eliot and the author of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, one of the best pastoral novels in the English language. Mr. Thomas Hardy has endeavoured, perhaps not quite successfully, to throw a halo of romance around the English agricultural labourer. His books are a quaint mixture of fancy and sober realism. His types of female character are not without a certain fascination, and his peasants are almost lifelike. Like George Eliot, he paints English rural scenery with remarkable vividness, and his pictures, like those of the greater novelist, have the homeliness and minuteness of the Dutch school of art. Like George Eliot, too, Mr. Hardy has, by the practice of mental reservation with regard to dangerous themes, avoided a collision with the decorous English public. His heroines are faulty, and in some cases rather contemptible; but they commit no serious breaches of propriety, and so the austere British matrifamilias sees no reason to forbid her unmarried daughters to read Mr. Hardy's productions. The result is that he has gained popularity, but at the cost of limiting the scope of his observations and lowering the permanent value of his works. He sounds no great depths. Contenting himself with a representation of externals, he only gives us shy glimpses at most into the mysterious recesses of the soul.

Much has been written about Anthony Trollope's novels. They have, no doubt, their merits. We find in them some good portraits of unlovely types of men and women. But is English society so utterly stupid as it appears in these exceedingly somniferous works of fiction? I venture to doubt it, and to suggest that Anthony Trollope's vision was rather defective. The literary quality of his novels is not remarkable, and they are, as regards subject-matter, the concentrated essence of commonplace.

It is needless here to discuss the characteristics of the sensational school of novelists, of whom the late Mr. Wilkie Collins was, perhaps, the most typical representative. When the object of a writer of fiction is merely to produce an effective plot, he distorts everything to suit his mechanical arrangements. He disregards the natural features in what may be called the psychological map of human nature, and therefore, for all valuable purposes, his work is really worthless. However excellent such books as *The Woman in White* or *The Moonstone* may be as specimens of ingenious literary craftsmanship, they can scarcely be regarded as serious studies of real life. When Mr. Collins tried to grapple with social problems, as in *The New Magdalen* and *The Fallen Leaves*, he utterly fails, because with him realism must give way to sensation.

The latest developments of English fiction show a slight tendency to forsake the old artificial mode of dealing with life. Of course, this statement does not apply to the fantastic and exceedingly ill-written productions by means of which Mr. Rider Haggard has bitten the "British public," who seem, just now, to revel in impossible treasure stories and brutal scenes of blood-spilling and exaggerated savagery in far distant Africa. Such books, properly speaking, do not belong to literature at all. They are simply grotesque exhibitions of bad taste, indifferent grammar, and imagination in its crudest form, such as may be found amongst the cannibals of the Dark Continent.

Happily for the prospects of the English novel, there are some other living writers besides Mr. Rider Haggard. Of Mr. Robert Lewis Stevenson, the most that can be said is that he writes excellent English, and is able to tell a good story. He outrages probability, however, so much that we really learn nothing from his very readable, but exceedingly fanciful, books.

Mr. George Meredith's novels are unique, and deserve to be studied as literary curiosities. The style is remarkable for its epigrammatic flavour; but the characters are nearly all puppets, or, even from the most favourable points of view, embodiments of peculiar moral traits. Mr. Meredith is unquestionably a clever writer; but he does not give us true pictures of human beings; he only gives utterance, through the medium of so-called "novels," to

his own opinion upon men and things: He leaves no distinct impression upon his reader's mind, unless it be that he has enriched the English language with some very fantastic modes of expression.

There is in the productions of a younger writer—Mr. George Moore—a certain rough power which gives promise of earnest work when his constructive faculties have been improved by practice. At present, Mr. Moore is little better than an impressionist. *A Munmer's Wife* is a powerful piece of writing, in which ornament is entirely discarded, the sole aim of the author evidently being to produce a vivid and lifelike sketch. The book is, however, so full of artistic blemishes that it could not possibly take a high place in English literature.

Mr. Hall Caine has written at least two strikingly original novels, and his fame is still growing. In some of his conceptions there is a kind of epic grandeur; but he has yet to subject his genius to the test of truth before he can lay claim to rank as a realist. He exhibits much of that strong masculinity which is the chief—some critics might say the only—merit of Charles Reade as a novelist; but he must take care to avoid the abysmal descent into which Reade plunged so recklessly. What young writer could safely take *Griffith Gwaint* as a model? In that strange work we trace a marvellous waste of power; and the *tout-ensemble* is painfully disappointing. Mr. Hall Caine escapes this disastrous result in his fine story, *The Shadow of a Crime*, which is worthy of Charles Reade at his best, and has none of the literary eccentricities which spoiled that gifted writer's finest efforts. *The Deemster* is not quite free from sensationalism; but the narrative is well sustained, and does not carry us far beyond the region of probability. His latest work, *The Bondman*, is a masterful production—a kind of prose epic.

The supply of fiction is daily increasing; but there is a sad disproportion between the quality and the quantity of the work. Amongst the mass of novels published in England within the past few years, there is, however, one which is characterized by such rare intensity of feeling, such brave outspokenness, and such transparent honesty of purpose, that its author ought, one day, to win fame as a writer of fiction. This is *The Story of an African Farm*, by Olive Schreiner. It is, in some respects, a daring book for a woman to write. The bigoted would call it "unorthodox"—perhaps "atheistical"; the prudish would fling at it the charge of "immorality." The reply is that truth is never immoral—it is the suppression of truth that is immoral. The book is a strange one, and its originality is only equalled by its deep and heart-rending pathos. The character of the girl Lyndall, so high-spirited, so unworldly, and yet so erring, is a very singular one; but it is evidently a study from life. Her refusal to marry the man she loves is in apparent

contradiction to all our preconceived ideas concerning the sex. But this is a superficial view of the matter. Lyndall has never met a man whom she could love with all her soul. Therefore, though she is ready to surrender herself, she refuses to sacrifice her moral freedom. Perhaps Olive Schreiner has here shadowed forth the woman of the future—the woman who seeks rather to be the equal than the pampered slave of man. Altogether this work is one of remarkable power. When such a novel can, in our time, be produced by a woman, we have, after all, some reason to be hopeful as to the future of English fiction.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

## THE LONDON POOR :

### SUGGESTIONS HOW TO HELP THEM.

THE growing tendency of modern civilization is towards the increasing aggregation of the population in large urban centres, and notably in London.

The struggle for existence ; the relation of capital to work and wages, and their mutual and fair adjustment to one another ; the sanitary needs and social claims of the poor ; the obligation, responsibility, and duty of the rich, and how to lessen the chasm that at present separates the one from the other ; these are subjects of a complicated character, ever increasing and pressing for solution.

At all times and in different ways we have been confronted with the same problem. Religionists, statesmen, philanthropists, and political economists have laid down their principles and doctrines with but very little practical—that is, remedial—effect. Of late, too, attempts have been made to rouse public attention to the spiritual, moral, and physical condition of our poorest classes by statesmen, statisticians, novelists, and dignitaries of the Church—deacons and archdeacons.

Archdeacon Farrar (who, among others, has written upon the subject) had the hopeful audacity to read his Bible with a smile instead of a frown upon his face, and attempted to banish the word hell, as once understood, and to substitute for it a doctrine of eternal hope. He effected something in planting the standard of truth a little further onward in the direction of the dawn of common-sense. But the archdeacon can hold out very little hope to the poorest and most miserable classes whilst they are living their wretched lives here upon earth, which, for them, is a veritable hell. He can only tell us that we must rely upon "old and simple principles," and not upon "new and startling propositions," upon "simple fidelity to acknowledged truths," for deliverance from the existing state of things in the filthy purlieus east of Temple Bar. But, perhaps, there may be a thinking person every here and there who cannot believe in the necessity for awaiting that cure which time and slow remedies are alone to bring about. Is it true that we must continue to run in the rut of old methods, and rely upon old principles, to change them into something better ? Is it true that, in spite of "social effort"

becoming "increasingly active," they must remain "a deepening curse, to continue till the pit swallows;" or until they burst through the bounds of resignation, surge forth in a flood of angry denunciation, the masses upon the classes. Old principles and old methods will have very little effect when that time comes. It will be rather late in the day then to put our trust in our "simple fidelity to acknowledged truths"—their value was acknowledged; so were the evils they could not remedy, except in the course of time. But hunger and nakedness may not be willing to wait patiently for time to feed and clothe them.

It seems, before all things, necessary to discuss this question honestly and fearlessly; and to be honest needs a certain amount of audacity. We must strive to put ourselves behind the poor man's consciousness in such matters, endeavour to see with his eyes, and understand his reasoning with his mind and not with ours.

It would not only be ungenerous, but positively unjust, not to recognize the work, the Christ-like work, of many of our clergy: their labours among the poor are beyond all praise; but they, and all their fellow-workers, confronted with these social questions, are simply powerless. It is not a subject that can be circumscribed within the limits of any religious sect or political creed; nor are we more likely to be successful in the future in arriving at its practical solution by action based upon excited feelings, outraged sentiment, or religious emotion than we have been in the past.

It often happens that we have no justification for our feelings in the same sense that we have for our opinions, when these are the result of our reasoning and the application of our knowledge to the subject in hand. We take very little care and forethought about our feelings, and from their very nature cannot; but it is nevertheless upon this unstable foundation that we have hitherto almost exclusively relied in dealing with social questions. Science, in its broadest sense, has won all the victories of the Victorian age; it has done wonders for us within the limits of natural laws; but just where we want the best information, the coolest heads, and the most reliable tests that can be applied, we pay no heed to these things at all. Nothing, it is alleged, is to be expected of the application of science outside the domain of physical laws. No attempt has been made to apply the same principles towards our social reorganization and regeneration that are applied elsewhere. And yet help for man must come from man, that is certain, and from men who know; and this knowledge is only to be derived from experience and patient painstaking. But the first step in this direction has already been taken. Dr. Balfour, F.R.S., President of the Royal Statistical Society, struck the key-note of the whole question in his opening address to that Society on the 19th of November last.

Dr. Balfour, after stating that statistics have much more official

recognition and support now than in years gone by, and expressing his belief that it is "a characteristic of this country that private enterprise organizes and executes many undertakings which elsewhere would be left to a department or bureau," goes on to say :

"I cannot adduce a better instance of this than the scheme of which the recently published volume of *Life and Labour in East London*, by Mr. Charles Booth, one of our Vice Presidents, is the first instalment. Of all the problems created by the social and economical revolutions of the past hundred years, those involved in the growth and condition of London are perhaps the hardest to solve and the most imperative in their demands for an answer. The air is full of cries of distress and of proposed remedies, but before the one can be adequately relieved, or the other finally accepted, a full knowledge of the circumstances and conditions should be obtained and recorded. To vague clamour and to sentimental generalities the application of figures is an invaluable test, and although the use of them is not new, certainly they have never yet been applied to the poverty and employment of poorer London so comprehensively, so efficiently, or with such judicial impartiality. The working of the London School Board has created a large body of trained official visitors, who are required to register and keep in sight every family living in the smaller houses in their districts and having children of school age. Of this machinery Mr. Booth has availed himself, and has checked his information by every other means in his power, with the aid of charitable workers and of various organizations. No one would, I am sure, be more ready than the author of the scheme himself to admit its shortcomings. Poverty is too complex to be completely described by drawing a simple table, or explained by adding two and two together, and its moral elements and its financial elements do not necessarily coincide. But these difficulties only enhance the supreme merit of having converted the project into an accomplished fact; the poverty of London has been narrowly localized, its extent discovered, its intensities gauged and differentiated; a method which had never before been attempted has now been applied to the largest, and therefore least manageable, city in the world. The problem has been stated in black and white, and whatever may or may not be done towards its solution, the science of statistics has been rightly and usefully employed in clearing the ground for the labours of other and less exact sciences."

"The air is full of cries of distress," and this at what should be the most joyful of all seasons of the year.

It is Christmas Day : we hear the merry chimes pealing out their glad invitation to come—ye, that are heavy laden—and hear the great message, *Peace on earth, good will towards men*.

There has been a sharp frost over-night ; a little snow has fallen. The church-goer is bound to order his carriage, or his feet will get wet. The sun is shining on the snow ; the morning is bright and crisp and beautiful—seasonable, in fact. In furs and wraps, in broadcloth and silk hats, in thick-soled boots and stout gloves, in rings and watch-chains, in haberdashery and finery, in comfort and opulence, they go to hear the glad tidings : Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given ! The church is decorated with costly flowers, and looks beautiful ; the organ thunders forth its praise ; the well-trained choir-boys lift their heads and sing ; their voices ring through the



crisp air and rise to heaven's gates in anthems of thanksgiving. The congregation—protected from draughts—join in the glad chorus and shout aloud the joyful news. It is so easy to believe: Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given!

'Then, lift ye up your voices, oh, ye people, and rejoice!

But not a sound is heard.

There has been a sharp frost over-night; a little snow has fallen, but the tramp of many feet has trodden it into a filthy slush; the air is bleak and cold and comfortless; the sun is shining somewhere, but not in that narrow street, where the large-eyed, hollow-cheeked young girl lies crouched. Why do they not open the door and let her in? Surely it is time! She is shivering in her filthy rags, which barely cover her emaciated frame with that delicacy which the law demands; she has been lying there for hours, waiting for that door to open. In the garret out of which she crawled, while the clocks were heralding in the advent of the greatest of all Christian days, lies the stiffening body of her baby, who died from want at last, though it had sickened of a fever first, and she has left it to be found by any one who cares to take upon himself the responsibility and expense of burying it. Why do they not open the door? Some girls had been lucky enough to get married, and so acquire property to be perpetually pawned when times were bad, reclaimed when they brightened; but no ring had ever shone upon her finger. Why do they not open the door? What door? The church door, that she may enter and find consolation if not comfort? No; the door of the public-house. She has had the good fortune to steal a sixpence from a sick friend, and wants gin to drive the cold out of her body and out of her heart, to kindle for a time the glow of vitality in her dull brain, to make her feel that at least she is a living thing. The merry bells are ringing out a gay, glad chorus on the cold morning air: He has come, He has come, to succour the poor and the afflicted—not to the righteous, but to call sinners to repentance. The chimes take it up and peal it out joyfully over the corpse of a poor girl, name and address unknown, found lying in the street. *Peace on earth, they cry; good will towards men, they shriek; then solemnly toll, Lord have mercy upon us: Thy will be done.*

It is difficult to approach the subject in a spirit of reverential calm. It is a sickening thought that within a few miles of our holly-decked houses these things are matters of daily occurrence, and enough to dispel bright visions of Santa Claus, and to hang a pall of crape over our children's Christmas-trees: The pretty snow means misery, the hoar frost horror, the north wind death. The mouths of the collection bags will gape, and we shall drop in our sovereigns and think we have done our duty. But not so. Christmas has passed, summer time will come again, and again the bitter winter. The year that has passed and gone will have brought no improvement, but by

adding its increment to the ever-increasing population of London, will only have started another generation on the road of dirt, disease, ignorance, and crime. Is there an earnest, combined, and common-sense attempt to grapple with these social questions? Cannot money contributed for charitable purposes be applied to really practical ones and in the most economical way? Cannot the question of the sanitary and engineering improvements of the houses of our poor be set about systematically and earnestly, even as Mr. Booth systematically and earnestly set about his census-taking experiment, bringing it to a successful practical issue? Do we make sufficient use of our powers and opportunities in the direction of our colonies? If we cannot ladle out the unwilling adult portion of our population from our big cities, something in that way might possibly be done with our boys and girls—our immature manhood and womanhood, with their latent enterprise and potentialities for improvement and energy; the energy and improvement come so often with the opportunity! If you told a man to bucket out water from one end of a tank, and he found it was being replenished as fast as he removed it at the other end, he would be an idiot if he continued his labours; but is not this what we are doing with our tank of London pauperism, by introducing wholesale unskilled foreign labour to compete with that which is indigenous to us?

A London householder can scarcely sit down to breakfast any morning without finding a sheaf of applications in the form of circulars and prospectuses from charitable persons or institutions, awaiting his attention with his tea and toast—promiscuous, all of them promiscuous. Perhaps he gives, perhaps he does not; but is it not time that an attempt be made to apply funds subscribed for charitable uses to practical ends through the machinery of practical people, working systematically, and for a desired and desirable end? It cannot be done by the visitation of the clergy, brotherhoods of the poor, the provision of additional churches, the distribution of charities, nor by lectures to working-men and Sunday-schools.

The poor, the miserable, the vicious do not read their Bibles; they do not attend to the exhortations of their ministers; "religion does not touch them," we are told: it has lost its hold upon the masses. They have ceased to believe that, if they are only righteous, *in the days of famine they shall be satisfied, and that the Lord raiseth up the poor out of the dust and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory.* It is not so much a throne of glory they want as a loaf of bread. There was a time, we are told; too, when the common people heard Him gladly in marked contrast then with the conduct in this respect of the rich and the noble, the ambitious and learned, the Scribes and Pharisees. But now all that is altered. It is the common people that the Gospel does not reach; the "good tidings" bring to them

no "great joy"; the deep sympathy with the lowly wants and unrequited services and sufferings of the poor, which is to be found uttered and unexpressed in every line of the New Testament, does not comfort them—it has all ceased to appeal to the class of all others to whom one would think such appeals would come with irresistible force. The promises that the meek shall inherit the earth fall on dull ears; the solicitude for the weary and those that mourn, soothes not the spirits of those garbed with the garments of poverty; the humble, the meek and lowly, the poor and needy, the fatherless children and widows, seem animated with the spirit of the Levite, who passed by on the other side. On the other hand, the rich, the well dressed, the pampered classes, those who seem to think and live as if life were a perpetual picnic, those to whom the Gospel does not promise good things, those who are warned that they have enjoyed the good things of this life—these go to church and persistently listen, Sunday after Sunday, to denunciations of themselves, and exhortations to be as the Lazaruses, who, having had their evil things in this life, may hope for their inheritance of glorious things in the life to come;—they who are rich have the good seed sown on one day of every week, only to be choked by the growth of the weeds of ephemeral amusements and the thorns of the cares of this world on the other six. Still, they go on; they never seem to tire of listening to the warnings of what shall happen to those who *have ears and hear not, eyes and see not*. It is a remarkable change this, and there must be some explanation for it.

No matter how thoughtless or heartless a man may be, if he be but a little above the brutes that perish as regards his reason, or the devils as regards his affections, he must sometimes have asked himself the question, *Why is this?* though he may never have paused or cared for a reply. Well, why is it? Because among the richer classes there are so many who believe that they believe; many who have a strong spirit of "other-worldliness;" many who are automata and go where others go; some who think it sufficient to give the outward assent of their presence to doctrines, which must, if true, be unpalatable to them; and some who are the true salt that has not lost its savour, the really true-hearted believers in word and deed, who, one may hope, serve to leaven the whole lump and impart that sweet savour of sincerity which rises as incense to the presence of that Spirit, who can only be worshipped in spirit and in truth. But the Gospel has lost its hold upon the poor because it is simply as impossible for an exotic to bloom in a cellar as for any spiritual or other truth to germinate in an unwholesome soil of dirt, wretchedness, want and ignorance.

We make bold to say that, notwithstanding the efforts that many of the clergy are sincerely making, every penny that is being spent in one direction, whilst it is urgently required in another, is a

futile diversion of public charity, and the result is, and must from the nature of the case continue to be, as barren as that of the fig-tree that cumbered the ground.

"But," it may be said, "if you cut down that tree, what have you left to offer in its stead? To destroy is very easy, to create very difficult; destructive criticism is as simple to proffer as cynicism, of which it is often but the expression and the outcome; what have you to propose that is constructive?" The reply is, much—but of that further on. Meanwhile there are a few things to be said in connection with the Church in its relation to the poor. The Church fails, because the simplicity of religion is gone; it is a thing of the past, buried under the ashes of martyrs, over whose shrines Church-houses, cathedrals, palaces and congresses have arisen. Porap takes precedence of purity, cant of charity, the rubric of common sense, and functions of fellow-feeling; the practical preaching of sympathy has given place to dogma, pity to those "phylacteries" Archdeacon Farrar so justly scorns, compassion and its fulfilment to chrysanthemums on the communion-table, and crosses on the collection bags. The poor can understand a religion in which, as in the early Church, the believers had all things in common; but they cannot believe that the Christ of some two thousand years ago, who was the reputed son of Joseph the Carpenter, and preached on the hill-side amid flowers and the standing corn, is the Christ whom the congregations of St. Agnes and St. Andrews assemble once or twice a week to worship in fashionable furs and flounces. They cannot believe, and, in this way, no one will ever make them believe, that the very hairs of their heads are numbered, and that they are dearer to their Father in Heaven than the sparrows, or things would not be as they are. And yet they can, and do believe, in the doctrines of the despised and ridiculed Salvation Army; they can and do listen to its hoarse-voiced Captains; they can and do attend its services, and sing its songs with gladness. Why? The Salvation Army recruits only in back streets, fills its ranks from the poor and sinful only, and offers sympathy and hope to all alike. It "*knoweth the proud afar off; but hath respect unto the lowly*;" it descends to their level, and, consequently, can touch their hearts; it lowers itself to the nethermost strata of intellectual experiences, and so can sound their understandings; it encourages, though it threatens; it is as vulgar as you like; it is insincere if you will; but, at least, it is appreciable; its leaders' words are not hard to understand. But there are many whom religion in any shape or form never reaches, and, apparently, never can reach; they will none of it; and, as Professor Huxley says, the savage heathen is happier than these so-called Christians. If, then, it be true that there is greater misery within the shadow of the dome of St. Paul's—more degradation and wretchedness under

the dome of St. Peter's, where the lineal descendant of Peter sits as the Vicar of God himself to forgive men their sins—than there is in India, the South Sea Islands and Timbuctoo, why send missionaries from London to these places to induce these people to forsake, as it were, the substance for the phantom, the happiness they already have for the chance of a questionable security of happiness which they know nothing at all about? "The known is finite," says Professor Huxley, in another place, "the unknown is infinite; intellectually we stand on an island in the midst of an illimitable ocean of inexplicability. Our business in every generation is to reclaim a little more land, to add something to the extent of the solidity of our possessions." But the clerical Columbus who starts on his mission, faces an infinite ~~possibilities~~, and turns his back upon the finite of certainty, except in so far that the certainty he leaves behind is that of infinite distress. Do his discoveries, if he makes any, add to the solidity of intellectual possession, and if he reclaims any land can he cultivate it? If the ignorance of the savage "suckled in a creed outworn" is bliss compared to what we see in any and every crowded Christian community, why this waste of money to introduce one faith, one baptism, one name, one church, and one creed, when two thousand years have not done it yet at home? Is it true what Dr. Johnson said to Garrick when the latter showed him his palatial residence: "Ah, David, these are the things that make death terrible?" Yes, it is true that death is terrible to the rich, but is shorn of its terrors for those whose experience of life is that of a man who has struggled to overcome the billows of adversity in a sea of bitter waters. Hundreds of thousands of pounds are yearly being poured into the channel of charity at the West-end of London to trickle out through countless little estuaries at the East-end; there to be lost, apparently, like water, poured upon the desert-sand, for "the tide of vice and pauperism seems to roll on with ever muddier waters, as the number of the unemployed becomes more and more unmanageable." De Quincey says, "The stream of London charity is very broad but very deep." The poor man's plummet fails to bottom it; patient merit, when sick and weary, fails to find it; or having found it waits upon its brink like the sick man upon the brink of the pool of Bethesda, unable to reach it, and day after day watches it pass by, unable to dip a hand into it and snatch a drop or two of helpful consolation—still less of continually sustaining benefit, still less of absolute cure for the disease of his distress. Honest industry exhausts itself in trying to find out where work can be procured. Under the idea of Free Trade, pushed to a logical extremity, worthy of a schoolmap and logician, but unworthy of a man of common sense and judgment, unskilled labour has flooded the market to overflowing, and augmented the burden of poverty, which the poor find already too heavy to be borne. Hospitals and charities are multiplied without

end, vainly competing with and starving one another: they are too often the shelters for worthless officials, and money that should go to the labouring poor is dissipated in the bureaux of official machinery. *Divide et impera* is not the best motto for charities, where consolidation and unification mean saving and efficacy. The Post Office Savings' Bank was the very best institution ever set on foot for the poor. It went to the root of things, developed and encouraged frugality, increased the self-respect and the stake in the country and government of any who had a penny in the Post Office, and made him a safer and a better citizen.

Have people, earnest, business-like people, ever set themselves to the task of bottoming, of thinking out things for themselves, in view of seeing whether there is any remedy—that is, with the same earnestness and solicitude of success that a man would bring to bear in procuring his dinner if he were in want of one, or in making for himself or themselves fortune, fame, reputation? Suggestions are not wanting; the magazines and newspapers teem with suggestions, good, bad or indifferent; as the case may be; but who is there to winnow the chaff from the wheat, to sift the practical little out of the impracticable much of all these suggestions, and to discard at once such as on the face of it bears evidence of clap-trap inutility? In the *Standard* of the 15th of October appeared a letter—a good letter—on “the Inner Life of London,” signed Henry C. Burdett, containing many suggestions. “What most of the poor need at present in London,” the writer said, “is not so much alms as a friend.” There never was a truer observation made in point. Where is the minister whose special province it is to cope with the greatest of all social questions—the question of the poor—as great as, if not greater, than the question of Agriculture? To whom can the poor appeal as their friend? Commissions on the Sweating System render their reports, but what is the output? The County Council, the Clergy, the Home Minister, the Mansion House, the Police and innumerable other personages and institutions have a finger in the poor man's pie; but whose pie is it? Are we to go on for ever relying upon “the repetition and reinforcement” of the “old and simple principles” which have hitherto resulted and are still resulting in acknowledged failure? Or, would it not at least be conceivable that, if all the sums subscribed in charity now, together with the poor-rates, were properly consolidated and administered by business men under Government control, who gave as much attention to the subject as they do to any great financial schemes, some real headway might be made against this tide of poverty? It is simply awful to read of the enormous sums left by deceased parvenus, and then to think of the indigence that prevails. Ostentation has supplanted hospitality; the love of display has driven out pleasure; the development and antagonism of classes has destroyed that mutual

sympathy and interfusion of interests which should cement our social system into a compacter and happier whole. There is a responsibility inseparably connected with riches which men must be taught. All wealth, above a certain limit, does not belong to the capitalist who has made it, but to the labour by which he made it; and that truth the richer men in Republican America together with some in this country are beginning to discern for themselves. If we, the enterprising and intelligent, cannot devise some sagacious scheme for relieving the distress of the indigent and ignorant, but are content to rely much longer upon old principles, the Socialists will take the shortest and only cut they know of to the end they have in view, and attempt to solve the difficulty for themselves. There will be no arguing out the principles of political economy with an angry mob of so-called "roughs" with a thorough determination to see "their rights" enforced by laws of their own making, the principal of which will be the great law of Necessity, which is said to recognize no other.

It is, of course, just as difficult to be original in philanthropy as in other things, but, new or not, one would be glad to know that proposals like the following had, at any rate, received full consideration.

Could not an attempt be made to unify relief and charitable distributions, and direct them? If the State is in the hands of the Government of the country in fact and not in mere words, let the Government of the country itself be responsible for the well-being of that State; let it, in other words, appoint one Head, be he a member of the Cabinet, a permanent Under-Secretary, a Minister of the Crown, or what not, and let that head of the Poor Department, the Sociological Section, or the Relief Organization Office (it matters little what name is selected for his bureau) be made directly responsible to Government for the organization in districts and (if necessary) sub-districts of the East-end or the whole of London for purposes of relief, charity, collection and distribution, census-taking, and so forth.

Our land, leasehold, and ground laws undoubtedly require to be thoroughly overhauled and reconsidered, and, if necessary, remodelled. Under the existing condition of things effective sanitary improvements and a diminution of the overcrowding of houses and of human beings in them cannot be accomplished. The poorer classes must continue to occupy their wretched dwellings or submit to be crowded out of London and reside at a distance from their daily occupations and means of livelihood.

Cannot some system, moreover, be adopted by which the poor from crowded cities could be "ladled out," and transported to colonies where they are badly wanted as farm-labourers, domestic servants, &c.? Not the unwilling adult poor without energy or

enterprise, but the young and enterprising healthy poor, who would have no chance in this country if allowed to remain.

To facilitate the means and opportunity of obtaining work, and to prevent in some measure "tramping" in search of it, a large bureau or office might be opened in the heart of London, where information as to capital, labour, and all such subjects could be obtained from and about every part of Great Britain and her colonies: this bureau to be open to all, and managed by Government as Lloyd's Shipping Agency is managed by a company—that is, well managed—and all necessary information given on the payment of small fees, as well as published in the columns of its own print.

Again, why should not the pawnbrokers' shops be turned to account, instead of being allowed to remain as they do a sort of "term of reproach" in polite society? If they were bought outright or taken over by Government and placed under Government superintendence and management, fair prices for pawned articles would be obtained at an easy rate of interest and perfect security for pawnor and pawnee ensured. In a very short space of time the Pawnbroking Office would become as remunerative a business as the Post Office is now. What a boon to the poor! What a ready means for the detection of crime!

The Australian Government a little time ago resisted the immigration of "Chinese cheap labour" into their State. Would it not be possible to institute a system by which no foreign labourer could disembark on these shores unless it could be shown that he was wanted, that he could work, and that he had a reasonable capital to guarantee him against becoming a burden on the rates if he failed at once to get work, or fell ill? Each State should wash its own dirty linen, so to speak, at home; whereas we are at present cleansing the clothes of half Europe, and leaving our own soiled rags to rot.

An account appeared in a daily paper some little time ago of a gentleman who, for a bet, dressed himself in old clothes, and personated a beggar for twelve hours or so, the subject of the bet being the capability or otherwise of obtaining within that space of time the sum of five shillings by fair "beggarly" tricks and artifices. The bet was won with something less than eighteen pence to spare. The tricks and artifices were clever; the earnings were bestowed in charity; the lesson taught by the story is one worth remembering, and its moral is decidedly pointed.

Street-begging should cease. This, it will at once be said, is a monstrous proposition, but probably it is more humane than monstrous.

England is a free country, but some kinds of freedom are as hard to endure as the most tyrannical forms of slavery. Hundreds, nay, perhaps thousands, of little children are sent out into the street in



all weathers to beg, steal, and whine under the pretence of selling matches, apples, or flowers. A crust of bread, perhaps, is given them in the morning to last them through the day, and if they cannot bring home with them a certain sum at night, they are sent to bed with, possibly, a thrashing by way of supper. Is this liberty? Is this civilization? Is this practical protection? If not, let the State stand towards these unfortunate little children in *loca parentis*. If such a system of organization as above suggested were adopted, all such cases could be stopped and inquired into; children, whose parents ill-used them, starved them, or even neglected them, and allowed them to wander about the streets all day and half the night, could be removed from their homes (which to them are homes in nothing but the name), and adopted by the State. The State could educate them, feed them and clothe them; and the repayments of such benefits should be the services of these children, rendered in after life. In this way girls might be made servants to State institutions; boys recruits in the State services; and the sound principle, if a man won't work who can, neither shall he eat, could be enforced. Beggars of this kind excite an impulsive exercise of charity on the part of unreasoning people who give their money freely, and so perpetuate cruelty by making it pay beggars to have or to hire children.

There are numberless other questions which have been and are being treated of elsewhere—a host of other suggestions, which have been brought forward, discussed, taken up hotly, laid aside coolly; but we think enough has been said to indicate the spirit and direction in which efforts could perhaps be made. Five years' honest trial of some of the measures that have been suggested might probably do more to relieve distress, sweeten the breath of society, and bring about the prophecy of no more complaining in our streets, than anything that has yet been attained by efforts of ecclesiastics.

J. C. J.

# THE OLDEN TIME AND THE NEW

## A PLEA FOR PASTIME.

AMONG the many familiar reappearances to which we are accustomed at the Christmas season is the temporary rehabilitation of the tradition of "Merrie England," the Olden Time, the good old days, express it as you will. Like most things, the tradition has had to stand the ordeal of critical inquisitiveness as to its basis in truth, and, as with most things subjected to that process, the response has been more or less tinged with scepticism. Here too, as in other cases, the answer usually owes its tenor to the temper which has stimulated the inquiry. With some, the touchstone is solid bodily comforts; with others it is a comparison of luxuries and conveniences—these are apt to be very sceptical; others, repelled by the stress of modern life, entertain or tantalize themselves, as the case may be, with pleasant pictures of less strenuous days spent in a climate of delightful vagueness. The vagueness of the whole matter is its charm, and we have all no doubt some time or other surrendered ourselves to the shadowy seductiveness. No doubt, too, the regretful allusions, the wistful backward look, were never so much a sighing after things of definite appreciation as a note of discontent with existing conditions, sustained by a more or less shifting belief that life was at some time or other cast on pleasanter lines. And who would care to fix too positively the how and the when; to close and bar the door, by a clenching argument, against all the pleasant speculation and fancy engendered of and enshrined in tradition. The imagination moves the more freely in the regions of indefiniteness. The when is any time beyond our own actual cognizance; and the how may most easily find a sufficient solution in the human habit of dwelling with greatest emphasis on present ills and giving any other time, past or future, the benefit of the perspective. As, to the past, to magnify the illusion, there comes in the aid of the whole painted page of history, with its groupings and its colourings, and its artistic elimination of all the meaner and more sordid shades of life: a stately, ever moving panorama. There are the progresses of princes and potentates, with all the picturesqueness and fulness of colour of their equipment, and the pageants usually attending them. The processions of guilds, civil and

religious—the latter, we may be sure, always being taken with that healthy human enjoyment which is little disturbed by the subtle and fantastic significance that haunts curious minds; the pilgrimages, too, in the immortal picture of them left to us by Chaucer, wherein the Englishman, as was his wont, dominates, and is not dominated by the occasion. The stirring tournaments with all their glittering panoply, the pavilions crowded with bright dames, the gay pendants and the gaudy banners, and all the accompanying clangour and bustle with its suggestion of largeness and vigour. Then there was the occasional large dispense, rude though it might be, of local grandees, always attractive to the hungry and prosaic, and fascinating to the poetic mind, little encumbered with economic considerations or theories of pauperizing influences, and looking at incidents from a distance and down the vista of imagination. The Christmas revels too, boar's head and all, with the frolicsome mummary that helped digestion in the days before Puritanism and dyspepsia had attained their mastery over our moral and physical constitutions. Then throw in the archery, the May-day feasts, with all the pleasing ceremonial of bringing in the Maypole, the crowning with garlands, and the May dances; the Midsummer festivals, and the morris-dances, and the bowling on the green, with a goodly list of Saints' days—to say nothing of Sundays—wherewith to keep the holiday spirit in easy working order. How suggestive it all is of that genial participation which is the very soul of enjoyment. The very dress of the respective periods—reminders of which are continually coming to us from one source and another, as commonly as any perhaps from the stage—with its suggestion of unvaried summer, or at any rate of its remoteness from any affinity with the sloppy associations of the winter of a later civilization, as represented by the muddy stream that laves the banks of Cheap, encourages the inference that England has known a sunnier clime and merrier æsthetic conditions than we now enjoy. All these things may well account for the existence of a Merrie England tradition, and whatever we in our finical moods may say to the contrary, it is well for us that such a tradition has survived the wreck of time, for behind what glamour and illusion, there may be, lies the unsophisticated Adam, the child of Nature—never else but a child—a wilful and stubborn one at times in his relationship to his bountiful parent, with his childlike needs, loth as he may be at times to make the frank acknowledgment. This very child is the last hope of revolt from the sapient tyranny of crystallized systems.

The chronological inquirer desirous of fixing the period deserving of the euphonious encomium "Merrie England," would be puzzled in proportion as he got away from imagination to written record. Perhaps the general inclination would be to fix the days of "Good Queen Bess" as the high pleasure mark of England's life, though

this idea may be after all but a reflection of the political and literary splendour of her reign. We know that the incoming of the Reformation was the outgoing of the general observance of the Saints' days, and that before the close of the Elizabethan epoch the old English Sunday had been changed to Sabbath. These two changes of themselves must have greatly treiched upon the common people's opportunities for pastime, and would seem to mark the beginning of its decadence. In this relation, here is an interesting glimpse at the life of the Tudor period, tempus Henry VIII. It is a "Bill for the maintaining Artillery and the debarring of unlawful Games." A fine all-embracing comprehensiveness, though we shall see it is more logical than it seems. In the preamble, "The bowyers, fletchers, stringers and arrowhead-makers," set out to show that "divers and many subtil inventative and crafty persons" have set up "sundry new and crafty games and plays, as loggetting in the fields, slide thrift, otherwise called shove groat" (skittles and shove ha'penny, tempus Victoria) in London and elsewhere, "keeping houses, plays and alleys for the maintenance thereof, by reason whereof archery is sore decayed and minished," all set out with a view to enactments compelling the use of the longbow and abstaining from the said games. The whole preamble is deliciously curious and worth page upon page of the historian. The "bowyers, fletchers, stringers and arrowhead-makers" were not without adroitness in seizing upon a specious pretext for bolstering up their trade, which was no doubt beginning to feel the effects of the advent of gunpowder.

The language of the preamble would seem to show that even before the time of Elizabeth the people, through being shut out by new conditions of life from a satisfying indulgence in outdoor sports, had begun to seek needful diversion in mean and sordid games, which could be indulged in casually and surreptitiously, even in the dim artificial light of the time. But this is mainly as it affected London, and perhaps only the more ignoble, who ever cling to slothful and spiritless diversion in any age. But here Stowe comes in with a word and enables us to mark with some distinctness the causes at work, and the degree, in which they influenced the change in the conditions of metropolitan life. Writing towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, he says, "What should I speak of the ancient daily exercises in the longbow by citizens of the City now almost clearly left out and forsaken. I overpass it. For by the means of closing in of common grounds our archers, for want of room to shoot abroad, creep into bowling alleys and ordinary dicing-houses near home." Here we have again the "subtil inventative and crafty persons" with their bowling alleys and dicing-houses, and other "subtil and crafty persons" enclosing commons; the lord of the manor no doubt, whom we know so well, with a view to subsequent transactions with the jerry-builder of the time. Then, again, the

pleasant old chronicler, regretting a vanished picture of his early days, of youths and maidens after evening prayers dancing at their masters' doors for garlands, says, "which open pastimes in my youth, being now suppressed, worsen practices within doors are to be feared." Not a doubt about it, for Nature in avoiding a vacuum pays slight regard in any age to either preacher or policeman.

Stowe, be it remembered, was speaking of London, and we can well believe that in places remote from the conditions prevailing there, the genial, open, healthy life he knew in his youth, even in London, was still flowing with a vigorous and full current, and is perhaps well reflected in the eager and undaunted foreign adventure of the time.

Be this as it may, it cannot be gainsaid that by the non-observance of the Saints' days as holidays, and the placing of the Sunday on the footing of the Jewish Sabbath—Hallam fixes the beginning of the latter movement at 1595, eight years before the death of Elizabeth—the working classes were deprived of many of their opportunities for recreation. Here enters upon the scene James I. with his Declaration of Sports, the reading of which from the pulpits he vainly attempted to enforce. Let us see the purport of it. It seems that James coming through Lancashire found his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sundays after evening prayers. This struck him as mischievous for two reasons: the one "The hindering the conversion of many . . . persuading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion" The other: "That this prohibition debarreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for warre when wee or our successours have occasion to use them. And in place thereof sets up filthy tiplings and drunkenness, and breeds number of idle and discontented speeches in their alehouses." For these reasons he desired to enjoin that his faithful subjects should not be debarred on Sundays from pastimes, "such as daucing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmlesse recreations, nor from having of May-games, Whitsun ales and morris-dances, and the setting up of Maypoles, and other sports therewith used so as the same be had in due and convenient time without impediment or neglect of divine service. And that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating it according to the old custom." Yet he draws a line. "But withall we doe account still as prohibited all unlawfull games to bee used upon Sundayes onely as beare and bull-baitings, interludes, and at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling." Why "bowling" should have been prohibited James in his most exalted wisdom only knows. It has been alleged by some that this Declaration was merely an attempt of James's High Church advisers to "get at" their Puritan brethren. Very likely. But for all that it is very like James in its combination of shrewdness of matter and

—may we say it?—pigheadedness of conduct, in endeavouring to enforce the reading of it from the pulpits. This was the beginning of the great estrangement that was to follow, between piety and pastime. The Declaration has one redeeming aspect, which can scarcely be said of anything else pertaining to the Stuarts. That a Scotchman, and such a Scotchman as James, should on any ground, politic or sincere, have urged the practice of sports and pastimes on Sundays, opens up a vista of latent possibilities that should be a delight and an inspiration to the most advanced member of the Sunday League.

The incidents of the struggle between Priest and Puritan need no recital. Pastimes went by the board. Pleasure is sin. Such was the dark decree that went out over England. Then followed the reaction under the Restoration, vicious in the extreme, as violent reactions always are, with the result that pleasure was handicapped with a stigma that had no regard to kind or character. Doctrine and habit fostered and reacted upon each other, to the utter confusion of English social life, the threads of which we are only now slowly recovering from the entanglement into which they were thrown. For after all there has been but a period of entanglement, with of course consequent confusion; but nothing has been killed. The playful side of English character has never yet wholly recovered from the influence, on the one hand, of the withering austerity of Puritan ethics, in their ultra-development under the misguidance of the purblind obstinacy of the Stuarts, and, on the other hand, of the brazen profligacy of Carolus Secundus. In morals and politics we still have with us humiliating mementoes of these two influences; but their authors are dead, the relicts are moribund. It may, indeed, be said that we have emerged from the bestiality and gloom that followed upon the orgies of Charles the Second's time—and which may be taken as the characteristic of the Hanoverian period in its idle moments—a gloom in which not one class alone has been involved, and have entered upon what we may hope will prove to be the beginning of an English period. We are breaking away from the sordidness and unnatural strenuousness which regards life as a theatre only of unresting, gripping labour to narrow and mean ends, and are beginning to acknowledge that civilization is not—near as may be the approach—quite synonymous with machine. Other times other manners. We no longer have archery butts in Finsbury Fields, or Maypoles in St. Mary Axe. Not yet awhile will the judges and benchers refresh their law-harried minds by leading the revels in their Inns with carol and song and dance. But the impulse from which these things sprung are ever with us; and, indeed, lately the healthy gregarious habit, the eager instinct of participation, which were the essential elements of the old English playful life, have shown signs of a very vigorous vitality.

And here, perhaps, we should do well to have a little candour. If we have done with ultra-puritanical precept and example in literature—biblical or secular—in art and in modes of life, may we not carry our courage a little further into the regions of play, and frankly recognize the needs of the simpler grades of human nature in the varying circumstances of a many-sided civilization? In a roomy world like ours, with its illimitable altitude of space, superior minds will always be able to secure such degree of lofty isolation as befits their several idiosyncrasies; but schemes of life for the general must ever be cast on the scale of ordinary human attainment. Why should any section of society be condemned to a penal vacuity because its members have not, in the gross, mastered the goose-step towards the ideal. The very penalty is of itself an effective bar to any such mastery. An awakened sympathy is beginning to secure acceptance of this view; indeed it has secured an acknowledgment—more tacit, perhaps, than frank—in practice. Here is an illustration. In a feverish access of respectability—most delusive and mischievous of impulses—society set about getting rid of the old fairs, which was about the last effort of the iconoclast period in diversions before the constructive period had got well into swing. There was certainly a plentiful lack of sweetness and light about them, if we leave out the gingerbread and the naphtha lamps; but it may well be doubted if the grossness they were accused of fostering ever touched so low as that occasionally disclosed in such a well-regulated family as London society. The music was not up to the standard of a symphony concert; Richardson's show was not the Lyceum Theatre; the ladies selling and the victims buying at the stalls were not so "chic" and "nice" as their types at a fashionable bazaar; but the whole provision was on the level of the class who found diversion there, and who had been sedulously excluded from any chance of knowing anything better. But they were vulgar; they were not respectable; and they were damned. Peace be to their ashes, we were going to say; but that would be premature, for what do we see? In the very sudden and complete appropriation by all classes in all parts of the country of the benefits of the Bank Holidays—our modern Saints' days—there was nothing for it, in the case of the very poor, who had neither the means nor the training for anything else, but to seize upon the scattered *débris* of the old fairs, and constitute a rallying-point; and much of the old familiar material and characteristic *personnel* have thus by a change of dates and places secured a new lease. Now here is a bit of unquestioned experience; let us bear it in mind. A shrewd people entering on the task of governing themselves will, perhaps, show more wisdom in catering for their instincts than was exhibited by the so-called governing classes in their day. There is no thought of pleading here for the restoration of the old fairs; far from it; that would be

trying to put the clock back with a vengeance, but the illustration will serve to show that a merely destructive respectability is not always an infallible guide.

Should a stealthy movement of, self-consciousness lead us momentarily to suppose that we have grown quite out of the old simple impulses, a very cursory glance at our commonest experiences will convince us that any such notion is an unconscious tribute to our simplicity.

To begin with the gregarious or social instinct, the simplest of our nature, next to the instinct of self-preservation, and indeed the antipode of this latter; for, to be very modern in our expression, as the one is the beginning and base of egoism, so is the other the beginning and base of its opposite pole, altruism. How many go to church and stolidly sustain prolonged ennui for the sake of appearing among their "set," even at the risk of being nearly overborne by "outsiders." The same with the "Parade" and the "Promenade." What are they but our simple friend in a new dress. It is the gregarious instinct pure and simple, or, to be up to date, we should perhaps call it the gregario-hygienic instinct. High or low, we cannot get away from it.

Then, again, with that rallying-point of hostile forces, the Lord Mayor's Show. Denounced without stint year by year, it is regularly "patronized" by increasing crowds. The City rings with the music and the laughter of the fair visitors till bills of lading, bills of cost, bills payable and bills receivable, are ready to dance again, while the manipulators-in-chief of these prosaic but important accessories curse with more or less insincerity, and either give themselves up to the torment of the moment, with perhaps the alleviation of a champagne lunch, or snatch a day with the grayling, or among the turnips. As to the crowd, it is phenomenal in its numbers, its good temper, and its capacity for behaving itself, so long as obtrusive officiousness stays at home. Of course, the advocates of everlasting nose against eternal grindstone are disgusted; the superior people have their day with their "little things please little minds;" "the vast concerns of the greatest city on earth," &c., are temporarily disturbed, though less unpleasantly than by a fog or a snowstorm, and from which it seems soon to recover, and, weather favouring, there is at the end of the day a consensus of satisfaction at the break in the daily monotony. The discordant cries are as much the voices of discordant policies as a deliberate verdict on the "to be or not to be" of the ceremonial, and the policies once squared, there might be more harmony as to its retention or discontinuance. Inevincible opinion, however, will settle the question for us. If the verdict is adverse, one cannot help thinking that in these days of compensations, a claim would lie on behalf of the public for disturbance of enjoyment. It is worthy of remark, that conduct on this



day is less frenetic than that exhibited under the same simple impulse by some of its hostile critics at levées and drawing-rooms.

November of all months of the year is rich in evidence of a need of this kind seeking satisfaction. There is something almost pathetic in the eagerness and lightness of heart with which crowds pour into the streets in the cheerless evenings to gaze upon the bedraggled, long-trailing, melancholy-looking and ineffective string of riff-raff called Carnivals, those latter day inspirations of gin and beer. Cannot our antiquarians and archæologists come to the rescue and help to build up something worthy; if it were only by the dissemination in a popular way of the ideas of more picturesque generations? Invention might revive; at any rate, we might get at something more inviting for local public spirit to catch on to.

It may seem somewhat bizarre, and may perhaps be somewhat risky—so much does prejudice, whether fashionable or independent, deflect the lines of vision—to refer for any purpose of argument or illustration to that very remarkable development of our time, the Salvation Army. The idea, as it presents itself to the ordinary observer, of, so to speak, drumming folk into the kingdom of heaven, is no doubt very grotesque; indeed to the flippant, or to the fanatical devotee of conventionality, their whole proceedings bristle with opportunity for witticism. Yet, processioning with music—rough or refined—in association with religion, is no novelty in the world's history, and reflecting observers must admit that whatever the Army may have or may not have done, it has provided its soldiers with something very like an antidote to the depressing influences of their native surroundings. It would seem, therefore, to be far better than deriding them to take a leaf out of their book, and apply their methods under less hysterical conditions. This reminds us that underlying the whole question of pastimes and diversions, we shall perhaps find the alternatives of Hygeia or Hysteria. The emotional offerings that go not to the one goddess will, in one way or another, in varying degree find their way to the other. Even parents with children of high vitality find that the minimum of inharmonious noise is best secured by providing them with something engrossing to do.

Then again, as an instance of the tenacity of primitive methods,\* and also as an illustration of the interdependency of classes, take smoking-concerts, which have become so popular of late. The initial advance was a bold appropriation of the idea in almost its pristine simplicity of the pothouse "free and easy." There was simply a transference to club-houses and hotel rooms, with a slight upward movement in the social scale of drinks. Beer, and soda and brandy, and occasional cigars, broke in upon the seemingly grim monotony of "beer and bacca." Since the beginning of the movement "talent" has been occasionally introduced, and gradually the ladies are getting a footing under compromise with the smokers.

Beyond these limits the idea has found its way into even loftier regions where it flourishes amidst dainty æsthetic surroundings, and is consecrated to the highest respectability by libations of champagne in its various compounds. Now, it is not in the singing, it is not in the drink that the attraction lies; these things can be obtained in equal or better quality under any number of other conditions. It is in the indulgence of the primitive, healthy, gregarious instinct on easy-going terms. These concerts afford an escape from the restraint of the full dress entertainment, and from the boredom engendered of lack of variety. They also afford an opening in a degree for the instinct of participation. There is no pretence to "high art" or to "high art criticism." Weak items of the programme escape in smoke and chaff; "chumminess" is fostered and furthered, and it is to be hoped the genial freedom of the entertainment will not be sacrificed to the talent, the ladies, or the æsthetic surroundings. All that is required is to keep them from getting stale by the infusion of a stream of variety. They may play a very good part in becoming the outlet for the musical knowledge and taste of which there is plenty among the members of the clubs by whom they are promoted. They may lead to the revival of the old glee and part song which are quite in the spirit of the frequenters, and may assist at the death of much of the mawkish sentimentality that has for so long preyed upon our nerves and patience.

Our latter day Exhibitions, with their evening fêtes, are another notable indication of the popular bent. Here we have music, light, air and elbow-room blended with a touch of fancy; with the particular exhibition for the elevators (moral, not Chicago), instructors and advertisers to swear by. Nothing has been devised better fitted for these democratic days, when opportunities are much needed, of assembling all classes under their common human impulses. Moreover, they are natural and informal schools of manners, the schools where lessons are most easily learnt. But then they are also "undertakings" in a financial sense, and have to be careful to avoid incurring the lukewarmness of changing fashion; hence, they are only occasional, and share too, with many other ameliorating influences of the time, the disadvantage of being beyond the reach of the very poor whose need is greatest. Here we are thrown back again upon something in the streets, or at any rate nearer home.

It is very doubtful whether we make the best use of the occasions still left in the Calendar. The Harvest Festivals, for instance. Why should they be only allied to the constrained and conventional demeanour of a Sabbatarian Sunday. Such occasions lack that character of generality and easy personal commingling which is incident to secular events. But even on their present lines, how far short do they fall of the opportunity! What a joyous and impressive Sermon of Song could be ingrafted on the

æsthetic effort for which they are now the occasion; the clergy, too, might appropriately lay aside their pedagogic character and forego the penitential and deadening sermon, which comes like a cramp in the wings of the soul just as it has started on its upward flight. But alas! how errant is imagination! What affinity is there between a modest conception even of what a Harvest Festival might be, and the rigid lines of frigid respectability usually participating in them. Yet may we hope.

Much the same things may be said of Christmas. This is still our fullest-hearted festival, notwithstanding the half-heartedness and perfunctoriness that cling about it. Many solid comforts are dispensed in a prosaic utilitarian fashion, and the entertainment caterers have a good time. But there is too little scope in our methods for an exhilarating exercise of the instinct of participation. We have got ashamed of the mummery of the olden time, although the advent of private theatricals is proof that the mimic instinct is entering on a new life. Perhaps we may yet see engrafted on the Christmas-tree, or otherwise introduced into the festivities, some æsthetic endeavour, public and private, enriched with ideas evolved or borrowed from the old masques, and other graceful developments of pastime. The culture of the beautiful, the graceful, and the quaint, needs some such large exercise to prevent it running into the vagaries of feebleness and fastidiousness to which it is prone, like other things too much inbred. But all our holidays, the result no doubt of the conditions under which we live and work, are too preoccupied with the over-sedulous pursuit of ozone, and we are not always mindful that a pound of cheerfulness is worth at least a pound of ozone, or that, like some other things, they go very well if mixed.

Now, the furthering of these ends is not an imperial question, nor a task for those whose towering consciousness needs empires for playthings; it is a work essentially for localities and for those genial helpful souls who are free from sloth, and have the faith which is the appanage of a healthy vitality; whose culture is rich enough to yield ideas, but not so oppressively exuberant as to smother or distort their faculties, and who would fain hold their light to their less helpful neighbours. More particularly are such good offices needed in the country districts, where there is such a lack of movement. Very pitiable sometimes are the attempts at diversion by the frolicsome spirits of our rural communities at holiday times. Equipped with a tambourine, perhaps "bones," and a concertina, and bedecked and garlanded in a rough, uncouth way, they rove about the village, a very sorry burlesque of mirth, till, finding they inspire no exhilarating response, they dribble away to the tap-room, and the feeble flicker is extinguished with a splutter in indifferent beer. No one need quarrel with the beer if the drinkers like it and take it in moderation, or with the music, or the garlands, or the capering; it is the miserable

insufficiency of the thing to afford much needed entertainment to either actors or onlookers.

It may be that when our County Councils and our District or Parish Councils have got established and well into movement, and have become firmly settled in the minds of the constituents as intelligent arrangements for giving form and life to accepted ideas for the behoof of the community, the newly evolved spirit of co-operation may work out in efforts tending to brighten and invigorate life. Much good will be done by institutions like the People's Palaces, especially when, as gymnasia or recreation-rooms, they are sprinkled more thickly over the country. We shall, however, have to wait some time for this.

But after all it is perhaps to sports that we may best look, to win back the old cheerfulness that beams out so bright and courageous in our literature previous to the passionate and self-conscious period, and before poets discovered the trick of wailing in sable or sage green ; or if the manifold concerns of modern life altogether preclude the old spontaneity, then such sober mitigation of sadness as we can best evolve.

The revival of sports, the thoroughness of spirit with which they are practised, and the more cheerful life which so constantly attends them, are distinguishing features of the time. For many fortunate ones they have already made the tradition of the good old days a shadow as pale as a morning moon. The mere enumeration of them sounds like a laughing to scorn of any idea of Britons being a decaying race. There is yachting, that bold and and worthy pastime of a maritime people, with its gentle sister, river boating ; full of colour, animation, and freedom, with its labour that is light through love ; with room for gallantry without effeminacy ; indulgence labour earned without debauch, and best of all under the open firmament and midst fairest of scenes : cricket with its marvellous development of grace and skill : tennis (of the lawn) that has already given to many a fresh face to life. Cycling too, which as practised by some of its votaries is a veritable link between the old measured life and the modern turmoil ; with the pleasant social ride to pleasant old world places. the easy lounging stroll with the intimate and composing "smoke," rounding off with a song and a drink at the hostelry, then home in the dark or the gloaming. Football, that has travelled far since the days of the rough-and-tumble hilarity of the entire village populations in contention, a very animated piece of barbarism, but shocking to the modern scientist of sport. Add to these lacrosse, golf, hockey, running, wrestling, swimming, with bowls, skittles, and quoits, that have yet some lively days before them, and what an animated picture it is of vigorous outlet for forces, which if pent up and confined would mean "fits," sufficiently chronic and violent, to shred the last tatter of respectability in any virile community. Yet we have not

even mentioned the Volunteer movement, though it is only a pastime in the sense in which Englishmen take change of work for play. Here, at any rate, among the long-range men, would the longbow men of the olden time feel they had not lived in vain. Apart from their serious character many enlivening episodes do they give us with their parades and marches and reviews. In our Spartan-like moods we are wont to be scornful, with more or less insincerity, at the intrusion of the holiday element into the rifle meetings. But the intrusion was more persistent and intimate in the days of the longbow, for the old "shooting meadows," now given over to sheep and jerry building, were within easier reach of the gossips than the rifle butts, where the real training and discipline goes on; and yet English archery seemed not a whit the worse.

It will, perhaps, be urged that all this only yields a crop of more or less vigorous barbarians, and it may be attempted to sustain the contention by reference to individual instances in coteries, or to particular coteries. Of course there are gradations in the school of sport, as in the schools of intellectual culture. But the most untamed are brought by its attraction into association with those of the higher forms, and are thus footing the bridge from vacuity, or something worse, to improvement. Culture may not have made such an advance among the trading and labouring classes as have sports; but conduct in the same ranks has improved by strides. Our youth of the late teens and early twenties of all classes have been much less turbulent since their exuberant vitality has found an outlet in sports. A modern "rough" on the rampage is not a lovely sight, nor a sweet experience; but he, poor fellow, is only obeying a law of his existence, and letting off steam. Had his energy been judiciously tapped and directed into soberer channels instead of being pent up till it fretted into an almost lunatic rage, he would be less of an incubus to society than he is. To provide channelling for strong currents is far better than grumbling at an occasional overflow.

There is wanting, even now, a due appreciation of the value of pastimes as auxiliaries of the schoolmaster among those populations most remote from education influences. With these the work of instruction is always of a very uphill character, it is as if the long untended minds needed stirring and vivifying by rougher and external methods before they become fruitfully susceptible to the finer processes of teaching. Kindergarten and drill are in the right direction, but they are of the nature of tasks. Something more spontaneous is needed. Throw open the play-grounds at every available opportunity—ay, and let them be well lighted in the winter months. There should be ample provision for games; the tackle is inexpensive, and the supply of this apparatus and such organization as is needful for administering it slight a matter,

affords a good opening for missionary effort of a most healthful kind. Schoolmasters bear willing testimony to the value of such aids in their direct influence on the young minds. Further than this, they would be influences on the spot to compete with the gutter. The children are too often prematurely thrown into contact with the miscellaneous adult influences of the streets, and the precocity which is the result is altogether antipathetic to school influences; indeed, there is often a mental hardening which is against all receptiveness to the early teaching processes.

Moreover, the play-ground is the school of action; to graduate in this school is surely, for a people of action, something like a necessity, in view of maintaining amidst the strenuousness of life that equilibrium of character which should be one of the best results of civilization. The exercise of sports creates, so to speak, the lymph which is the natural corrective of the evil germs engendered by the sedentary influences of a complex and crowded society. Migration and omigration are admittedly among our first necessities, and nowhere in our educational system can the spirit that keeps these two movements in healthy activity be so well nourished as by outdoor sports and their associations.

If this should sound somewhat sententious, be it remarked that pastime is now on its dignity and yields to none of its psychical friends and relations in respectability and consideration. It will have its say in the alleviation of some of the chronic troubles of modern society. That one, for instance, of the gravitation townwards of the country population. What with their occasional visits—now so much stimulated—to the large towns, with their more active and varied life; what with the inrush of townsmen to the country in all the various and alluring garb of pleasure, together with the echoes of this life in the press, there is an increasing unsettlement of mind and discontent with their dull surroundings. In these circumstances it will be found that board and lodging is not the whole solution. Then, again, we are now all for links and steps in our schemes of improvement, and to give this spirit a proper completeness of working, the lowest rungs of all our ascending ladders should be placed well down in the social scale—the nearer to Hades the better. The millennium will have to be climbed to—it will not be reached by flying; and if we are to “arrive” in anything like compact formation, an eye must be kept on the rearward men. Let us keep in mind too old Stowe’s regretful remark, “which open pastimes being now suppressed, worsen practices within doors are to be feared.”

JAMES HARRIS.

## THE IRISH-AMERICANS : THEIR POSITION AND INFLUENCE.

CONSIDERING that now relations, political, commercial, and social, are being rapidly developed between America and England, that friendly understandings are being consolidated between the two peoples—not long ago divided by clannish prejudices and mutual misunderstandings, and separated by those jealousies which must of necessity arise between two great commercial Powers, of which the one is too proud to endure an equal and the other too haughty to brook a superior—it has often been a matter of surprise to us that the people of England know so little, or, what is the same thing, care so little, about a factor in American life, which, though they may affect to treat it with contempt, is a mighty and potent factor, in the social and political system of the United States, a factor which is actually moulded into American life, and a factor which has exercised, and can exercise, a powerful influence on the relations which subsist and may spring up between Great Britain and the United States. We refer to that large portion of the American population which is known by the name of Irish-American. Much has been heard about this for many years past, in connection with the rapid rise and progress of the Land League and of the National League, with the vast sums of money forwarded from America for the promotion of the objects of these associations, and for the attainment of their ultimate aims; and partly and indirectly in connection with the Cronin trial. From these and similar indications the people of England may learn that in the political life of America there is a vast substratum of Irish sentiment and Irish opinion, and that these must operate in a powerful and significant manner on the current political affairs of America. Yet it is only dimly and through the small end of the telescope that the influential part played by Irish-Americans is perceived; often it is perceived through the mist of political prejudices and race hatred. To form a more correct idea of this influence a wider, nobler, and clearer view must be taken; we must look beyond the mere outlines of the case, we must probe deeper into, and look farther through, the doubts and confusion that obscure this question; for it is only by minds void of preconceptions, and hearts disengaged of prejudices, that the question can be fully and properly understood.

Prejudices are, we admit, hard to get rid of. They are especially hard in the case of the peoples of England and Ireland. They have been fostered and cherished and stimulated by bitter animosities and fierce sectarian and race feuds, which have been the growth of several centuries of cruel oppression and heartless domination on the one side; and, on the other, by the insults offered to the haughty spirits of a vanquished but high-souled people. In war or peace the motto of the barbarian of old—*ex victis*—has ever been held true. The oppression practised by the conquerors when they had once attained the mastery over their less powerful neighbours, together with those insults to which, during centuries, they have been compelled to submit—insults to their national pride, to their national or adopted religion, and to those innate feelings which urge men to act bravely, to live nobly, to love liberty and to die fearlessly, originated hates and feuds which are now almost forgotten by Englishmen, and which are becoming rapidly effaced from the recollection of Irishmen.

Yet it is these same hates, these same bitter remembrances of the past, which form so important an element in the character of the American-Gael, and which cause him to be an object of great importance to America, and of grave concern to Britain. The memory, and above all the memory of wrongs inflicted, and of injuries unrevenged, is very deep and abiding in all peoples of Gaelic origin, and, especially, in those portions of the race which have settled in these islands. An unprovoked insult, an uncalled-for affront, cuts them to the very heart. The Saxon would, perhaps, resent such an injury, but he would do so with care, with deliberation, with force; perhaps, he would let it pass out of his mind for ever, scorning to return an insult which might have been offered in a moment of passion, with no premeditation, no latent design of doing wrong. The Celt is not endowed with a temper so placid. His revenge, if the means of gratifying it were at hand, would be short and sharp. He would, with all the energy of his fiery and impressionable nature, return blow for blow, wrong for wrong, insult for insult. If the means for satiating his passion were not at hand, he would treasure in his mind the wrong done him, he would brood over it, and even when he himself could not have recourse to the wild justice of despair, he has often been heard, as occurred in many cases during the fearful famine of 1847, to assert his resolve to demand vengeance on his foe before the judgment-seat of God. These are characteristics of the race, and, strange to say, they do not pass away from the breast of the Irish when they settle in strange lands, and are brought into contact with other peoples. They seem to become stronger and fiercer when the Celt is removed from his natal land. And from the moment the Irish hills pass from his view till the last moment of his existence, they grow gradually in intensity, and assume more defined forms. These sentiments of hatred towards his foe—and Britain he imagines



has been the inveterate foe of his country, his religion, and of himself—are transported beyond the sea, they are carried into the far West. There they are being nursed, and fostered, and treasured. When the living man expires, even then they do not expire with him. They are handed on from father to son; from son to grandson. Hence it is that to-day we find in the Irish-American feelings which cannot be found in any other people on the globe; feelings which do not exist in the German-American, in the Polish-American, even, if we may so put it, in the British-American. We find the Irish-American citizen to be a man who loves far dearer the land of his ancestors and his people—the land which perhaps he has never seen, and never may see, and of which he has heard only by tales told at the hearth, or read of in historical works—than the land of his adoption. To Ireland—to promote her interests, to further her welfare; to guard her honour—he devotes all the energy of his mind; he sacrifices all that he can afford. He thinks no task too difficult, no effort too expensive, no toil too laborious, provided that he can advance her happiness, or relieve her sufferings. In the words of the child, who in the massacre of Glencoe appealed to Glenlyon to spare his life, for Ireland “he would do anything, he would go anywhere.” And so he has done. Now these sentiments are no mere passing whims and transient fantasies which last for a time; when some story of heartless evictions is wafted across the Atlantic, when by some reports he imagines that England is growing more callous to the calls of Ireland, more deaf to her appeals. It is, as we have before mentioned, with him a matter of profound conviction, a feeling that is deeply fixed in his inmost soul, an abiding powerful opinion. Of this fact account must be taken by England in her future relations with the United States, if she be not blind to her own interests to the interests of her young commercial rival, and to the prosperity of both. Importance must also be attached to the vast number of persons of Irish blood or of Irish extraction who reside in the United States. On this point the ignorance evinced by the average Englishman is really astonishing. In his opinion, the Irish in America are an inconsiderable fraction of the great population of the States. He has heard of the Clan-na-Gael Society, of the Dynamitards, perhaps indirectly of the Irish National League in the States. He rails at these Irish-Americans, smiles confidently at their weakness, their insignificance. He indulges in a good-natured laugh at their attempts, as he thinks to look important. “Bah!” he says to himself, “these people are to be pitied rather than to be troubled with concern or care; they number but a handful; of what they have none the social status they are not there. England never has feared, never will fear, these fellows.” Now, in reality, England has every reason to be not only not to fear, but to view with anxiety this class of American

citizens. They are not few in number, nor is their wealth little, nor their social standing low.

They are already counted by millions, they are scattered in large numbers in every State, from Boston to San Francisco, from Washington to New Orleans. They have settled in immense numbers along the base of the Alleghany Mountains, by the shores of the lakes, and in the gold-fields of the far West. In many States, the highest, the most important, the most coveted positions are in the hands of Irishmen. Members of Congress, senators, the great executive functionaries, the police, the bar, the bench, are all largely recruited from the ranks of the Celt. In the Catholic Church, which, as Macaulay observed, has been more than recompensed in the New World for what she has lost in the Old, which in point of numbers is the National Church of the States, and which holds out every promise of becoming in every point the National Church of the future, the loftiest and most sacred functions are filled by ecclesiastics of Irish extraction, or of Irish birth. In a word, the Catholic Church in the States has been founded, fostered, formed, for a magnificent future by Irish exiles. We may safely surmise that at present there are in the States from 50 to 60 millions of people; we may likewise venture to state that of these from 12 to 13 millions are, probably, of Irish blood or of Irish birth. Among every half-dozen Yankees there is at least one bound by some ties to Ireland. And now comes the question, is the Republic in any way deeply indebted to these Irish citizens? Have they, with their large numbers, high social standing, great places of trust, contributed aught to her glory or added aught to her commercial greatness, refined her social taste, or assisted in laying the foundations of the real happiness of her people, the real security of her laws, the influence of her civic virtues, which more than anything else give power and permanency to a nascent and mighty nation? The answer is unquestionably affirmative. We have only to look back on the past, and to scan the present, state of American affairs to feel certain of this.

In the momentous struggle of the American colonies in the last century for their freedom, Englishmen are now apt to boast that the standard of rebellion was raised by Englishmen, by them carried aloft in good and bad fortune through the war, and by them finally hoisted in triumph. Do these boasts stand the test of strict investigation? We think not; we think they are not justified by facts. Every earnest student of the history of that struggle—so fraught with interest to the future progress of man—knows well that, as the Tories themselves, in an address presented to King George, said, that fully as many Englishmen had joined the Royal troops as had joined the armies of the insurgents, and we are assured by an eminent authority that at least 25,000 British-Americans fought against

American independence. These are telling facts. They are rendered more telling by the circumstance that on the march of the English forces out of Boston, whence they were forced by Washington, they were accompanied by 1100 Tory traders of New York and Boston. What part did the Celt take in the struggle? The stream of emigration from Ireland had not then set in fully. Yet even at that period there were emigrations. The Presbyterian farmers of the north of Ireland had left the country in large numbers, expecting from the Government no relief from the exactions of absentee landlords. They had set out in still larger numbers after the suppression of the Hearts of Steel. They were largely followed by the Catholic farmers of the South. Now Froude—no friend of Ireland—says that among the most forward in council, the most outspoken in Congress, the most intrepid on the field were the Irish. A Royal general, Montgomery, being questioned as to the strength of the Americans, said that fully one-half of the rebel forces were Irish. So speaks Ramsay in his *History of the Revolution*. In American military annals no names are more honoured than those of the Butlers, Merylans, Sullivans, Warnes—all unmistakably pointing to their origin. In the part of the temple of fame set apart for the honour of the departed heroes of the sea, no niche would occupy a higher place than that of Sancy, old Jack Barry, and later on than that of the fearless Parnell. Nay, strangely enough, fate willed that the Irish, the sons and grandsons of those who left Ireland after the siege of Limerick, and of the "wild geese" of Kerry and Clare, under the banners of France, should take part in the struggle in connection with which the name of Count Dillon will long be remembered. Thus we can see the great part played by the Celt in the first great American conflict; we can see him in every part of the struggle, in the thickest of the fiery conflict, in the Senate, in the Council, at the Press, all to a man everywhere "hurling defiance to the foe." We have often thought that through Ireland, and Ireland solely, was America lost to England. So in every national struggle, in every national revolution, Irishmen have come to the front. Even in the last great war between North and South—a war of which the full magnitude can only be appreciated by future generations—was there a more cautious commander, a more intrepid soldier, one more loved by his friends or respected by his foes, than General Phil Sheridan? In fact, in every page of the history of the United States, from its inception to the present moment, the efforts of the words and deeds of Irishmen are legible. We can thus see how Ireland has contributed her share in building up and supporting a free American constitution, what sacrifices she has made, what blood she has shed. Who then can wonder at the vast influence exerted by the Irish-Americans on American politics, when we consider their numbers, when we reflect on their glorious record? One point we would specially

allude to. The Irish in America are a homogeneous people. They have never lost the distinctive marks of their separate existence as a nation. Though surrounded by various peoples, various creeds, and employing various modes of life, the Irishman has still managed to remind himself, and to remind others, to what country he belongs. Inter-marriage has not, to any appreciable extent, disturbed this state of affairs. If an Irishman marry an Englishwoman he still remains Irish to the core. If an Irishwoman choose an Englishman for husband, the odds are ten to one but that she will rear up her children in her own national religion, and inspire them with her national ideas. She will speak to them of the triumph of Clontarf, and Malachy's collar of gold, lull them to sleep by some wild mournful chant of the woes inflicted on the Gael by the Saxon, of the treason of Mac Murrrough, of the massacre of Mullagmast, and of the violated treaty-stone of Limerick. Nay, in many English homes in the States, in which an Irishwoman is the mother, may be seen little portraits of Molyneux, and Grattan, and O'Connell, and perhaps there may be read some lines commemorating the chivalry and heroism and purity of soul of Emmet, of his enterprise, and of its results.

One other feature—a feature which springs from their existence as children of one common motherland, and as members of one common creed—may be noticed. They are to an extraordinary degree liberal, generous, nay, even munificent. In all their trials and troubles, especially in those in which any of their number suffer for the sake of their common cause, their open-handed and open-hearted munificence knows no bounds. Their sympathy is heartfelt, and their aid liberal to an extreme. No people on the globe afford a finer example of the practice of pure, unselfish generosity than they: no people exist who esteem less money for its own sake than they. We all remember the plentiful provision that was made for the expenses incurred in the defence of O'Donnell, the alleged murderer of Carey, the keen desire that was evinced for a fair trial. The fact of the treasures which reached the Irish National League from American sources is now a matter of history. Year after year, in good report and in bad, in seasons as dark and perilous as any in the nation's history, the National League in Ireland was maintained and encouraged, and has, indeed, survived by reason of the funds forwarded from America—funds which came from every class, from the Irish navy and from the Irish banker. In this profuse generosity, a generosity which in America is evidenced by the numberless magnificent churches and splendid edifices erected over the entire land, the Irish-Americans owe much of their social influence and much of their influence as a body politic. Such records, such facts, such traits, contribute to elevate the Irish character in the eyes of the

people of the Republic, cause the Irish to be regarded with feelings of admiration and respect, and cause their mother country to be looked at with eyes of kindly sympathy. These facts also show that the Irish form an essential portion of the American population, an essential element of American society; that they owe principally to their own exertions that freedom which they thought denied to them in their native land; that the United States owes much to them, and that she is proud of them. Then we have to bear in mind the Irish influence in America has assumed its great power in an incredibly short period: the Irish emigration practically began not more than seventy years ago; from that period it went on steadily, it received a great impulse by the frightful plague in the year 1832; in or about the dread year of the famine of 1847, one-fifth of the entire population fled from this country, and, surely and steadily, the stream of emigration has flowed on. In this short period the progress of the Irish-American has been really marvellous. The influence exerted by the Celtic people on the West, which has developed so quickly and in such a wonderful way, can scarcely be over-estimated. The commerce, the manufactures, the social and political importance of the Republic, are all progressing by leaps and bounds. Her position is fully admitted by every Power. Her opinion can no longer be disregarded. How much this opinion will be valued in the course of a few years, say, in a quarter of a century or even less, no one can say. The United States is one of the few Powers that are steadily and rapidly progressing on the highway of commercial prosperity and social advancement. She holds out every promise of future expansion and greatness, still greater than those of her short past. At present the arbitress, if she so willed it, of the nations and Powers of the New World, she may in time become the arbitress of the fate of the Powers of the Old World. Just now it seems to us that three nations and three only, have reached the zenith of their power and glory—Britain, Russia, the United States. Some omit the two former from the list, and consider the States alone as the only Power that has not attained the full measure of its strength, and that other nations have passed their zenith, or are doing so. Yet England, the parent of free peoples, can rejoice, has every cause for rejoicing, in the rapid rise of the Western Republic, her eldest child, in a progress than which none more rapid or more splendid has been witnessed since the dawn of history, which will ensure the continuance and future extension of English power, directed for the attainment of an increasing measure, of human happiness, for the cultivation of these arts, pursuits, and industries which promote the welfare of all, and for the further diffusion of civilization and freedom, with their attendant blessings, into every clime. To attain this noble and surely practicable object, much will be done if the English more

fully recognize and rightly appreciate the power of the Irish-Americans, the influence they exert, the powerful position they have attained. This can be effected by a better understanding, by a juster appreciation, by each of the two peoples of the uprisings of the other, who, even when erring, "lean to virtue's side." And here we may be permitted to add that due regard must be had for those feelings of antipathy exhibited by many Irishmen towards England. They were the feelings of men who had been cruelly wronged and insulted; they were the gradual outcome of a long series of years of degradation, of vexations, of impoverishment, and of contumely. And such sentiments, when once generated by a sense of wrong and injustice, and kindled by acts of hardship, and fostered by bitter recollections, are the most fierce and unquenchable that can spring up in the heart of man. Time alone can efface from the memory a sense of injustice, and patience alone can transform the passion of fierce hatred into sullen indifference or into good will. The effects of these two powerful agents can be much augmented by kindness and mutual confidence, and the effects of these agents are now beginning to be discerned. We have good reasons for believing that if any unforeseen event should occur by which the freedom, the independence, or the rights of the peoples of these kingdoms become menaced, the moral power and moral influence of Americans would be at our back, and that in the struggle the people of the States of every class, and especially the Irish-Americans, would be our allies and firmest friends. We on our part must see that that alliance, so powerful, so prolific of good, shall never be weakened or impaired by our national prejudice, by our selfishness, or by our supineness; if we do so—and we doubt not but we shall under the guidance of the dictates of conscience, and the influence of common sense—a magnificent future is in store for the people of Great Britain and the Republic of the West.

## INDEPENDENT. SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely, on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

## LAND NATIONALIZATION

### A REJOINDER

WHETHER Land Nationalization will prove to be the will-o'-the-wisp Mr. Richard Simon prophesies,<sup>1</sup> I am content to leave time to show. The growth of public sentiment in its favour, admitted by him as remarkable, certainly does not point to the fulfilment of his prophecy. My present business is to deal with Mr. Simon's strictures—I wish I could dignify them with the name of criticisms, which I court, but I cannot. Finding my position impregnable by legitimate critical warfare, he has erected a rotten outwork of misrepresentation, for the demolition of which he claims the victor's crown. Mr. Simon is wrong in attributing the movement mainly to one man's book and speeches. Powerful and unanswerable as is the arraignment of landlordism in Mr. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, and directly and inevitably as it leads to Land Nationalization, we are compelled most reluctantly to part company with Mr. Henry George when he abandons the principle he so triumphantly establishes for the taxation of rent, not because we disapprove of the taxation of rent, but because it does not give us what we want—viz., the control and administration of the land in the interest of the nation, which is the essential point of Land Nationalization. Equally untrue is it that Dr. Wallace's views have been "forced into the background by Mr. George's more strenuous eloquence." The Land Nationalization

<sup>1</sup> "The Nationalization of the Land, a Reply," *Westminster Review*, January, 1890, p. 70

Society, the outcome of Dr. Wallace's first article in the *Contemporary Review*, of November, 1880, is still the most energetic agent in the cause, and is gaining strength every year. If Henry George has ploughed up the land, it is the Land Nationalization Society that has sown the seed which promises an abundant crop in the not far distant future. The frequent references to the subject by those who would gladly ignore it if they could, is pretty strong evidence of this. But Land Nationalization was in the air before either Dr. Wallace or Henry George were heard of as advocates of it. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW advocated it at least as early as 1852;<sup>1</sup> its expediency was urged by F. W. Newman, in his work on Political Economy, 1851, and by Herbert Spencer, in his work on Social Statics, 1854; J. S. Mill insisted during a long period on the right of the State to what he justly called "the unearned increment"; and the present writer's first paper on the subject<sup>2</sup> was published in 1878, two years before Dr. Wallace's paper appeared, and had been read before a private society some years before that. In that paper I foreshadow the principle both of conversion and administration, which I have worked out more in detail in my recent articles in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW. Whether it is "worth the candle" I will leave Mr. Simon and the readers of this Rejoinder to judge for themselves. Even if it should not prove so profitable as I anticipate, or not profitable at all in a pecuniary sense, it will be worth a good many candles to acquire the control of the land, so that it may be placed unreservedly at the service of labour. The honest and industrious labourer will not then have to bend the knee to a proud autocrat, and crave permission to draw his sustenance from the land by the sweat of his brow. Human beings could not then be driven off the land like vermin, to make room for sheep or deer. Allotments and small holdings could be provided without difficulty wherever and to whatever extent they are required, and unemployed could be converted into productive labour, to the great relief of the industrial classes.

My figures have no pretence to absolute accuracy. They are all approximations, but well within the mark. It is impossible to get at the exact land rental of the country, it is so mixed up with other property, such as buildings of all kinds. Mr. Simon's £65,000,000 represents only rural land; my, £100,000,000 or £105,000,000 includes all land, urban and rural, and minerals, which are a part of the land. The difference of 20 per cent. between gross and net rent is again only approximate, the general opinion being that that is about the amount. My principle is to concede to landlords what they have already acquired under the protection of the law, however bad, but that they shall not make a further profit out of the people in consequence of a change in the law. The people may not be

<sup>1</sup> "The Government of India: its Liabilities and Resources," published April, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> *Our Land.* L. Reeve & Co.



willing to grant so much. The landlords, seeing that the people, through their representatives, have full right and power to limit or tax rents, will have to accept, with thanks, whatever the people think proper to grant.

Mr. Simon says that in proposing that the State should receive the ground-rents, and pay landlords the net rents, I am departing from Georgian ethics. I am no Georgeite, and recognize no Georgian ethics. The prairie value of land I set down as 0. The entire value of land has been given to it by individual enterprise, or national development. I propose to recognize the present, so as to injure no one, and to make that the starting-point for the future. I do not leave the landlords the land, as asserted by Mr. Simon—that is the very thing I take away—but leave them their present income, the reverse of Mr. George's proposal. I do not appropriate landlords' improvements, if they ever made any. All improvements, whether by landlord or tenant, much more frequently the latter, are represented in the rent. Lastly, I do apply precisely the same principle to landlords in towns. It is difficult to understand that any man reading my articles could so have perverted my meaning unless wilfully.

Referring to the next paragraph (p. 72), it is quite true that the land is to a large extent a manufactured article. But who has manufactured it? Where is the landlord who has put anything into the land which he has not first got out of it, or for which he does not now receive an ample rent? For how much that he has never put in at all, but which has been contributed wholly and solely by his tenants, has he extorted and continues to receive an increased rent? Talk of robbery! Who are the robbers, and who are the robbed?

In the next paragraph, Mr. Simon says that for residential and town holdings, I would pay the present owners only a reasonable percentage on the value of the buildings, and that in dwindling annuities. I propose nothing of the kind. Except those on agricultural land, I do not propose to take buildings at all, or to pay anything for them, but to leave them in possession of the present owners. All I propose to take is the land and agricultural buildings, compensating landlords, large and small, to the extent of the present net rental value. If it is unjust for great landlords to exact increased rents for which they give nothing in return, it is equally unjust for small ones. Neither the one nor the other will lose anything they have already acquired, but the future unearned increment will be secured to the community, as it should be, landlords themselves, as members of the community, participating in its advantages, though they can no longer monopolize it to themselves. As every owner, small as well as large, both in town and country, will, under my scheme, receive the full net rental value of his holding, there can be no simultaneous ruin of the 999,999 owners, including "the most thrifty of the population, and known

to comprise many *élite* of the working classes who have purchased their houses" [but to a very small extent the land on which they stand], "through Building Societies." Mr. Simon may well "not dwell on the immorality of thus seizing properties" [abolishing an iniquitous autocratic power] "sold and bought for generations in accordance with the law" [made by the appropriators], "and in reliance on the good faith of Parliament" [representing themselves], "for such considerations would [doubtless] be wasted on that modern school (of which land nationalizers are but a wing) which argues that settlements come to by Parliament or king" [without the consent of the people], "one, two, or three hundred years ago may justly be voided without compensation because now alleged" [proved and admitted] "to have been impolitic or influenced by corrupt motives when made." Mr. Simon next asks "*these political pirates* to look at it as a question of expediency, and to ponder how such action would affect the confidence now placed in the honour of the State, and what would be the commercial value of annuities guaranteed by such a people through their representatives in Parliament." Yes, Mr. Simon, *these political pirates* can look you fully in the face without blushing, and say, we think it not only highly expedient, but urgently needful, in the interest of a deeply wronged and oppressed people, that the property, the rights and the liberties, so shamefully filched from them by *those political pirates* of a bygone age, and as shamefully withheld by their descendants and successors, should be immediately reclaimed. *These political pirates* think that the State representing a people in possession of their property, rights and liberties, will not command less confidence than a State representing *those political pirates*, who first robbed the people of their patrimony, and then pledged their credit to an enormous amount for its protection to themselves. Nor do *these political pirates* believe for a moment that the annuities guaranteed by such a people, who have faithfully kept the pledges given them by their despoilers without consideration and without their consent, would be of less commercial value than those guaranteed in their name by the *political pirates* of old.

Following up his charge, Mr. Simon, in his next paragraph, refers to my method of dealing with mortgages. The holders of Government bonds have, at present, absolutely no security but the good faith of the people and their willingness to contribute taxes for their payment. Will confidence be lessened when to national good faith is added the security of the entire land-revenue of the country? We do not want to borrow of bankers; but I would confidently appeal to any banker, whether the bonds payable from the land-revenue would not be as good a security as consols dependent on taxation. As (Mr. Simon's groundless statements to the contrary, notwithstanding) I propose to confiscate nothing but the autocratic power which "pirates" arrogated to themselves before the people

had, a voice in the matter, the national confidence, by reason of improved national finance, will be greatly strengthened instead of weakened. How far Mr. Simon's charges will apply to Mr. George's scheme of taxation is no concern of mine, and I leave him and his followers to refute them if they can. My proposals differ essentially from Mr. George's, and involve no confiscation, not even a sixpence, of anybody's money, and certainly no impairment of national credit.

Crudity of plans and confusion of mind are not mine, but exist only in Mr. Simon's imagination. If he understands plain English how can he accuse me, as he does in the next paragraph, of proposing "to appropriate land-values when unencumbered, and to pay for them when mortgaged?" In the latter part of the paragraph he appears to be under a misapprehension which might innocently arise—viz., that the net rental would be paid to the legal owner of the land. I should divide it among, and pay it direct to, every one having a claim upon the estate, whether annuitants, mortgagees, or others. The legal owner would receive only so much of the rent as was in his actual possession at the time of transfer, with the right to reversions as they fell in as if the land had remained in his possession. The State would take the land subject to any mortgages that might be upon it, and would then deal with them as I propose.

The next paragraph (p. 74) refers to Mr. George's scheme only. But it is disingenuous thus to mix up two schemes so essentially different, and to use one for the purpose of blackening and defaming the other.

In the next paragraph the baseless charge of confiscation is again reiterated. No artisan or any one else would be rendered houseless. It is under the present iniquitous leasehold system that persons are rendered houseless if they happen to outlive the term of their lease (and the greater part of the houses bought through building societies are leasehold). Under my system the house would continue the property of the owner or his descendants as long as it stood. The rest of this paragraph I am content to leave to the candid judgment of readers who will take the trouble to compare it with mine.

In discussing my proposed mode of land administration, Mr. Simon takes the educational department for comparison. Why not the naval or the military? If he had taken the Post-office he would have been nearer the mark; but, for obvious reasons, that would not have answered his purpose.

I will not follow Mr. Simon through the remainder of his paper, though it is characterised by the same spirit of misrepresentation as the first part. Thus I propose seven years as the minimum term of lease, leaving it to be extended as circumstances may require or experience suggest. Mr. Simon represents me as offering seven

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years' leases all round. His assertion that I would displace a tenant farmer who understands agriculture for one who did not, is too ridiculous to be worth notice. Again, that I "offer the outgoing tenant bare compensation for his unexhausted improvements, to be assessed by a State valuer, less the same valuer's estimate of the deterioration of land and buildings" is no part of my scheme.

To clear away the cloud of dust which Mr. Simon has thrown round the question, it may be well to repeat that the essential point of land nationalization is, that the land, which is rightfully and legally the property of the whole people, should be under the direct and unrestricted control of the nation, that it may be administered in the interests and for the convenience of the people, as they through their representatives may determine. This involves no confiscation.

Mr. George's taxation scheme makes no provision for this. It confiscates rent, but leaves the land under the control of landlords as now. He is therefore quite out of court, and his proposals are in no sense land nationalization, nor will they lead one step towards it.

Dr. Wallace and myself have each, independent of, and, at the time, unknown to each other, worked out a scheme differing the one from the other in many important points. It is for the nation to choose between these and any other schemes that they may be put forward. My sole object is to contribute, so far as I am able, to a much-needed social reform. I believe I may answer for Dr. Wallace as for myself, that we are equally indifferent as to the method, and are ready to accept Land Nationalization in any form provided only that it be a reality and not a sham.

F. L. SOPER.

## IN DONEGAL: A FURTHER REPLY.

It is a tolerably well recognised fact that the pulpit is the only place from which daring assertions can be made or particular facts aired without danger of immediate refutation and contradiction. It would have been as well for Miss Martyn's reputation as an authoress and delegate, had she digested this wholesome truth before she proceeded to fulminate her diatribe against Mr. Olphert in the July number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW. She might thus have been spared the humiliation of recanting in December reckless statements made in the previous July. It would have been unnecessary for her to admit now that words she then employed had been "carelessly chosen," and were not intended to express the only reasonable interpretation of which they appear capable when read by the light of their context; and lastly, the readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW would have been saved from the necessity of groping through a cloud of words and pages of irrelevant quotations, which do not appear to serve any better purpose than to veil a disastrous retreat.

Let me explain myself more fully. My reply, published in the September number of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, and to which now in December Miss Martyn purports to "rejoin," dealt—and was expressly intended to deal—only with the Olphert Estate, and with the charges levelled by the Reviewer against Mr. Olphert. Miss Martyn cannot now be permitted to trail a red-herring across the scent, and by introducing other names, and enlarging upon the circumstances of Gweedore and the "sterile, bleak hillsides of Donegal," to ride off upon a false issue. I was not—and am not now—in a position to consider the merits of disputes existing between other landlords and their tenants, any more than I am interested in the opinions of the correspondents of the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Bradford Observer*, or the Leeds deputation upon the land question, or any other cognate subject. These latter I know to be, so to speak, unilateral, and forged on the one anvil; they too often proceed upon false premises, or upon a total ignorance and misconception of the Irish Land Laws. My business is with the Olphert estate alone, and with the untrue statements written by Miss Martyn concerning it, and I regret that now, in the redemption of my pledge made in September, "not to write

## *In Donegal: A Further Reply.*

one syllable the truth of which I was not prepared to substantiate, I am compelled to return for the last time to the subject, and with special reference to Miss Martyn's "Rejoinder." It may be quite true that in her July article no personal attack upon Mr. Olphert was "intended," and that Miss Martyn did "light upon one particular corner of Donegal by mere accident." It is, however, beyond doubt that a personal attack was, in fact, made; and I also find that at the last Cork Summer Assizes, Miss Elizabeth Martyn swore upon cross-examination that she had been selected as a delegate, "and was sent over by the West Edinburgh Liberal Women's Association to see what she could and report thereon;" that she had reported in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, and had also written a paper—which I have never seen—for the Liberal Women's Association. It may possibly be the custom among ladies to send forth their delegates without specific instructions, and I allude to the subject chiefly with a view to showing how dangerous the practice may be. With reference to Miss Martyn's visit, it is of the first importance to consider the length of time devoted by her to the inquiry, and the sources of information upon which she relied for the statements made in her "report." According to Miss Martyn's sworn testimony, she spent seven clear days in Falcarragh—"We arrived at Falcarragh on April 22nd. and left on the 30th." The greater part of that time was spent in the Falcarragh Court House, listening with unconcealed approval to one of the dreariest inquiries of recent years. Father Boyle, himself a stranger to Falcarragh, swore at Cork that the English visitors usually spent their evenings in his rooms, where perhaps the "Report" was in part concocted. Upon the strength, then, of information gathered for the most part either in the Court House or Father Boyle's apartments, Miss Martyn denies my proposition that Mr. Olphert "has gained a place in the hearts and affections of his people." To the best of my belief, when that phrase was penned I had not seen the report of the Leeds Deputation, but I am satisfied to accept the paragraph from that report quoted by Miss Martyn as corroboration of the kindly opinions expressed by members of the deputation to Mr. Olphert, and also of information I had myself received from Leeds.

It is only fair to add the conclusion at which the deputation arrived from the paragraph quoted and which Miss Martyn has suppressed, viz.: "We were impressed that the main source of the wrong and injustice was in the land system itself." This system, be it remembered, which is common to every estate in Ireland, is the creation of Mr. Gladstone, and is certainly one for which no Irish landlord nor the Conservative party can be held responsible. In any case the opinions of the Leeds Deputation of Mr. Conybeare, or even of Miss Martyn herself, are of trifling importance when weighed against the

expressed sentiments of the tenants. Miss Martyn "cannot recall one instance which would prove the point," and under the circumstances I should be surprised if she could. I am in a position to supply her with undoubted evidence under the hands of the tenants themselves. I believe this evidence is now published for the first time and I use it with reluctance, but Miss Martyn has forced my hand. It would indeed be somewhat astonishing if, in the course of half a century, opportunities did not from time to time occur upon which the tenants could give expression to their feelings upon the cruel and heartless treatment to which they were subject, and accordingly upon several occasions between the years 1860 and 1882 the tenants upon the Olphert Estate did express themselves fully and freely upon the relations existing between their landlord and themselves. I shall quote from one or two, omitting portions which do not affect Mr. Olphert individually. A very suitable opportunity occurred in 1865, upon the coming of age of Mr. Olphert's eldest son. The tenants "assembled," in their own words, "for the purpose of expressing our respect and esteem for you, and our regard and affection for your beloved parents." They then allude to the prospect of a continuance of "the blessing we *have* heretofore enjoyed in being tenants under one of the most kind, benevolent, and truly Christian of landlords"

"Many of us," they continue, "have grown old as tenants under your beloved father. Our fathers have lived and died as tenants under your forefathers for generations, and we are happy this day, sir, to be able to testify to the good feeling and harmony that has always existed on these estates where we have ever enjoyed the great blessing of having a resident landlord among us, and one too who has still regarded his tenants' welfare as his own, and who has always been ready to help us in every time of need. We hope, sir, that the day is far distant when it will please God to remove from among us your beloved father, but when that time comes, all we ask and hope for is that you will follow in the footsteps of your father, whom we all look upon as a model landlord, and we will be satisfied."

It would ill become the writer of these pages to omit the following paragraph, taken from the same address, which bears faithful testimony to the loving exertions of one perhaps happily spared the pain of being a spectator of passing events. A gentle woman, one of those "ministering angels" with aims and objects differing as wide as the poles are apart from "those ramping, political women who screech like peacocks before rain," is depicted by the vigorous pen of Mrs. Lynn Linton:—

"We cannot, sir, close this address without expressing our feelings of thanks and gratitude to your kind and benevolent mother for her untiring solicitude and patient exertions in alleviating the distress of the poor and sick, not only on these estates, but over the entire district, and we trust that she may long be spared a blessing to the poor."

The address from which I have quoted the above extracts is signed

"on behalf of the tenants" by thirty-nine of their number, including James McGinley and Andrew Smullen, who have secured Miss Martyn's special interest. The signatures also include about a dozen of those persons since compelled by the Plan of Campaign to evacuate their comfortable homes, and some others who have been "allowed"—to adopt the memorable expression of Father Boyle—to remain in occupation. On four or five subsequent occasions, and as late as 1862, similar addresses were presented to different members of Mr. Olphert's family. Thus, in 1875, an address contained the following passage:—

"We also wish on this occasion to address you as one of the members of a family whose history has been so closely associated with this neighbourhood for several centuries past, and more particularly as the beloved daughter of a gentleman of whose character as a resident landlord, a magistrate, an employer of labour, or any other of the many public and private positions which he adorns, it would be impossible for us to speak but in terms of the highest and warmest commendation."

With such evidence before me, it cannot be argued that I overstated my case when replying in September to Miss Martyn's strictures, and, indeed, Miss Martyn appears to have been one of the few visitors who failed to ascertain how the land lay in this particular respect. Professor Butcher, writing to the *Times*, remarks, "Not a man but says that Mr. Olphert is anything but a generous and indulgent landlord." The same writer, in the *Scotsman*, of May 7, 1889, "inquiring from persons of various politics," asks:—

"'Was he a hard landlord?' There was but one answer, even the Nationalists said, 'Well, no, he never had that name. He lived all his life among his tenants, he was a good friend to them. They liked him well. It was only lately there had been any differences between them.' 'He never was a hard man,' said one of the evicted tenants; 'I have gone to him before now, told him I had had a little misfortune, and was a little short in the rent, and he has himself given me the difference to pay the agent.' Another said, 'Gladly we would have paid had we dared.'"

In a series of very able articles the special correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* occasionally refers to this subject. In the issue of April 17th, 1889, he writes:

"No honest man in the district ventures to deny that until outsiders interfered in the matter the tenants were on the best possible terms with their landlord. Had they been allowed individually, or if that failed, collectively, to lay their cases before and make terms with their landlord, who has lived among them for so many years, the deplorable evictions would never have taken place."

The same writer observes (April 22nd):

"I have been assured by some of their number [tenants] that, although they considered that in many cases the rents were too high, they would not have taken such a course of their own accord, but would have relied on receiving fair treatment at the hands of Mr. Olphert."



Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P. (*Times*, April 23rd, 1889), says :

“ When they are put to it, the tenants refuse to say a word against their ‘ old master.’ He has lived and grown up with these people, and learnt to love their simple ways.”

Pages might be filled with similar testimony, but the above will be sufficient for my purpose.

Mr. Olphert's own feelings upon the subject may be gathered from the following paragraph, taken from his reply to an address presented to him last September by the Donegal Loyalists :—

“ For myself, I can only say that I have no quarrel with my tenants, nor have they any with me. In the course of a long life spent amongst them, and in daily intercourse with them, I never received an insult nor an unkind word from one of them, and now rapidly approaching my eightieth year, and looking back over a longer space of time than falls to the lot of most men, I cannot charge myself with a single action in regard to my tenants of which I am ashamed, or one which I should now wish undone. I disclaim all responsibility for the, to me, inexpressibly painful events of the last few years. It is no longer, fortunately, a matter of doubt upon whose shoulders that terrible weight must rest.”

Read by the light of the foregoing quotations, what a lurid glare is thrown upon certain expressions in the Stephens' letter, to which Miss Martyn wisely avoids all reference. Indeed, that disgraceful production has long since found a place in the National Index Expurgatorius. “ You know what Olphert is,” writes this exponent of modern Christianity to “ my dear Father McFadden.” “ You know it will take all our united energies to beat him down. You have often wished for an opportunity to get the people united in stout battle against him.” These reverend gentlemen knew perfectly well that Mr. Olphert was not a rich man, and that so far as his own resources were concerned he was at their mercy. They believed, erroneously, according to a speech made by Mr. Sheehy, M.P., and reported in the *Londonderry Journal* and in the *Freeman's Journal* that his estate was encumbered. Why, then, was it so difficult to unite the people against him ? What was to prevent the success of the “ beat him down ” policy ? Simply this, the affection and esteem of the people of Cloughernee.

Passing on to the “ example ” of Kate Coyle, Miss Martyn charges me in my own words with “ suppression or contortion of important facts,” and all the rest of it. Surely Miss Martyn forgets that I did not profess to write a biography of Mrs. Coyle, her genealogy, and her married life and troubles, but that the object of my “ reply ” was simply to negative the assertions made by her in the *WESTMINSTER REVIEW*—and what were these ? “ Thirteen years ago Mrs. Coyle got behind with her rent, and was to be evicted. But Mr. Olphert, apparently thinking better of the matter, suggested to her that, if she would only pay him £5 costs, he would not meddle with her just then. She carried the money to Mr. Olphert, and he, what

did he do? She and her little children were evicted one frosty morning." Every syllable of the above statement is untrue. The sting of the charge lies in the supposed fact that a poor widow had been evicted twice within thirteen years, and once in direct violation of Mr. Olphert's promise to the contrary.

Miss Martyn's "rejoinder" now is a palpable sophism *ignorationis elench.* James Coyle, she now asserts, was evicted from another farm, and the promise was made not by Mr. Olphert, to whom, be it remembered, the money "was carried" and who had "suggested" the payment. but through "the agent Sweeny." It will be observed that neither James Coyle nor, the agent Sweeny are mentioned in the July article. Even now Miss Martyn leaves it to readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW to imagine that the eviction of James Coyle took place "thirteen years ago." Nay more, she goes further and implies that it was so, for she says, "For the last twenty-eight years maybe, and perhaps even for more, Kate Coyle has had possession of her three cows' grass in Drumnatiny. No one ever said that she was evicted from that holding." Miss Martyn has made the assertion herself by necessary inference, because Mrs. Coyle has occupied no other farm for the last twenty-eight years. From what farm, then, was she evicted thirteen years ago?

I have taken some pains to ascertain the facts of James Coyle's case, all of which happened "before my time."

I find that Coyle did purchase McCauley's farm for the sum of £45, and this land was added to his own farm.

In a rental of 1860 James Coyle appears as holding a farm in Drumnatiny at the yearly rent of £15 9s. 6d., arrears £16 18s. 6d.

All agree that James Coyle was a very odd man. It is certain that he had a distinct aversion to paying rent, and finally no alternative was left but to eject him from the *entire* holding. And Mr. Olphert, "What did he do?" He sent his horses and ploughs, and tilled and cropped the "best land in Drumnatiny," and in that condition restored it to James Coyle. He then allowed him to sell the tenant right of McCauley's land, for which Coyle received £113. It would also appear that at the same time Mr. Olphert reduced Coyle's rent by the sum of £1 5s. 0d. per annum.

Most people will agree that Coyle came very well out of the transaction, and it will indeed be strange if Miss Martyn, or her friends, can spell "hardship" out of these proceedings. That they were not considered unjust in the country may be inferred from the fact that a local mason built up the doors. Unless Miss Martyn is prepared to argue that a tenant is only to pay as much as, and whensoever he pleases, and that an ejectment process must never be resorted to, the case of James Coyle can be of no practical value.

The £5 costs tale is a pure fiction.

Miss Martyn has to withdraw the charge as against Mr. Olphert.

No entry of the payment appears in the rental. "Sweeny, the agent," is in America, but from what I know of that gentleman no doubt exists in my mind as to what his reply will be when he returns.

Miss Martyn is equally unfortunate when she discusses the "plentitude of stock" question. A "clib" does not signify a filly, but a colt, so that the story of the "wee clib" must be accepted *cum grano salis*. It is quite likely that each member of the family claimed different portions of the stock reared and fed upon the farm, and so enabled Mrs. Coyle to prune down her own belongings for the edification of the British tourists. "Mrs. Coyle," says Miss Martyn, "never had more than two cows at a time, and often had not even one." The special correspondent of the *Londonderry Sentinel* (April 27th, 1889) writes of Mrs. Coyle's holdings, "In the byre were three cows." Before entering into the case for James McGinley, Miss Martyn asks, "What has the story of Greer to say to it?" Everything, if it is proposed to arouse any maudlin sympathy on his behalf, and certainly it has more to say to the case than the subsequent proceedings before the magistrates, on which Miss Martyn enlarges, and which every one could read in the daily press. "Greer never had the farm," writes Miss Martyn.

This is begging the question. On Feb. 1st, 1884, Greer signed an agreement taking this very farm at a yearly rent of £15, and paid over the purchase-money. Greer was a most respectable man and popular enough until he presumed to buy a farm wanted by James McGinley.

Land grabbing may be defined shortly as the taking of land rightfully belonging to, but not in the occupation of, another. From the 1st of February, then, Wilkinson's farm rightfully belonged to Greer. Unfortunately, for the readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW, Greer was a man of peace, with no wish to fight for possession, and therefore, when threatened, applied for and received his money back again from the landlord. With reference to this example, Miss Martyn is good enough to characterize my reply as "the case for the landlord." Nothing was further from my intention. The landlord's share in the transaction was confined to accepting McGinley as tenant, and signing the judicial agreement. All I professed to do was to state the bare facts, and I even guarded myself from entering into considerations at issue between Wilkinson and McGinley. Miss Martyn has now, by "stating the case for the tenant," relieved me from all scruples upon this head, and I shall now unfold at greater length the ins and outs of this base conspiracy.

And, first of all, I assert broadly, upon the authority of Wilkinson, whose high character even Miss Martyn cannot impeach, that the negotiations between Mr. Olphert and himself were carried on at the suggestion, and with the approval, of McGinley.

At the first interview between Mr. Olphert and Wilkinson, it was arranged that the rent should be fixed at Griffiths' valuation (£15), then the measure of the Land League demands. The following day, Wilkinson reported to McGinley the result of the interview, and he, regretting that nothing more could be got, acquiesced in the arrangement.

It was then McGinley offered an additional £50 for the tenant right, if Wilkinson could secure a further reduction in the rent to £12 per annum. Wilkinson assured him that was impossible, and then the conversation as to the value of the farm took place.

If McGinley "expected to have about 6s. 8d. in the pound taken off his rent by the Land Commission, in other words, to have his judicial rent fixed at £10; why in the name of all that is mathematical, did he offer a bonus of £50 to have it fixed at £12?—seeing that such an arrangement would result in a rent of practically £14 10s., allowing five per cent. interest for the £50.

Apart from all other considerations, Wilkinson's story is the one most worthy of belief, inasmuch as he testifies against his own interest, which should have been to secure the £50. Moreover, what motive could he have possibly had for conspiring with the landlord who had evicted him? But the matter is not even left in doubt. I have received from Mr. Hewson the following letter written to him by Wilkinson, dated Feb. 14th, 1884:—

"SIR, I beg to inform you, by direction of Mr. Olphert, that with his permission and consent, I have sold that farm of land, situate at Drumnatiny, on his estate, to one James McGinley, whom he has been pleased to accept as tenant, at the yearly rent of £15. This farm of land was formerly held by me and my brother, but was recovered by the landlord in September last, by ejectment proceedings, and it is the same farm you sold, or let, to Charles Grier on the last occasion you were here. Mr. Olphert has asked me to say to you, that when you revisit this place that James McGinley and I will wait upon you, and make the necessary arrangements as to the agreements, payments, &c., which we will, of course, do. I shall be thankful if you let me know a few days before you come to say the day you will be here.

"I may say that we offered to do everything requisite with Mr. Olphert, but he said that it would be time enough to do so when you would next visit this place.—Your obedient servant,  
"JOHN WILKINSON."

The above letter written at the time proves conclusively, 1st, that McGinley agreed to buy the farm subject to £15 rent; 2ndly, that James McGinley was a party to the arrangement, and lastly that Mr. Olphert was in no hurry to conclude the transaction, and so far from wishing to do anything "secretly," he wished to defer the final settlement until all the parties were present before the agent. From another letter it appears that the farm was not redeemed until March 6th, 1884. Miss Martyn supplies us with the date of the judicial agreement as March 14th, 1884.

From these facts and figures can any unprejudiced person doubt

that the bargain between James McGinley and John Wilkinson was first duly made between them, and that everything else followed in proper chronological order? It is probable that Miss Martyn may still prefer the gratuitous opinions of her legal friends to anything I can demonstrate. One thing is, however, certain, that "a serious action for conspiracy to defraud" proved home against the landlord, would do more to strengthen the hands of the National League than the rockless employment of the Plan of Campaign, with the misery and loss it entails upon a whole countryside. No one could find fault if some of the money sunk in restoring the Gweedore Hampden to his home scotfree, had been spent in unmasking the villany of a landlord who would have been justly compelled, in the event of a hostile decision, to pay all costs. I repeat, too, although Miss Martyn wilfully misinterprets what I wrote, that McGinley could have recovered the entire purchase-money from Wilkinson had any fraud been practised upon him.

Nor can McGinley plead that the purchase was completed with undue haste, since I have ascertained that the final instalment of £30 was not received by Wilkinson for the space of two years; and I have also learnt that when paying this money McGinley expressed himself as being perfectly satisfied with the bargain he had made.

If I were dealing with an adversary capable of selecting her words and facts with a little more care and accuracy, I should be content at this point to leave the case of James McGinley to the judgment of my readers.

I have probably written enough to show that Miss Martyn's statements must be accepted with reserve, if not suspicion, and it is an easy task to prove that the same blot disfigures such minor details as she could have readily verified.

For instance, I find it stated that McGinley's "farm began to fall into arrears." This is not the case. When the "beat him down" policy was inaugurated, McGinley owed but the current year's rent, then scarcely due. Miss Martyn's assertion that the farm was "sold over his head" is unintelligible.

If it be meant that McGinley could not have secured his property by payment of rent and costs, the statement is entirely misleading. *After the sale had taken place the sheriff gave him a last chance, for he wrote to McGinley, under date Oct. 24, 1888, as follows:—*

"I have still power under terms of sale and before execution of assignment, to receive payment of the amount of debt and costs now amounting to £33 4s. 8d., and cancel the sale should you think it right to pay amount."

James McGinley did not think it right to pay either this sum, or the rent of another farm held under Mr. Olphert (nominally by his son) at a judicial rent fixed by the Land Commission, and consequently with his eyes open he has lost both. Miss Martyn does hold, in opposition

to the opinion of the Rev. D. Stephens, that the "Plan of Campaign" has come to the help of the tenants. I cannot complain if she now thinks that McGinley joined the Plan "in sheer desperation." I should go further myself and call it sheer madness. Had he paid his just rent, less the reduction provided by Parliament, he would have preserved his head intact, four months of his life would not have been wasted in Derry gaol, £230 earned by honest industry would still be his, and two fine farms would not now be derelict. I should like to know what James McGinley thinks in his heart of the Plan of Campaign.

"With regard to Doohan, another of my examples," Miss Martyn's rejoinder is only remarkable for its want of candour. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the facts. I gave no "explanation" of them; I simply stated that the truth was to be found in the "exact converse" of what Miss Martyn had written. Time was of the essence of the inquiry. Miss Martyn now "rejoins" with something about a map. I submit this is mere trifling. Time is not to be found marked upon any map. Miss Martyn must therefore be taken as admitting that her first recital of the woes of Paddy Doohan was the creation of someone's imagination.

Miss Martyn admits that the statements in my reply, with reference to the mountain grazing "example" are "perfectly correct." This admission would have been sufficiently satisfactory had she allowed the matter to rest there; but unfortunately this is not her mode of warfare. The same charge is repeated in different words: "The people were crushed into mere remnants of their original holdings by the appropriation of large tracts of their mountain grazing." And again, "What Mr. Olphert appears to have done, was to let the mountain pastures, of which he had dispossessed his tenants, to Scotch sheep-farmers. There is not a very great difference between letting the land for sheep-farming, and holding the sheep-farm for oneself."

I agree with Miss Martyn upon this last point, and I should have been ashamed to propound the contrary.

I propose now to test the value of Miss Martyn's rejoinder by the indisputable facts.

Mr. Olphert has one mountain let to a Scotch farmer, and no more. It has been so let as long as I can remember, and I have never heard it suggested that any grievance resulted to a single tenant from the fact. This mountain (Laricos) is an outlying portion of the estate, separated from the rest of the property by the lands of several other proprietors.

Portions of the southern slope of the hill were at one time occupied by four tenants. Three of these lived upon the fringe of the mountain, the farm of the other one was situated higher up the slope. Many years ago Kelly, the owner of the upper farm, voluntarily sold

his interest to Mr. Olphert and went off, leaving him in possession of the entire mountain, less the portions owned by the three tenants at the bottom, near the road. This tract of mountain was afterwards let to a Scotchman.

The three lower holdings are *still in existence*, and benefit in many ways by the presence of a Scotch neighbour.

Now, I should like to ask what becomes of the assertion that the mountains owned by Scotch shepherds first belonged to "dispossessed" tenants? Is it true, or is it false?

Again, what becomes of Miss Martyn's graphic tale of "sheep that died and died" upon the same lands, "because there was so little for them to eat"? The sheep are still there.

This sort of writing runs smoothly and glibly from the pen: what matter if the writer is only deceived or "misled by the common talk of the country" eagerly absorbed in the Court-house or at Father Boyle's? It is at least fine-word painting, and may help to "beat down" the reputation of a rascally landlord.

I shall now show that with reference to the other mountains, which may be called collectively the Keeldrum mountains, Miss Martyn wrote with the proof before her that the people were *not* crushed into mere remnants of their original holdings by the appropriation of large tracts of their mountain grazing. For another purpose, to which I shall presently refer, Miss Martyn quotes portions of the proceedings before a Parliamentary Committee in 1858. She must now be taken as having read that report in which occurs the following paragraph, which shatters her "example" into fragments:

"No attempt has been made to drive the tenants from their holdings, or to take from them any lands over which they had any real rights, and it has been proved before your Committee that the statement in the Appeal—'Last year brought sad change on these warm-hearted peasants. All the landlords of these districts, save one, simultaneously deprived them of the mountains, giving them to Scotch and English graziers for sheep walks, and at the same time doubled, trebled, and in many instances quadrupled the rents on the miserable patches left to them,' is *totally devoid of foundation*!"

Miss Martyn is willing enough to report "the common talk of the country," but is silent when confronted with vital evidence going to the root of the whole question. Is not this an instance of the "suppression of an important fact with a certain class of politicians, a legitimate weapon of modern warfare."

But the strange part of the whole story remains to be told, and that is, that Mr. Olphert's tenants have, to the present day, the same privileges of mountain-grazing that they ever possessed. Not an acre has been devoted to any other purpose.

Years ago it was found that a serious abuse of this privilege was taking place—viz., that the tenants of other landlords were treating these mountains as common property, and that some tenants grazed

an excessive number of sheep to the detriment of the remainder. To counteract this abuse, Mr. Olphert required that all sheep and cattle should be branded by herds appointed for that purpose, before they were allowed upon the mountain.

A nominal charge of two pence per sheep per annum was levied from the tenants and sixpence per head from strangers. This money was barely sufficient to pay the herds, and I believe I am correct in stating that not £5 from that source found its way into the "capacious pockets" of the grasping landlord within the last twenty years.

In June 1884, before the Land Commission, Mr. Olphert offered to secure this grazing privilege to his tenants; but they, acting under the advice of Mr. O'Doherty, M.P., one of the ablest solicitors in the North of Ireland, repudiated all claim to the mountains, and upon this basis their rents were judicially fixed. It is also upon record that the parish priest spared no exertions, and even entreated the tenants to adopt a different course, but without effect. From a strategic point of view, Mr. O'Doherty's action is perfectly intelligible. He was convinced that, without the mountain he could secure better terms for his clients, and at the same time he calculated that the landlord was not the sort of man to "dispossess" the cattle and sheep of his tenants. Subsequent events proved the astuteness of his reasoning. The special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, from whom Miss Martyn quotes, and who is about as well informed on the subject as herself, wrote for his paper an article, in November 1888, headed "Cæsar in Donegal" (Cæsar by the way, being Rev. J. McFadden, of Maryborough fame). In this article, dealing with the mountain question, the writer remarks:

"I cannot help regretting that the Donegal peasantry have not had the question of these hill pastures determined in the highest courts of law, after the fullest argument."

The Rev. D. Stephens should have spared him these regrets for only the year before the rev. gentleman did force the question on before the late Mr. Justice Lawson, one of the most eminent members of the High Court of Justice. The trial was heralded at the time as "the first stand-up fight in Clougherneeely," and two distinguished Q.C.'s took part in the fray.

Judge Lawson's decision is worth recording. He denounced the action of the catspaw tenant as "an impudent attempt at confiscation," and mulcted him in £40 and costs, afterwards reduced to as many shillings, upon his giving a solemn undertaking in open court (which, needless to say, has not been observed) to pay the grazing fee, and remove his sheep like the other tenants in the winter

I trust I have clearly shown: first, that Mr. Olphert has not dispossessed his tenants in the interests of Scotch sheep-farmers; and



secondly, that although his legal rights have been admitted by his tenants and ascertained in the "highest court of law" he has never taken advantage of the fact, but, on the contrary, he has up to the present preserved the mountain grazing for the sale, use and benefit of his tenants and their neighbours.

Miss Martyn's sneer at the respected and beloved parish priest of Cloughernee, on the strength of his action in 1858, would be unworthy of notice but for the argument it furnishes against the present action of the National League. Here is a priest, in ability, courage and integrity, head and shoulders greater than the men who never miss an eviction, and watch without a pang the ruin of hundreds of respectable peasants.

When in his opinion occasion demanded he did not shrink from becoming "a thorn in the side of Mr. Olphert" on behalf of his flock, and now were it for the benefit of his people, and if he could discern any justice or reason in the demands of the law in Gweedore," rest assured that the natural leader of his parishioners would not be absent from his post.

That Father McFadden, of Glerna, would not in any way identify himself with the Plan of Campaign in Cloughernee is the most conclusive evidence of its injustice and cruelty.

It is idle to argue with Miss Martyn upon the quality of the land. She either does not know the country, or else she is making the fullest use of the traditional red-herring. Thus this lady, who gravely maintained that "bushes" must be grown for the "habitation" of grouse, quotes Mrs. Ernest Hart's journeys from Letterkenny to Gweedore. But Mrs. Hart travels to Gweedore, not through Falcarragh and the Olphert estate, but by the road on the other side of the mountains, and no fault can be found with her description of it. Every schoolboy knows that there are mountains and lakes in Donegal, and a person of ordinary intelligence can grasp the fact that mountains and rocks are valued, for the purpose of taxation, at a nominal sum. Lakes ("acres under water") are not valued at all. My observations upon the valuations were expressly confined to "farms upon the Olphert estate," that is, land in the occupation of tenants. Here there are no acres rated at "twopence."

I have already given the skilled opinions of one "pair of English eyes." Mr. Mouckton, a Northamptonshire gentleman who visited Falcarragh last autumn, also says: "I went over a good deal of the land, and did not consider the rent paid for it was excessive." Persons who are inclined to prefer the opinion of Miss Martyn (founded on what she saw in seven days through the windows of the Court-house, or from Father Boyle's apartments in the village) to those of the authorities I have quoted, would do well to visit the locality before they form a definite opinion.

Reclaiming upon the Olphert estate is almost altogether confined

to "cut away" black bogs, and the progress of reclamation is neither expensive nor difficult. "The value of these cut-out black bogs is now well recognised," writes Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, in his *Guide to the Valuation of Rent* (p. 91). The same author also observes :

"When cut-out bog is in the neighbourhood of a shore where seaweed and peat can be procured, its value is much enhanced. The vicinity of limestone, gravel pits, and limestone quarries also facilitates its reclamation."

Both these conditions are present upon the Olphert property. Miss Martyn has evidently borrowed her story of the Dunfanaghy farmers and their barley from her trusted *Manchester Guardian*. I remember reading it with no little amusement in that paper some months ago, when it was published fresh from the prolific pen of the Rev. Peter Kelly. I was inclined to think that it emanated from his namesake, Peter the Wag, who

"Was not naturally bad,  
Or viciously inclined,  
But from his early youth he had  
A waggish turn of mind.  
With little boys his heart along,  
He loved to stop and play,  
He loved to send old ladies wrong,  
And teach their feet to stray."

Far be it from me to deny that these two Dunfanaghy farmers did send their barley to Londonderry, and then sold it for half nothing. There is no accounting for the idiosyncrasies of farmers. A market was once established at Falcarragh, but had to be abandoned, because sellers preferred to drive their produce six miles further, upon the chance of getting a shilling or two more.

The story is plainly a *suggestio falsi*, and readers of the WESTMINSTER REVIEW are asked to believe that because two farmers sent their barley to Londonderry at great expense, therefore people living in the celebrated Ardsmore, "ten miles further off," and all Mr. Olphert's tenants must do the same. This rejoinder is both illogical and ridiculous. There is always a ready sale for barley in a "poteen country." There is an excellent weekly market in Dunfanaghy; I believe a market is still held in Creeshlough, five miles distant, and of course there is a first-rate market in Letterkenny, so the two Dunfanaghy farmers had to pass all three to get to Londonderry.

A few days ago I heard another story of a small Donegal peasant boy, who being told of the size, magnificence, and wealth of London, exclaimed that he would like to see that great city on a "fair day." There is nearly as much difference between Dunfanaghy on a market day and Dunfanaghy on an ordinary day as existed in the imagination of this little boy with reference to London as he had heard of it, and London the scene of a fair.

The cost-price of the manor of Ballynass in the reign of Charles I.  
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is not material to any issue that can be raised in the present controversy any more than the price given for land in the neighbourhood of London, or any other large city centuries ago can be used as an argument for reducing the ground-rents now, at the expense of their fortunate owners.

It is a very fair instance, however, of the class of argument Mr. Olphert's assailants have been compelled to resort to.

Miss Martyn does not appear to know that her version of the purchase has been disproved in the English press, and for some time has been allowed to drop by her friends. Mr. Olphert has in his possession the original grant of the Manor of Ballynass, and a translation of it lies before me.

It is admitted that £300 was paid to one Henry Hart, in lieu of some charge or claim he had over the Manor. The grant, however, is silent upon the subject, and conveys the Manor to Wybrants Olphert in consideration of a lump sum paid to the Crown, and of a yearly Crown rent payable half yearly on fixed days. The grantee is also bound to maintain a fort and pikemen for "the protection of himself and his tenants against rebels." It is in fact an ordinary plantation grant. Miss Martyn unblushingly states "that two townlands alone have been added to the original purchase." For 1796 the extensive townlands of Upper Keeldrum, Ballinacraig, or Lower Keeldrum, and Middle Keeldrum were purchased by Mr. Olphert's father. Mr. Olphert himself bought Lower Baltony, Cashel Hill, and Dohertystown!

Altogether, in Domesday Book, Mr. Olphert is returned as the owner of 18,133 acres, and we find by reference to the Pinnars Survey Act, that "Captain H. Hart hath 1000 acres called Ballynas, and 256 acres of concealments." This was in all probability the total extent of the original Manor purchased, and granted in the way I have described.

I decline to accept the writer in the *Manchester Guardian* as any authority upon the value of "seaweed as a manure." He states, *suo more*, that it is the "very worst kind," and would "absolutely ruin good land, and I presume, *a fortiori*, bad land in a few years' time."

The author I have already quoted, Vesey Fitzgerald, thinks otherwise. He says (p. 94), "It [seaweed] is so valuable a manure that it is often carted as far inland as fifteen or twenty miles;" and again, "The baronies of Forth and Bargie in County Wexford, which are adjacent to the sea, yield enormous crops of potatoes, &c., from the abundant supply of seaweed they obtain."

In conclusion, Miss Martyn finds a verdict of guilty against all landlords for "two pieces of injustice." (1). "Rent is charged on the tenants' improvements." This is just what she cannot prove on the Olphert estate, and in any event the Land Commission has not

been slow to repair the mischief if it exists. That great improvements have taken place within the last twenty years in the class of houses built, and in the system of farming pursued upon the estate, may be taken as facts outside the area of dispute. On the other hand, no increases of rent have been made since 1860, or thirty years ago, and I could name several townlands upon which the rents have not been raised within living memory.

(2) "Improvements are confiscated on eviction." I recommend Miss Martyn to study the Land Act of 1870.

I have thus dealt at, perhaps, wearisome length with every feature of the case presented by Miss Martyn, in so far as her assertions affect either the character or the actions of Mr. Olphert in the management of his property. I shall not return to the subject again. My sole desire has been to allege facts of which I am certain, and I ask to have these duly and fairly weighed against the seven-day experiences of Miss Elizabeth Martyn.

ROBERT F. OLPHERT.

## HOME AFFAIRS.

THE Parliament which is to deal with the two great questions of Land Purchase and of Local Government in Ireland—each on an extensive and indeed comprehensive scale—and has also to consider an important readjustment of taxation consequent on the probable accretion of a large surplus in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, met on the 11th of February, a week later than is usual. At the time of writing, the second week of the session has sped, and the debate on the Address is at last at an end. A debate of equal importance and indefinite duration is in prospect, however, before the proper business of the session can be approached. The session marks a dangerous period in the history of the Government, and promises to be an eventful one. It is a remarkable circumstance that its early days should be passing in the compulsory absence from Parliament through illness of the two leaders of parties, neither sufficiently strong to govern independently, yet so long as their forces can be kept together, quite powerful enough to countercheck the policy of the strongest independent party in the State and in the constituencies, and to render of no practical account the representation of four-fifths of the people and more than four-fifths of the territory of Ireland. We suppose that it is permissible at this time of day to regard English, Scottish, and Irish Liberals as constituting for all practical purposes one party.

Perhaps the absence of the Marquis of Salisbury on the milder shores of the English Channel, and of Lord Hartington in Egypt, is of the less consequence in a Parliamentary sense, since there seems little prospect of any dangerous party struggle arising in the brief interval before the Easter holidays. Lord Salisbury's holiday, postponed out of due season by the pressure of the difficulty with Portugal, and the serious illness, of which undue mystery was made, detaining him at Hatfield, must necessarily be a brief one. The Marquis of Hartington, who is making a happy recovery from the dangerous attack which prostrated him so suddenly, ought to be again at his post when the genial influences of May render the opening of the London season attractive and safe. It seems hardly likely to be before that time that the real struggles, which will once more test the cohesion of the Liberal Unionist party, will arise. It may help us in part to forecast the probable course of the session—though it is always proverbially a dangerous form of speculation—if we revert for a little

to some of the notes which were sounded preparatory to the meeting of the two Houses.

There was an obvious slackening of platform effort on both sides in the interval between the Christmas and New Year holidays and the opening of the session as compared with the brisk and incessant campaigning of the earlier winter months. This may have been owing in some degree to the feeling on both sides that the leading questions at issue between parties have been discussed on one side and the other to satiety. If this be the feeling on the part of the disputants it seems not to be met by any corresponding weariness on the side of the people. The abnormally developed appetite for political speeches shows no sign of diminution. Wherever a wandering orator pitches his rostrum, an audience, carefully arranged and packed to secure that he will be received in a friendly manner and patiently listened to, gathers to hear him. Irish members appeared to be in particular demand, even at a time when three eminent judges were engaged in drafting the report which might hold them up to infamy, as some of their political opponents anticipated and desired. An Irish member was always sure of an enthusiastic welcome in any English town. Mr. William O'Brien, who has actually been named in the Report of the Commission as having been guilty of seditious attempts to sever the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, proved the greatest favourite of all, and on the very eve of the publication of the Judges' Report, made a sort of triumphal progress through the important capitals of industry in Lancashire and Yorkshire. There is no reason to suppose that the public feeling in regard to him, or Mr. Davitt, or any of the colleagues associated with him in the Judges' condemnation, has been affected one whit by the conclusions arrived at by Sir James Hannen, and Justices Smith and Day, regarding their former speeches, deeds, or aspirations. On occasion, some of the leaders of parties entered the fray. The subject of free or "assisted" elementary education was much discussed, in view of the broad hints thrown out by Lord Salisbury at Nottingham as to the probable disposal of Mr. Goschen's anticipated surplus. In a speech at Liverpool Mr. John Morley pointed out some dangers which may attend "assisted" education in England, while in the nature of things similar dangers cannot arise in Scotland, inasmuch as all the public funds expended upon free education north of the Tweed are managed and controlled, like the schools themselves, by the popularly elected School Boards. Mr. Morley thought that "assisted" education in England, as manipulated by the present Government, may quite possibly take a shape which will more securely fix the denominational yoke on the necks of rural parishioners. This timely warning gains force from the opinions uttered by several of the shrewder bishops, who, though shuddering at the idea of free education provided for out of public funds, which will fortify the

claim of the taxpayer to a direct and effective representation on all school committees, nevertheless perceive that if the thing is to be done, it were well that it should be done quickly, while the friends of the denominational system still command a majority in the House of Commons, and Liberal Unionists of the fickle Birmingham school are not so unfettered as they once were to give effect to the principles of free, secular education, and universal School Boards, once so powerfully advocated by the National Education League. Mr. Goschen, also speaking at Liverpool, did his best to discourage the hopes of a sanguine generation of financiers who have been discounting his Budget surplus, by pointing out that while the revenue of the country is progressing, as in the piping times before 1874, by leaps and bounds, there are items of expenditure also progressing or in prospect, which must be taken into account before the distribution of a surplus, or the remission of taxation can come into consideration. This warning, which was given in a spirit partly playful, has since been justified in part by the announcement in the Queen's Speech that an important scheme for the improvement of barrack accommodation throughout the country forms part of the Government programme for the year.

In the face of Mr. Goschen's warnings, it is perhaps dangerous to assume the probability of a surplus of four or five millions, which was the figure named six weeks ago. But the fact cannot be overlooked that with five weeks of the financial year to run revenue had been collected to the amount of £78,600,000, which is only £7,550,000 short of Mr. Goschen's estimate of the income of the year. In these last weeks, when the income-tax is being paid, the weekly return is rarely below two millions and a quarter. The total net revenue obtained last year was £88,472,812, or £2,300,000 more than Mr. Goschen needs to meet his expenditure. The collection at present stands rather more than half a million above the amount collected at the corresponding period last year. Everything therefore points to a surplus of not less than three millions. It is important to note that this enormously swollen income is clear of £4,582,000, already paid this year in respect of Excise Licenses and Probate Duty to the Local Authorities under the Local Government Act. The total revenue paid in one form or other by the taxpayer into the Treasury already exceeds £83,000,000, and before the end of the financial year will probably reach about £94,000,000.

Of one sensation which had been expected as a preliminary whet to the contentions of the Parliamentary session, the public was deprived. On the morning when Lord Chief Justice Coleridge took his seat to try the action for libel brought by Mr. Parnell against the *Times*, it was announced that the claim of £100,000 solatium had been compromised for £5000 and untaxed costs. The *Times* had admitted liability by paying a small sum into Court, and the

question to be tried simply was, the amount at which a London jury would assess the damages suffered by the Irish leader under the persistent defamation to which the *Times* had subjected his character. From this point of view, it may safely be said that Mr. Parnell had been, to a certain extent, prejudiced by the action brought against him as co-respondent in the divorce suit of his quondam friend, Captain O'Shea. The appearance of Mr. Parnell once more in the witness-box, with a vague charge pending over him of having betrayed his friend's confidence, and sacrificed the honour of his friend's wife, to speak, and be cross-examined upon the injury to his wounded feelings, had been anticipated with a gleam of satisfaction by his enemies. The action brought by Captain O'Shea was singularly, though we have no reason to say—purposely, timed. In the eyes of a London jury—which at the present moment, could not be divided more keenly upon any other subject than the great question with which Mr. Parnell's name is identified, even unproved charges of a serious character, though not bearing on the issue before them, could hardly fail to have some effect. Keen surprise was felt and expressed among Mr. Parnell's friends when it became known that he had agreed to let off his newspaper maligner so easily. It is said that in circumstances so liable to be misunderstood, it would have been more prudent to adopt the bolder course, and insist on the jury's verdict, which many anticipated, and which certainly ought to have carried swingeing damages. Perhaps it is not fully realized that Mr. Parnell is a poor man, and that the costs which have been imposed upon him in his self-sacrificing public career have been enormous. Nor should it be forgotten that his confidence in British justice is in him a new-born quality, and is, with reason, not altogether firmly established or altogether unmixed. Those who take the best view of a character, strangely enigmatical, which has suffered more than that of most public men, from a habit of proud reticence, begotten of a keen sense of personal and political injustice, will perhaps be inclined to say that he is too prone to err on the side of trustfulness and generosity rather than of suspicion and vindictiveness. If so, he has been cruelly undeceived by the result of his strange intercourse with Lord Carnarvon as Viceroy of Ireland, and of his almost magnanimous forbearance in the case of the *Times*, when he had its proprietors almost literally at his mercy. The colleagues of Lord Carnarvon, who decoyed him into negotiations, have since been his most ready and eager accusers on the ground of nefarious deeds, of which he has happily been able to prove his absolute innocence, and the *Times*, as if possessed or frenzied, has used the liberty obtained by his moderation to persist, more cautiously perhaps, but not less insidiously, in its vilification of his public aims.

(117) The publication of the Report of the Parnell Commission, upon



which the judges had evidently bestowed great labour, synchronized with the meeting of Parliament. Its purport was withheld even from those most keenly interested till the last moment, and for once the Queen's printers showed that they could keep a secret in spite of all the wiles and cajolery of newspaper correspondents, the most ingenious and the most fertile—we shall not say unscrupulous—in expedient. Parliament met on Tuesday, and on Thursday evening at ten o'clock, it was made known that members might obtain copies of the Report at the Vote Office. The scene at the moment the doors were opened beggars description. Staid and even elderly members of Parliament tore and jostled each other as claimants for the first row of the Drury Lane gallery on the first night of a pantomime may be supposed to do. The hour of ten o'clock had been chosen, it is said, for the distribution of the Report, because it was thought that hour, while not too late for the convenience of members, would make it impossible for the morning newspapers to print anything more than the conclusions of the Report. The event showed not only in the most conclusive way the keenness of the public interest in the Report, but also the admirable organization of the old journalism for the rapid dissemination of news. Every London newspaper and every provincial journal in the three kingdoms published next morning not merely a full synopsis of the Report, but in most cases a well-written article setting forth and commenting on the judges' conclusions. Now that the Report has been for many days public property, it is open to question whether its intrinsic interest justified the cost of late telegraphing and late composition to which the newspapers went, to secure its dissemination all over the country. The Report has done nothing at all to change or even to affect the attitude of parties to each other, as regards Irish questions or towards Mr. Parnell and the Irish Nationalist members. As regards the only questions on which, as Liberal members have always contended, there was any shadow of pretence for arraigning Mr. Parnell and his colleagues, the judges have pronounced, as in duty bound, a complete and absolute acquittal. It is impossible, however, to overlook the fact that the judges betray a certain amount of unconscious bias. The "facsimile" letter, which was the key-stone of the *Times* case, is of course declared a forgery; but the statement is made in the baldest imaginable form, without a syllable of comment to indicate that the action of the *Times* in obtaining and using the forged document was in any way unusual. The only approach to generous sentiment towards the maligned victim of the *Times* persecution is in the sentence: "We entirely acquit Mr. Parnell and the other respondents of the charge of insincerity in their denunciation of the Phoenix Park murders." The charge against Mr. Parnell that, at the time of the Kilmainham negotiations, he knew that Sheridan and Boyton had been organizing outrage, and therefore wished them to put down

outrage," is dismissed with the Scotch verdict of "not proven." As regards the grave allegations that Mr. Parnell was intimately acquainted with the leading Invincibles, that he probably learned from them what they were about when he was released on parole in April 1882 that he recognized the Phoenix Park murders as their handiwork, and that by an opportune remittance he enabled F. Byrne to escape from justice, Mr. Parnell is freely adjudged not guilty. Up to this point Mr. Parnell and his colleagues are entitled to look at the verdict of the judges with satisfaction and a certain amount of triumph. So far as positive crime or complicity with crime is attributed to them, the judges, evidently by no means eager to testify on their behalf, acquit them honourably. But not a word is suggested of any sense in the minds of the Commissioners of the foul wrong that has been done them. On turning to the conclusions of the Judges on points in which moral obliquity, or grave indiscretion in the conduct of a political and social agitation is imputed to the Irish members, we find that the disposition on the part of the Commissioners to keep well within the lines of their assigned judicial functions is not so conspicuous. The respondent Members of Parliament, collectively, are discharged of any complicity in conspiracy to establish the absolute independence of Ireland. On the other hand, Mr. Michael Davitt and seven Members of Parliament are named as having joined in the Land League organization with a view to push it in the direction of separation. The members named are: Mr. William O'Brien, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Mat. Harris, Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. John O'Connor, Mr. Joseph Condon, and Mr. J. J. O'Kelly. The identity of the member last named is somewhat doubtful—there being two O'Kellys in Mr. Parnell's party, and neither of them being "J. J." The respondents are collectively held guilty of a conspiracy by a system of coercion and intimidation to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, for the purpose of starving out Irish landlords. The charge of insincerity in denouncing crimes in public is dismissed as not established. On the other hand, the respondents are held guilty of disseminating the *Irish World* and other newspapers "tending to incite to sedition and the commission of other crime." The respondents are acquitted of inciting to crime, but declared guilty of inciting to intimidation which naturally blossomed into crime. Some of the respondents, notably Mr. Davitt, are credited with honest denunciation of crime and outrage, but are rebuked for their silence as to intimidation which led to crime and outrage. The respondents are further blamed for the aid they gave in the defence of persons charged with crime and outrage, but are acquitted of associating with or giving countenance to notorious criminals. Finally, it is held that they accepted the subscriptions of Patrick Ford, who is gibbeted as a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite, though it is held

not proved that the *Clan-na-Gael* controlled the Land League or collected money for the Parliamentary fund. Finally it is declared that the respondents invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the Physical Force Party in America, including the *Clan-na-Gael*, and in order to obtain that assistance abstained from repudiating or condemning the action of that party. Special paragraphs in the conclusions are devoted to Mr. Michael Davitt, showing that he was at one time convicted as a Fenian, and that he was instrumental in bringing about an alliance between the Land League and Home Rule, and the Physical Force Party in America—though it is not added, as it might have been, that the effect of the alliance has been the entire abandonment of the methods of physical force.

It may be said of the Judges' conclusions in regard to the *Times* allegations in Parnellism and Crime, that what they have found to be true is not new, and what was brought forward as new, was unquestionably not true. It was the new matter collected around the forged letters which was the only possible justification for the appointment of the Commission. All that which has been found to be true by the judges, and a great deal more, had been stated over and over again in the House of Commons by the late Mr. Forster, and Sir William Harcourt, when he was accustomed to trample upon John Devoy, and madden the Irish members by casting his name in their teeth; by Mr. Gladstone himself when he stated that crime dogged the footsteps of the Land League, and boasted that the resources of civilization were not yet exhausted, a few days before Mr. Parnell and his compatriots were cast into Kilmainham. What is more, all these charges, and a great deal more, were accepted as gospel at the time by the Conservatives, who acted upon their belief in assisting the Liberals of that day to pass the Crimes Act, and in expelling the Irish members from the House of Commons for obstruction, even while assisting them to carry on the obstructive game against the remedial measures of the Liberal Government, on which poor Mr. Forster, before his fine nature was soured and embittered by persistent misunderstanding of his good intentions, relied, for restoring prosperity to the homes and winning the hearts of the Irish people. All the things that are known now about boycotting and intimidation, and the acceptance of foreign aid from tainted sources, and a great deal more that was imagined of a more heinous stamp, were equally well known to the Conservatives before 1885. The knowledge did not prevent the Conservatives, led by the late Lord Iddesleigh, than whom a more perfect English gentleman, or a more honourable man never lived, from joining hands with Mr. Parnell and his followers to overthrow Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1885; nor Lord Randolph Churchill, sitting 'cheek' by jowl with his close ally and henchman Mr. Balfour, the Irish Secretary of to-day, from tossing his hat in the air, and jumping on his corner seat below the gangway to lead the wild

hurreos of the Irish Nationalist members when the glorious triumph was achieved. It did not stand in the way of the alliance of the Irish forces in the United Kingdom, marshalled with all the skill and all the consuming ardour of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, with the Tory party, at the general election, nor, even before that, the acceptance of office by the Tory leaders under Lord Salisbury in absolute dependence upon the friendship of Mr. Parnell, and upon the votes of his followers. It did not make it impossible for the Earl of Carnarvon as the Viceroy of Ireland to hold clandestine interviews with the Irish leader in the hope of winning his co-operation, nor deter the Marquis of Salisbury in his Newport speech from publicly inviting his suggestions towards an improved scheme for Irish government. And what of Mr. Chamberlain, who, in his zeal for Irish liberty, shouldered Mr. Forster out of office at the very moment when that doggedly honest statesman was loudest in his denunciations of the prisoners of Kilmahinham, but now plays the part of pimp to Mr. Balfour in his policy of twenty years' firm and resolute coercion? Mr. William O'Brien has apologized in words of exaggerated humility for his past errors; in respect of English Liberals, Mr. Parnell has lived to regret, and to confess in frank and manly fashion, his regret for many things that he never approved, but which in his isolation and despair at the alienation of the English Liberals, on whom he had relied for support, weakly tolerated in the working of the Land League. Generous Irishmen, like the veteran T. D. Sullivan, have forgotten alike their offences and their sufferings in genuine happiness at the tardy acknowledgment of brotherhood with Englishmen. A new treaty of peace and goodwill between English and Irish Liberals has been signed on the basis of the genuine Liberal principle, that Government shall be by the people for the people in Great Britain and Ireland. And yet we are to be told that because three judges, acting upon judicial lines, have found in their opinion those things to be true with modifications which Mr. Forster wrongly convinced the whole Liberal party to be true absolutely, it is unfit that English Liberals should be in natural alliance with Irish Liberals, although in full cognizance of the same facts or beliefs, the Conservatives, who now condemn Mr. Gladstone, entered into a more unnatural alliance with them four years ago, when they were by no means so repentant, nor had brought forth much fruits meet for repentance, nor had given any shadow even of the repudiation, which they have now given completely of the ulterior aims, which her Majesty's judges have tried to fasten upon them.

Ireland and the wrongs of the Irish people and their representatives hold the field so completely that it almost seems as if no other subject would occupy attention during the session that lies before us. A Land Purchase Bill, and a Local Government Bill for Ireland, which, even in view of all that Lord Randolph Churchill as leader of

the Tory party pledged himself to as regards simultaneity, comes upon us with the effect of surprise, are the two principal measures promised in the Queen's Speech. A debate on privilege, based on the publication of the forged letters formerly attributed by the *Times* to Mr. Parnell, occupied the first night of the session, forestalling even the debate on the Address. The Government did not behave in an honourable or manly spirit, and were heavily punished in the division on their motion to shield "old friend Walter." Their majority dwindled to 48 or little more than one-half their reduced normal majority, which has fallen from 118 in 1886 to 86 at the present date. After a slight and temporary diversion on the subject of Portugal, the debate on the Address has been occupied almost exclusively, up to the time of writing, on various phases of the Irish question. There is nothing more remarkable in a small way, and for its significance, than the fact that the debate on the Address should not even have been reached on the first night in the session, and that the mover and the seconder, all strangely clad in uniform and armed for defence or defiance, should have been called to make their speeches in the cold grey light of early afternoon. Three nights were occupied over a debate raised by a comprehensive amendment moved by Mr. Parnell, condemning the administration of Mr. Balfour, root and branch, and insisting on the right of the Irish people to rule their own affairs. This amendment disposed of, an afternoon was occupied on the subject of Home Rule for Scotland, of which, it is safe to say, we should never have heard had not Ireland so completely and so long blocked the way, giving the members for Scotland no chance or next to none at Westminster for ecclesiastical, educational and social reforms, regarding which perverted Scotland has long been ripe in advance of the more easy-going, and perhaps sluggish, Southron. The result of the debating so far is marked by a gradual but steady diminution of the Government majority. In the division on Mr. Parnell's amendment, the numbers showed a majority of 67 out of a possible 86. It is of course a mistake to declare this division as a narrow one, which it is not in any sense, but the diminishing strength of the Government as thus tested at the beginning of the Session cannot be regarded by the Conservatives as in any sense other than an ominous sign. The discussion on Dr. Clark's amendment in favour of some form of Home Rule for Scotland, was chiefly remarkable for the intervention of Mr. Gladstone, who made free use of a recent article in the *WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, to show that Scotland has a real grievance. He appeared to be somewhat attracted by Mr. Donald Crawford's suggestion of a grand committee of Scotch members to prepare Scotch Bills, but put some rather puzzling questions as to the details of such an arrangement.

There have been four divisions on Irish amendments to the Address during the present Parliament. On the first occasion, in 1887, the

Government majority was 106, next year it fell to 88, last year it was 79, now it is only 67. Several Liberal Unionists were absent on account of illness, but there is no doubt that the party did all they could. Besides lending the aid of Sir Henry James in debate, several members like Mr. Courtney, Mr. Caine, and Mr. Coghill, who had perhaps diplomatically failed to put in an appearance in the Privilege debate and division on the first night of the session, attended to make up a full muster.

The Queen's Speech at the opening of Parliament contained, or rather conveyed, two surprises. One was the promise of a Local Government Bill for Ireland on the lines which have already been laid down in the English and Scotch Acts of 1888 and 1889. The scope of this measure is limited by a guarding phrase so elastic that it may mean anything or nothing. It adopts the principles of the measures already become law "so far as they are applicable to Ireland." The phrase partakes of the vagueness of a Scotch Lord Advocate of unhappy memory, who once described a certain outhouse as "perfectly fitted for every purpose for which it was adapted." The other was the absence of any reference to the subject of free or assisted elementary education in England, which, after Lord Salisbury's Nottingham speech, had been generally anticipated as the sop of the session to Liberal Unionists of the Birmingham persuasion. It appeared, however, from various observations made both by Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords, and Mr. Smith in the House of Commons, that the scheme of "assisted" education is not altogether abandoned. Much will depend upon the surplus Mr. Goschen may have to handle. But the question is a thorny one, with extensive ramifications beyond the claims of English denominationalists. Dr. Hunter, who led the way towards the application of Scotland's share of the Imperial revenue out of excise licences and probate duty under the Local Government Acts, to the purpose of freeing the schools in that pioneer ground of advanced Liberalism, intimated the other day, on receiving the honour of the free citizenship of Aberdeen, that he will claim the application of Scotland's share of the surplus to the purposes of endowed secondary education. The application of Local Government funds, and also of a certain share of the surplus to the purposes of education in Ireland, is beset with pitfalls for the Imperial Government, especially in Conservative and Liberal Unionist hands. For the rest the measures promised in the Queen's Speech are for the most part remanets from last session. Once again Lord Chancellor Halsbury will try his hand at a measure to facilitate and cheapen the transfer of land in England. A Bill to improve the process of levying tithe and facilitating its redemption will raise the crucial question how far this source of revenue is to be regarded as national or denominational. An amendment of the Employers Liability Act will again

bring the Home Secretary and Mr. Broadhurst—who, after many years of admirable and loyal service to the Trades Union Congress, resigns his position of influence as Secretary—into sharp collision. A semi-Socialist programme is indicated in the promised Bills relating to the dwellings of the working-classes, and the better regulation of savings banks and friendly societies, and a tentative measure in the direction of Home Rule will be offered to Scotland in a measure to diminish the difficulty and costs now attending the passage of private legislation required for Scotland. A commission is also promised to “report the best means of improving the economic conditions which affect the inhabitants of some parts of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland.”

The relations between Great Britain and Portugal hardly perhaps come within the scope of a review of Home Affairs during the month. Yet a subject can hardly be altogether omitted which occupied the attention of both Houses of Parliament on the first nights of the debate on the Address. It must be said that Lord Salisbury was let down very easily by his principal critics, Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone. They agreed that substantially his treatment of Portugal in respect of pretensions in Africa was justified and correct, though agreeing in their condemnation of high-handed and arbitrary despatches, which needlessly wounded the susceptibilities of an ally and *protégé* whose spirited assertion of its adventurers' claims has extorted the respect of so cold-blooded a critic as Sir James Fergusson. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, by his unreserved support of Lord Salisbury's attitude took the wind out of Mr. Labouchere, who had given notice of an amendment condemning the rejection by the Foreign Office of Portugal's humble claim for arbitration. In this respect, perhaps, Mr. Gladstone's generous treatment of his political adversaries, whilst honouring the safe traditions which make for a continuous foreign policy, went beyond the mark. The writer of this review agrees entirely with the belief that the pretensions and the conduct of Portugal in the Shire Valley were alike indefensible. But all the more on that account it might have been well that England should have entered into the arbitration which the weaker Power invited. In the establishment of a thorough confidence on the principle of international arbitration lies the only possible path towards that disarmament from which no less than the military Powers of the Continent our country has much to gain. Even the deprivation of a hundred square miles of unprofitable territory on the Shire river—which there was little reason to expect if our quarrel with Portugal was as just as we all believe—would have been a cheap surrender, in return for the possible attainment of a Court of Arbitration which would save every nation of Europe, Great Britain included, the expenditure of many millions of money every year, and would permit a return to the useful employments of peace to many thousands, perhaps we might

more accurately say hundreds of thousands of men, whose energies are now misdirected in the unprofitable occupations of the barrack and the camp.

Two vacancies which occurred before the meeting of Parliament have now been filled up—one by the election, with a greatly reduced majority, of Mr. Parker-Smith, a Liberal Unionist, in succession to Mr. Craig Sellar, for the Partick division of Glasgow—which Mr. Gladstone is said to have compared to the St. George's (Hanover Square) division of London, as the stronghold of Scottish Toryism—and the other by the unopposed return of a Home Rule Liberal to succeed the late Mr. Talbot, long known as the father of the House in Mid-Glamorganshire. The election of Mr. Parker-Smith happened opportunely for Mr. Chamberlain. A few days before the *Standard* and other Conservative newspapers had been raising the cry that Liberal Unionists must merge themselves under the Tory banner, since Tories or the constituencies do not understand coalitions, and will not vote for Liberal Unionists. The Tories in the Partick division—which is the seat of the University—must have voted for Mr. Parker-Smith with a will. His popular opponent, Sir Charles Tennant put on 990 votes to the Liberal poll, which should in ordinary circumstances have turned the scales in his favour, even against an adverse majority of 810. But the Tory and Liberal Unionist vote had also increased, and Mr. Parker-Smith was enabled to save the seat for his party. A vacancy occurs in North St. Pancras, through the succession to the peerage of Mr. Cochrane-Baillie. His father, Lord Lanington, then Mr. Baillie-Cochrane, was one of the Young England party which gathered around Mr. Disraeli, a party of dandies, of which the Duke of Rutland is now the sole survivor. The seat in St. Pancras it is believed will be won by the Liberals, who have chosen Mr. Bolton, their former member, for their candidate.

The obituary of the month contains some notable names. A true gentlewoman, and a genuine reformer and philanthropist, in the person of Mrs. Lucas, the sister of John Bright, has joined the great majority. Sir Louis Mallet, the friend of Cobden, and for many years the chief literary apostle of Free Trade, died a few days ago. Mr. Justice Manisty, a judge of honourable fame, died literally in harness, being struck down, while hearing a case, by a stroke of paralysis, which spared him only eight days of conscious life. Very suddenly Mr. Joseph Gillis Biggar, a notable Parliamentary figure in the Irish Nationalist party, who began by being a great and almost universally detested bore, and ended by winning a very general respect and becoming an almost universal favourite, died from heart disease at Clapham a few hours after he had told for his party in the division of the House of Commons on Mr. Parnell's amendment to the Address. Mr. Biggar is lamented by Mr. Parnell as his earliest and most trusted Parliamentary friend.



His death causes a vacancy in the representation of Cavan, the seat being at present in Mr. Parnell's hands at the present time—Waterford having been at last declared vacant through the death by drowning of Mr. Jasper Pyne two years ago. The Stamford division of Lincolnshire is rendered vacant by the appointment of Mr. J. C. Lawrance to a Judgeship, in gross abuse of political patronage, and an election will shortly take place at Stoke-on-Trent, a safe Liberal seat in the room of Mr. W. Leatham Bright, who resigns on account of ill-health, and is likely to be succeeded by Mr. G. Leveson Gower, one of the Liberal whips in Mr. Gladstone's last Government.

April 1891

## PRINCE BISMARCK'S POSITION.

ON the day on which this REVIEW is published, Prince Bismarck will complete his seventy-fifth year. Of late there have been rumours that the Chancellor was about to retire, either partially or entirely, from the cares and the honours of his great position. Some have prophesied that he would resign the Presidency of the Prussian Ministry, others have asserted that he would lay down the Chancellorship itself. But the one grain of fact to be found in these assumptions is that he has ceased to act as Prussian Minister of Commerce, and that his opinions upon some social and economic questions are not shared by his successor in that office. In spite of the change of Emperors, the defeat at the February elections, and his own advanced age, Prince Bismarck continues to control the destinies of the German Empire. After forty-three years of public life as a politician and a diplomatist, and twenty-seven years' continuous tenure of office as a Minister, he still stands towering high above the parliamentary majority of the day, like that *rocher de bronze*, to which Frederick William I. once compared the Prussian monarchy.

It is true that the alliance between the Conservative and National Liberal parties, which did so much to bring about the unity of Germany, which was weakened by the sudden change of the Chancellor's fiscal policy, but which was re-established under the arrangement known as the "Cartel" at the elections of 1887, has received a severe blow at the elections of 1890. In February 1887, the elections were fought upon a purely national question. There was war in the air, for Boulanger was at the French War Office, and war was feared between Russia and Austria, become since the treaties of Prague and Berlin more and more an Eastern power. The Reichstag had rejected the Septennate, and was unwilling to grant the proposed increase of the army for more than three years. The Government parties had an excellent cry at the polls, and obtained a clear majority of forty-five votes over all other sections together. But this majority was slightly diminished during the three years of the last Parliament, and has now entirely disappeared. The National Liberals, who once held the balance of power in their hands, have been almost annihilated, and the "Freisinnige" or Radicals, the Catholic Centre and the Social Democrats have come out of the contest with flying colours. Moderate parties have succumbed,

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extreme parties have won the day. The "red jesuits" and the "black jesuits" remain masters of the field, and the three-headed monster, Windhorst-Richter-Bebel, lies in wait at the entrance of the Reichstag to devour the proposals of the Chancellor and his adherents.

What then are the causes of this great and overwhelming defeat at the polls? What has induced the German electorate to substitute a majority composed of Catholics, Radicals, and Social Democrats for a majority whose constituent elements were Conservatives and National Liberals, and whose motto was, so said the Opposition :

"Wie Bismarck will,  
Wir halten still."

It cannot have been the mere whim of the populace, grown weary of its Aristides and tired of government by the "old gang." Such a theory might explain the unexpected decisions of the French, or rather the Parisian elector; but it can have no application to his German colleague. France is governed by phrases, Germany, like England, is governed by facts.

We believe that the first, and not the least, cause of this great change of public opinion in Germany is the ten years' of Prince Bismarck's protectionist policy. When he declared himself in favour of a high tariff in the spring of 1879, he estranged from his side the great bulk of the National Liberal party, with which he had for so long been accustomed to co-operate. But the Chancellor's sudden change of front upon that occasion did more than alienate the sympathies of the more Liberal section of his parliamentary supporters. His new policy, by raising the price of food, has injured the working-man, who in Germany, as in England, has discovered his power of retaliation. The elections of 1881 were fought soon after this reform was introduced; at those elections the Government was defeated, because the price of grain had risen, and the Chancellor had attempted to introduce the tobacco monopoly. As it was in 1881, so is it in 1890. It was stated the other day by a prominent German politician, that bread and corn are dearer in Germany than anywhere else in the world, and that no less than four hundred million marks, or twenty million pounds, of new taxes and tolls has been granted by the Reichstag, and imposed by the Government since 1884. Now, it does not require much argument to induce the operative or the labourer to vote against a government which raises the price of his food. The working-man does not care much about the right of voting in the middle of election; but he does care about his pocket.

But if the ten years from 1879 to 1889 had been really the ten years of protection, that would not have affected the present state of political parties. Protection would have increased the income of the Radicals, but it would not have increased the income of

the Socialists. Ten years of protection would have given us an election such as that of 1881, but it is the ten years of anti-socialist legislation that are mainly responsible for the Socialist victories of the twentieth of February and the first of March. Active proceedings against the Socialists date from the attempts of Hoedel and Nobiling to assassinate the old Emperor William in the summer of 1878. Socialism had, it is true, existed before that time; three Socialist deputies had sat in the first parliament of the German Empire; as far back as 1862, Ferdinand Lassalle had held meetings of workmen in the large towns of Saxony and in Berlin itself. It was whispered, nay more, it was openly asserted, on a memorable occasion, that Bismarck himself had not scrupled to make use of Lassalle's assistance in his struggle against the Liberals during the years of the "government without a budget." We see nothing in this accusation which is at all incompatible with Prince Bismarck's character. He is a born opportunist. He is the very reverse of a doctrinaire politician. He takes his allies where he can find them. His aim is not political consistency, but the greatness and the unity of the German Empire. He approved of the humiliating convention of Olmuetz, yet he brought about the glorious treaty of Prague. He declared that he would never go to Canossa, yet he has repealed most of the "May laws." He has been the confederate of the National Liberals, yet he has acted in union with the Catholic Centre. He was a free-trader, yet he is a protectionist. He asserted in 1871 that Germany did not want colonies, yet he revived in 1884 that colonial policy which had slumbered since the days of the Great Elector. But in all these extraordinary changes, this great statesman has been guided by one fixed principle, the good of the German Empire, and, before the establishment of the German Empire, the unification of Germany by the instrumentality of Prussia. We think therefore that it is not at all improbable that Bismarck, when playing the part of Strafford in the Prussian parliament of 1863 and 1864, found Lassalle a useful tool and availed himself of the privilege of Providence and great statesmen to choose the instruments of their designs wheresoever they will.

Then came the Franco-German War of 1870. After that war the whole of Germany was flooded by the golden rain of the milliards. But the French indemnity has been to the German Empire what the shirt of Nessus was to Hercules in the play. It has been a poisoned gift. Government works were commenced all over the country; the great demand for labour was followed by a great rise of wages. In some cases a navy recruit was paid as much as fifteen marks a day. A commercial crisis, however, followed and wages fell as they had risen. In Continental States the lower classes are accustomed to attribute all their ills and all misfortune to the patriarchal government. In Germany the Government itself has done everything in its power to

further this pleasing superstition. It proceeded to practise "practical Christianity" by giving a sop to the Socialists by the Workmen's Accidents Insurance Bill, while with the other hand it sternly repressed them. It acted, in short, like an injudicious mother, who scolds and caresses her child almost at the same moment. Instead of teaching the workmen that it was their duty to help themselves, it showed them by its practice that Government would help the capable and the incapable alike. In a word, Prince Bismarck wished to have a monopoly of Socialism, as of tobacco, drove his competitors out of the field by repressive legislation, and then practised State Socialism himself.

But Socialism was not annihilated. On the contrary it grew by persecution, and was more dangerous because it struck its blow from behind a curtain. Prince Bismarck has been called the "Diocletian of the Nineteenth Century"; but, like all persecutors, he has caused those whom he has assailed to increase and multiply. He persecuted the Catholics, they have grown in numbers and in influence; in 1873 he proposed the famous Falk laws, in 1879 Herr Windthorst appeared in the Palace of the Chancellor, and a Catholic was elected as vice-president of the Reichstag. He proscribed the Socialists, and now after ten years of repressive legislation, they return from the polls with that third dozen of adherents, which he once wished they might obtain, perhaps more in sarcasm than in earnest. In the very place where the Anti-Socialist Law has been most severely enforced, in the kingdom of Saxony, the adherents of Herr Bebel have, at this election, been most successful. And that fact speaks volumes; Saxony is the Lancashire of Germany; where most operatives are to be found, there are most Socialists also. All over the Empire, wherever there are large towns, there the Socialists have carried the day. All three seats in Hamburg were captured by the Social Democrats, they were victorious in Berlin and in Strassburg, in Dresden, and in the busy districts of Westphalia. Where the Socialists have been expelled from the towns, they have infected the country districts. One workman was banished from Berlin; he wins a seat at Brandenburg; another is forced to leave the capital, he contests a seat at Cologne. Well might the last Reichstag reject the now famous "Expulsion Clause," well might Prince Carolath-Schoenaich exclaim on that occasion: "We are ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Government against the Social Democracy, but I beg them to allow us to differ from them in our choice of means."

There is, however, one party which has contended with conspicuous success against the encroachments of the Social Democracy. This party is the Catholic centre, the party of authority in Church and State. This fact is surely one of the most instructive lessons of the late German elections. Herr Windthorst, the eminent

tactician, who still leads the Ultramontane party at the age of seventy-nine, stated in his election manifesto, that there was only one means of crushing Socialism, and that means was not the civil but the ecclesiastical arm. "We recognise," so ran this remarkable document, "that the unhindered activity of the Catholic Church and her organs, and the strengthening of the Christian spirit in the circles of the employers of labour and their men form the most effectual barrier against the common danger of Socialism." That is to say, the most powerful weapon against anarchy is the revival of ecclesiasticism. It is a curious testimony to the vitality and power of the Catholic Church that, after an existence of nearly twenty centuries, after the storms of the Reformation and the struggles of the Revolution, she is as strong to-day as when, eight hundred years ago, the Emperor Henry IV., clad in a shirt of hair, bowed himself down to the earth and did humble obeisance to the Vicegerent of Christ at the castle of Canossa. That Church was victorious over the Hohenstauffen; it has not been vanquished by the Hohenzollerns. It survived the fall of the Holy Roman Empire, it may avert the decay of the new German Empire. Its ministers first created order out of disorder in Prussia, its principles may prevent the return of chaos and the destruction of society. Politics have often been summoned to the aid of religion, religion may now be summoned to the aid of politics. Napoleon anticipated that Europe would become either Cossack or Republican, it is possible that it may some day be divided between Catholics and Socialists.

But another mistake on the part of Bismarck has led to the defeat of the Government parties at the polls. Socialism would be less formidable if it had not the means of showing its power. And that means it possesses. For has it not those two great weapons, the sword and the shield of democracy, manhood suffrage and the ballot. When the North German Federation was founded in 1867, Bismarck granted this exceedingly democratic measure in order to check those middle classes who had been his most powerful and most persistent opponents in the Prussian Chamber. He never expected at that time that Socialism would spread with such rapidity and turn against the Government the weapon which the Government had forged against the middle classes. He said himself in a debate on the electoral law, that he knew no system of election that was better than that of direct manhood suffrage. In 1848 it had been regarded by the Conservatives as synonymous with political ruin, but it had been adopted by the National Assembly of Frankfurt in the abortive constitution, which they formulated in 1849. Fourteen years later Bismarck himself had proposed it to the Congress of Princes, which met at Frankfurt, and he clearly regarded it as a necessary survival of the experiments of Gagern and his fellow-workers. But its adoption was most dangerous in a country which had enjoyed but a

small measure of political education, and whose citizens had so slight a knowledge of affairs that Government employes were declared eligible for the Parliament of 1867 because they alone knew anything about the conduct of public business. The late election has justified the forebodings of the more moderate members of the Frankfurt National Assembly. Some newspapers are now demanding the alteration of the suffrage; others, among them the well-known *Kreuzzeitung*, which is the high-water mark of German Toryism, suggests that the Social Democrats shall be declared incapable of sitting in the Reichstag, and that he who would destroy the laws shall not make the laws. But the latter proposal would never be carried, and, even if it were carried, would make Socialism more dangerous, because it had no legitimate means of expressing its opinions. To declare Socialists ineligible, would be to sit upon the safety-valve of the parliamentary engine. That second edition of the French Revolution, which some patriotic Frenchmen have been prophesying for the German Empire, might be expected as the result of such a measure. But the alternative proposal is equally difficult to carry out. It is as hard for a statesman to raise the franchise as it is for an employer to lower the rate of wages. Prince Bismarck has created his Frankenstein, he must make the best of the monster which he has called into existence. Opportunism has its disadvantages.

Then there are the enormous armaments of the empire. At the present moment Europe is bristling with bayonets from the Baltic to the Adriatic and from the Ural mountains to the Pyrenees. Every nation wishes for peace, yet every government prepares for war. We think that a proposal for an universal disarmament is at this moment as chimerical as a proposal for universal equality. As long as international relations upon the Continent remain what they are, there will always be danger of an outbreak either in the East or in the West, in Bulgaria or in Elsass. In that admirable speech which Prince Bismarck delivered some two years ago, and which every continental adherent of peace-at-any-price should bind as a frontlet between his eyes, he amply justified the increase of the German army. The Chancellor gave a brief but masterly sketch of the history of Europe since 1848. He showed that scarcely a year had elapsed without a fresh alarm of war. In 1850 Prussia was all but engaged in a war with Austria; in 1854 she was all but entangled in the Crimea. In 1857 she was prepared to take up arms for Neuchâtel: in 1859 she was only hindered by the unexpected peace of Villafranca from intervening in the war between Austria and Sardinia. Four years later there were rumours, not altogether unfounded, of an alliance between Russia and Prussia for the suppression of the Polish revolt. Then followed the war on occasion the war against Denmark, and the war against Austria, the Luxembourg question, and the Franco-German war, and from 1871 to the present time scarcely a year has passed without a serious European

of these volcanic agencies, which underlie the thin crust of diplomacy. It is true that these war scares are in favour of Bismarck. As long as there is danger of war, so long will the man of "blood and iron" rule supreme and rule successfully. That was amply demonstrated at the elections of 1887. For there are great war ministers and great peace ministers. Chatham is an example of the former, Walpole of the latter, and Bismarck is as superior to Chatham as a master of foreign policy as he is inferior to Walpole as a master of finance. If he had only confined his attention to diplomacy and foreign affairs he would have been more successful, and Germany would have been more prosperous. His opponents admit that he knows Europe; they deny that he knows Germany. But war scares, however useful to the Chancellor, are anything but advantageous to the people. Since 1871 two new rifles have been introduced into the German army; the third is soon to be adopted. Just before it was dissolved the last Reichstag granted a sum of some sixty-one million marks, or over £3,000,000, for new guns and fresh artillery. On the same day a grant of forty-six million marks, or £2,300,000, was made on account of the extension of the period of military service. The budget estimates for the financial year, ending on March 31, 1890, included items of some three hundred and sixty-seven million marks, or £18,350,000, for the army, and thirty-five million marks, or £1,750,000, for the navy. But that was not all. There must be added the extraordinary expenditure for naval and military purposes, amounting to eighty-seven million marks, or £4,350,000. These huge grants are no doubt necessary under the existing state of affairs, when Germany may be assailed upon two quarters at once, in Posen and in Elsass; but this vast burden presses most heavily on the tax-payer. The Radicals made it a reproach of the late "Cartel"-Reichstag, which was "born of fright," that it was so extravagant. Says the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, singing a psalm of victory over the fallen National Liberals, "may the earth be lighter to them than they were in their life to the German empire." And while the system of militarism makes the workmen discontented, it spreads the contagion of Socialism by bringing recruits, hitherto untainted, into contact with their socialist fellow-soldiers in the barracks. And by way of making matters worse, the more cultured recruits are so badly treated by the officers, that the Emperor has actually issued a rescript to the army, inculcating the virtue of forbearance.

But if this large military expenditure is necessary for the safety of the great empire, which lies, unfortunately for its peace, in the centre of Europe, the same plea cannot be urged in defence of the costly colonial policy. The present German colonies on the south-west and south-east coasts of Africa and on the north coast of New Guinea seem to be as unprofitable to the Germans of the nineteenth century, as was the Brandenburg African company to the Germans of



the seventeenth century. At the time when other European powers were planting colonies all over the world, Germany did not exist as a State. And to-day, when she is the strongest State upon the Continent, it is too late. The habitable world has been long since divided and parcelled out among the nations. Colonial possessions, even though they be dismal sands or barren coral-reefs, can now-a-days only be acquired by conquest or annexation. But the German Government has quite enough to do at home, without annexing another Elsass in the Pacific and more Polish provinces in Africa. Elsass was necessary to the protection of South Germany, but foreign settlements beyond the seas could scarcely protect themselves. Only an island can afford to colonise with impunity, and even in the case of an island, each fresh colony is a fresh hostage to fortune. In the event of a European war, the German Empire would be attacked at home; her armies would be engaged on her too numerous frontiers, her fleet would be occupied in the Baltic and the North Sea. Meanwhile the colonies would be at the mercy of the first comer. As it is, they cost much and produce little, except an increase of the navy and the naval estimates. It is barely six years since this policy was commenced, and yet it has already led to international disputes. There was the quarrel with Spain about the Caroline Islands, there was the misunderstanding with England about Angra Pequena. The sole gain to Germany is the prestige acquired by the meeting of the Congo Conference at Berlin. Yet the late Reichstag granted a yearly subsidy of nine hundred thousand marks, or £45,000, to a line of steamers to the East Coast of Africa. It was clearly demonstrated that there was but little trade, and but small hope of developing it. "Everywhere in Africa," said one good mercantile authority, "we are beaten out of the field by the English." It was argued that if such an enterprise had been profitable, the merchants of Hamburg would have taken the matter up on their own account. But the Reichstag was only following the example of its predecessor. Four years ago a larger subsidy of some £220,000 was granted to the North German Lloyd for the purpose of promoting a line with Australia. Two million marks, or £100,000 was voted last November for Major Wissmann's expedition; it is stated that the new parliament will be asked to set aside a further sum for the same purpose. But other European powers have colonies, so Germany must needs have colonies also, just as some States imagine that they are not great nations until they have contracted a great national debt. So Herr Richter, the leader of the Radical party, declared to his constituents that he was "opposed to the expensive colonial policy of the Government, which costs us much blood and treasure and plunges us into adventures."

\* These late elections were the first that had been held since the death of the old Emperor William. In Germany, as in England,

parliament is not terminated by the demise of the Crown, and this is the first opportunity which the electorate has had of expressing its opinions since the founder of the empire passed away. Now it is only natural that the influence of the young Emperor should be not nearly so strong as the influence of the old Emperor. William II. is a young man, William I. was an old man. William II. has done little, William I. had done much. He had created the empire, he had protected it from war; he was in complete harmony with his great adviser, he had declared that he would never dismiss him from his side. But it is not so clear that his grandson agrees so entirely with the policy of Prince Bismarck. There were the Imperial rescripts, there was the resignation of the Minister of Commerce. When the electors voted for the Government at former elections they must have felt that they had pleased the Emperor, whom they adored. Some disapproved of the policy of the Government, but every one revered the Sovereign. But another influence has been at work, that of the late Emperor Frederick. Frederick III. only reigned ninety-nine days, but he did more for Liberalism in Germany than any of his predecessors on the throne. He was deeply imbued with liberal ideas; he admired the machinery and aims of the English Constitution. William I. once declared to King Max, of Bavaria, that the government of a nation resembled the regulation of the bed of a river. "The dams," he said, "must be neither too broad nor too narrow; in Hanover and Hesse they are too narrow, in England they are too broad." That was certainly not the opinion of the Emperor Frederick. He believed in the beautiful aphorism of Ranke, that true kingship consists in educating the minds of men. He was determined that the representatives of the people should represent the real opinions of the people. Almost the sole official act of his short reign was to secure this end. The Radical party had complained in the Reichstag that the Government was in the habit of exercising undue influence upon the elections. William I. would have done nothing, Frederick III. issued a rescript. He enjoined upon the Prussian Ministry the necessity of ensuring perfect freedom of election. Von Puttkamer, that same amiable Minister who declared some years ago that it was the duty of all administrative officials to vote for the Government candidates, and that those who had done so would receive the thanks of the Emperor, took the hint and retired from the Ministry of the Interior. But the Imperial rescript has produced results far more lasting than the retirement of an unpopular Minister. It was a sign of the times, which every one could read. It will scarcely be necessary for Herr Richter to complain a second time in the Reichstag that the elections are manipulated, or the votes unduly influenced. Even Prince Bismarck has been forced to admit that his former electioneering agent was "a good rider, but he rode into every puddle."

But the Emperor Frederick has assisted German Liberalism, not only by what he did, but by what he suffered. We have not yet forgotten in this country the furious invectives which were poured forth day after day by the most prominent organs of the Cartel press against the eldest daughter of our Sovereign. It is not likely that the less prejudiced portion of the German electorate has forgiven them. He who sows the wind, says the proverb, will reap the storm. Even the Government seems ashamed of what was done, if not by its sanction, at least without its prohibition. Prince Bismarck has not spared the press when it has attacked himself; if he had lifted his little finger, it dared not have said a word about "petticoat government." But a few weeks ago the editor of one of the chief newspapers of the Cartel party had an opportunity vouchsafed him of meditating a palinode in the deep seclusion of one of his Prussian Majesty's prisons. The history of English journalism, even in times of great popular excitement, even in the heat of partisan strife, contains few such passages as abounded some eighteen months ago in the columns of that high-class journal, the *Koelnische Zeitung*.

Prince Bismarck has thus been brought face to face with an adverse majority of considerable strength; but that is no reason why he should retire before the enemy. Any fresh parliamentary struggle would be mere child's-play compared with the four years' battle against the Prussian Chambers in the sixties. Nor has the Reichstag the constitutional powers of the English House of Commons. The position of the Chancellor does not depend upon its vote. He is the servant of the empire, not of the constituencies. His responsibility is moral, not legal. In this transitional stage of German history, it is, in our opinion, very undesirable that Liberal institutions should be adopted with too great rapidity. When peace is once assured, they will come as a matter of course. Two things are essential to the existence of a great continental State. It should be strong, and it should be free. In peaceful times freedom is more desirable than strength, but in unsettled times, like the present, strength is more necessary than freedom. It is for this reason that the Septennate is indispensable. It is for this reason that the central power must be strong. It was because the central power was so weak that the Holy Roman Empire succumbed to Napoleon, it was from the same cause that the *Bund* crumbled away. But excessive centralisation has its disadvantages. The union of many offices and vast powers in the hands of one man checks the political education of the people. It gives them no experience of affairs, the Ministers become machines, the power of initiative is lost. When the strong man is gone, none can bend the bow of Ulysses. It is in the German Empire as it was under the Second Empire in France. No great statesmen were produced by the system of personal government.

When Napoleon fell there was no one, who had experience of office, except M. Thiers, and he belonged to the period anterior to the Empire. Like Sir Robert Walpole, and like the younger Pitt, Bismarck chooses nonentities for his Ministers. As long as they agree with him, it is well; but if they venture to express disapproval of his designs, they find themselves compelled to retire, naturally "from ill-health." When he ceases to take part in public affairs, his great office may be divided, or, as he has himself hinted, the Emperor may act as his own Chancellor.

It will not be difficult for Prince Bismarck to form a coalition in the Reichstag. He has done so before, he can do so again. The most obvious combination would be that of the Conservatives and the Catholic Centre. The *Culturkampf* is now at an end; the "May laws" are almost all repealed. Except on religious questions, the Catholics are almost at one with the Conservatives; they approve of protection, they are naturally the party of authority. But they are opposed to exceptional legislation, by which the Government can permanently banish the Socialist agitators from their homes. They cannot forget the fate of their own bishops. Bismarck has already acted as "Windthorst's attorney," Windthorst has declared that he prefers Bismarck to the Prussian bureaucracy. The German Empire is entering upon a period of trial; two difficulties lay before it when it sprang into life; it has made peace with the Catholics and the Pope, it has yet to combat the dangers of Socialism. But of one thing we may rest assured, that whatever be the dissensions within its borders in time of peace, they would vanish in an instant at the alarm of war. Parties may differ about internal government, but everyone is agreed that the Empire shall be maintained. There may be a few Socialists who care nothing for nationalities, who look for a world-empire of peace; but such aims are visionary. We shall have the advantage before long of hearing the formulated plans of the Social Democrats through the mouths of their accredited representatives in the Imperial Parliament.

The foregoing pages were written early in March. Meanwhile the unexpected has occurred. To the surprise of every one, the most powerful statesman of the century has resigned all his posts, and has retired into private life. Beyond all doubt the resignation of Prince Bismarck is the most important event in European politics since the foundation of the German Empire. No statesman since Metternich has held office so long; no statesman since Metternich has been so completely identified with a system. And as it was then, so will it be now, the system of Bismarck, like the system of Metternich, will fall with its creator. However much we may

dislike the policy of the Chancellor at home, we cannot but regard his retirement with alarm and regret. It was the great glory of Bismarck that he preserved by peace what he had created by war. International problems, which less experienced men would have solved by the sword, he solved by the magic of his name and the greatness of his influence. The work of German unity once accomplished, he was the persistent upholder of the peace of Europe. He, and he alone, could hold in check the wild storm-winds of European politics. Under the guidance of a mere soldier like Caprivi, or a mere official like Von Boetticher, who can guarantee the peaceful development of the German Empire? And will a young and inexperienced ruler, conscious of his own ability, and eager for distinction, will he succeed in giving Europe another twenty years of peace? It is easy to criticise the home policy of Prince Bismarck; but great men, like great books, are above the ordinary canons of criticism; they are a law unto themselves. And as a Foreign Minister, who shall say where he has erred? Like Shakespeare's hero, he did

“bestride the narrow world,  
Like a Colossus; and we petty men  
Walk under his huge legs.”

W. MILLER.

## THE ORIGIN OF RIGHT AND WRONG.

It is right and wrong, not good and evil, that outline the limits of a theory of morals. The rule of right and wrong is of the nature of a standard or a guiding line. The test of good and evil is of the nature of a touchstone. Conduct is judged by the rule. Nature is put to the test. The era of right and wrong began at an evolutionary epoch which is but as of yesterday, compared with the origin of good and evil. Right and wrong date from the infancy of society, and are the invention of men. Good and evil are as old as life. Just as there is no music or noise in nature outside the drum of an ear, so there is neither good nor evil but to things that live. The mystery of good and evil is the mystery of life. Is there any mystery of wrong—moral evil as it has come to be called? The inventions of men can always be explained; and the facts in the case of right and wrong are not exceptionally obscure.

Conduct is right or wrong, and there are two sources of conduct which are not only distinct but antagonistic. Elements issue from them as hostile in nature as they are alien in origin. The achievement of morality is the producing of some degree of harmony among these conflicting elements. Human progress is the enhancement of that harmony. The one source of conduct is the man himself—the individual, with all his needs and wants within him. The other is society—an arrangement made by men for their convenience and advantage as individuals, which, in all its Protean shapes, has always necessarily proved itself the origin of wrong, of so-called moral evil, the only evil that comes under notice in a science of human conduct. In this aspect of the subject, and employing the term evil in a sense that is quite prevalent, Society is the Origin of Evil.

The ultimate elements of conduct from the individual source—like the original and final activities of every form of organic, especially animal, life—are not far to seek; and ethical science has fared badly from attempts made to go farther and in other directions. They are:—

First, the need of nourishment, a lifelong source of conduct.

Second, the impulse to propagate, mighty during our maturity.

Third, the instinct of self-defence, which readily becomes aggressive: Minerva's shield with Medusa's head inserted.

These three facts are necessary and sufficient to explain human

conduct, from the individual point of view. They are postulates of moral science. They have regulated the lines of every shape, shift, and advance of civilisation. They are the three fates that reigned before, and rule above, the *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* of society. They are motive forces, the positive factors of conduct. The elements of conduct from the other source, of social origin, are negative. They differ from the three elements of individual origin as forms of action differ from forces. They are rules laid down by men for the regulation of nature; negative imperatives addressed to energies. Their standing formula is, "Thou shalt not."

It would be safe to assert that if the earliest moral precepts of the different races of men were on record, or could be got at by any means, they would all exhibit this formula of restraint addressed to those three individual activities. There is one code very available, the age of which is disputed, but which contains—perhaps embedded in more recent formations, like Silurian pebbles in boulder-clay—the three inevitable moral maxims of primeval society. The sixth, seventh, and eighth precepts of that Hebrew code of religion and morals, the venerable Ten Commandments, are fillings up of the formula. The five which precede and the two which follow them are, evidently, an outcome of considerable advance of society in religious thought, social order, the possession of property, and the regulation of speech. But the sixth, "Thou shalt not kill," is a restraint on the aggressiveness of the instinct of self-defence. The seventh, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," is an outer limit to the propagative impulse. The eighth, "Thou shalt not steal," is a regulation of the mode of supplying the need of nourishment. These three limitations of nature, violations of earlier laws, are assumed as the basis of a rational theory of right and wrong, or of society, which is the same thing. They view society at its barest, if not at its best. They are the three Laws of Morals in the scientific sense in which we speak of the three Laws of Motion. Newton imagined a state of things—bodies at rest or in uniform motion, not acted on by forces—which is implied in the phenomena of motion, but is beyond the utmost reach of direct perception. So the remote beginnings of society have to be imagined, and the imaginations will prove to have been shaped by truth, if, like Newton's laws, they explain the phenomena with the least possible complication of assumption; and, certainly, with no assumption more difficult to understand than the phenomena themselves.

The laying on of these limitations, and the consequent birth of the organic twins, right and wrong, was the first epoch in human progress. That epoch is so long ago—in the ages of antiquity to the Egyptians five or ten thousand years ago—that wondering inquirers when men first began to reflect on man—wonderers not to be wondered at—invented an imaginary generation of right and

wrong, immensely more difficult to explain than the facts to be explained. Such a wonderful event, they said, could only occur in a higher sphere, and before the foundation of the world. Remote antiquity charmed their gaze as it still has power to charm, for their devout imaginations are held as solemn facts to-day. A sense of right and wrong in man, and its so-called special faculty, conscience, is widely, and on many intellectual heights, held to be the clearest evidence that this mighty universe is not fortuitous and fatherless. The birthplace of right and wrong is, notwithstanding, stamped on them, and in plain legible characters, to be seen and read by all who will hold them up to the light and look—the best way to dissolve a charm. They are of the earth; very earthy, invented and sanctioned by society, wherever it has taken shape: only there and always there. A sense of their homeliness on earth should be wholesome. The fiction of an eternal and immutable morality is injurious.

It is to be remarked, more particularly, that right conduct, or virtue, is living under restraint; wrong conduct, or vice, is pursuance of a course shaped by nature before the need of restraint asserted itself. There is nothing novel in these remarks. We all feel the truth of them. They are implied in the traditions of teaching, training, example, held as so necessary to induce us to enter in at the strait gate and keep on the narrow way of virtue, and to keep away from the wide ancient gate, of massive Cyclopean structure, through which the broad way of vice is easily entered upon. But, however old the remark is, it has to be emphasized that virtue is originally negative; vice, positive.

The slow, tedious, and, for ages in primeval times, all but imperceptible triumphs of negative imperatives over positive impulses will not be difficult to imagine, but need not be dwelt on now. We know that, in times of which there is some record, invisible powers were freely appealed to; gods, oracles, miracles were invented; great religions sprang into being and have been fostered by society, as auxiliaries in the everlasting conflict. In our own time—for in every age there are all the ages—the struggle still is fierce; but society is proud of its triumphs. The fertility of virtue is wonderful, but the blighting influences ever at work perplex the cultivators of morals. The virtues are gloried in as entirely a society crop; the vices are the tares. But tares, like weeds in general, are of great interest to the scientist. There would be no science of botany if everybody treated weeds as the farmer does. The weeds have also practical uses—many of them of a medicinal kind. And as moral science, like medical science, owes its origin to disease, a study of the “simples” in morals may be as beneficial as an analogous study has proved in medicine. It is the only way to diagnose the disease. It leads up to its origin. The virtues are right by the sanction of society. The vices are wrong by the self-same mode of qualification.



The source of the vices is nature herself. Here, it may be remarked in passing, we get a glimpse of some rational meaning in the phrase "original sin," and a hint at why the "natural man" has so long been held in supreme disregard. It is society that calls the original and the natural sinful—society as against the individual; the principle of order as against the element of liberty.

That conduct is qualified as right or wrong by the all-sufficient sanction of society should read like one of the baldest of truisms, a merely verbal proposition, a variation on the meaning of words. But twins as right and wrong are, society has never handsomely acknowledged the paternity of the darker one. It has been reluctant to look at the truth of this matter. In the spirit of Adam, it has both repudiated blame, and laid it on another. The reasons for this deserve close attention, but need not at present complicate a simple line of argument. The other is the individual. It is a cunning evasion. Collectively, the individuals who make up society are not to blame for wrong, while each individual apart is an original spring of the mischief. The explanation of moral evil by human depravity, meaning by that the corruption of individual human nature, is a doctrine of old renown. It has breathed life into religions and philosophies. It informs public opinion. It guards jealously those cruelties in criminal codes which it has originated. Driven by stress of argument to mystify and magnify the fictitious corruption, the teachers of this doctrine invented original sin, thus surcharging the moral atmosphere with elements of self-degradation to the individual, and holding dalliance with inducements to despair. This doctrine concerning the corruption of human nature is distressing; but it is also absurd, and beside the question. It is vague talk about evil obscuring the question of wrong; and it means that the corrupt nature of man is absolutely evil. Absolute evil is not admitted. It is inconceivable. The phrase is a contradiction in terms. Good and evil are relative terms. If the young lion roars for food and is fed, it is good for the young lion, but bad for the animal it feeds on. So victory is good for the conqueror, bad for the conquered. It is the same all over. Every aspect of human progress frowns evil on many interests. Suppose absolute evil admitted in the case of human nature. A thing absolutely evil would be evil in all circumstances. That is what the phrase means. It would do evil. It would evade or transgress every rule made for good. When right was good it would do wrong. If not, what then? If it could be constrained to do right by regulation, we should have a power absolutely evil properly described as righteous; thus displaying righteousness opposed to goodness on clear open ground, to the serious depreciation of righteousness. It is a vague and vain philosophy. Let us turn from it:

There is no quality in nature and her operations, viewed in them-

selves, except that they are natural. Whether they are good or evil is a question affecting the conditions of life. The three primary forces of individual human nature are instances of nature at work, and the mind is in an unhealthy state that regards them, in themselves, as other than wonderfully beautiful. There is no quality of right or wrong in their natural operation. It is sanction that imposes such quality; and the sanction is given by society. Just as a commercial transaction may, by Act of Parliament, be constituted such a crime as smuggling, so, as a general truth, society by defining right originates wrong. The best illustrations of such a simple and obvious truth should be supplied by that elementary literature of society which, being the earliest, is always religious; and, naturally, comes to be held as sacred. The terrific power of sanction as affecting an act characterless enough in itself is asserted, without reserve, at the beginning of the literature which we repute sacred. It is the act of eating, one of the activities enforced by the need of nourishment. There is nothing wrong in eating fruit moderately, if you get it honestly, and if there is nothing wrong with the fruit. But we are taught that eating fruit "good for food," which had been arbitrarily forbidden, brought disaster on the whole human race. The prohibition to eat enlarged portentously the significance of the act of eating, and created the condition out of which universal ruin sprang at a bite. It may be objected that the story is not agreed on as an historical event. It would, in these days, be a reproach to a man's understanding to say of him that he held it as recording an actual occurrence in time. But truth is often caged in myth. In that ancient and utterly improbable story there lurks the truth regarding the arbitrary origin of right and wrong. That truth has been veiled as learning advanced, and so are stars in the daytime by the dispersion of light. Still it is a truth of the first magnitude in a healthy science of conduct. It is true also that society is not the name given to the supreme authority, who, to discourage education among the lower orders, imposed a restriction on eating one kind of fruit. The religious literature that becomes sacred is not written about abstractions. The romance of religion is the hiding of its power. It is the sacred story that tells on mankind. Principles are persons till men grow the intellectual wings that ease them up a little into the rarer atmosphere of general truths.

The Hebrew literature, like all early writings, is rich in varied illustrations of the truth regarding the origin of right and wrong. We shall borrow one more. It shows how society can relax its own restrictions, and that "Thou shalt not steal" was meant strictly only for the individual. That very necessary restraint has worked itself so well into a law of nature with the vast majority of civilized men that, in our day, even starvation is not accepted as a plea for indi-

vidual stealing. But a sanction of sufficient strength to put down stealing by one people from another, society stealing, has not yet been established on the earth. Such a thought was far from the minds of the writers of Hebrew literature. It puts on record with approval that the Israelites were ordered to steal from the Egyptians. The terms of the order are interesting: "I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians, and it shall come to pass that when ye go ye shall not go empty: but every woman shall borrow of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment; and ye shall put them upon your sons, and upon your daughters; and ye shall spoil the Egyptians." And they did it. The border between stealing and borrowing with a view to spoil is a narrow one; but orders from the supreme authority would broaden it—if any of the women felt a scruple as to playing the mean part assigned them. These orders rendered it right, and their duty to spoil the Egyptians. The principle has been widely acted on since, and is still in vigorous working order. Happily, however, there are many who think it bad, notwithstanding the authority of nameless Hebrew chroniclers. Different societies—nations they are called—have begun to see that it will be to their interest not to steal from one another, and thus there is being originated international right and wrong in respect of stealing.

That a sense of right and wrong is an outcome of social conditions could be best made plain by a study of the regulations of the master-passion, that germ of love, if one might, without offence, state the argument fully and freely. The plant arrays itself in flower, and fruit is that beauty in maturity. It is so in all life's children, motionless and moving. But—and for strong reasons—the kindly impulse in man has been so much blamed, blushed at, apologized for, shut off from speech, as a power evil in itself, absolutely evil, bad before the invention of wrong, that it might weaken one's argument to do more than indicate where the best reasons in support of it are to be looked for. If that impulse were evil in itself—which it is not—then would marriage be a consecration of evil. It is only an attempt to hide this by the scanty veil of a word, to call marriage a sacrament instead of a civil contract. To employ priest or parson instead of sheriff or registrar is a similar device. Marriage laws and customs are inventions of mankind for the regulation of a power in which they resemble closely the popular imagination of a creator. It is these laws and customs that determine the right and wrong of human procreation and all its circumstances. The number of wives, for example, is a question of detail, as any one may see who looks abroad on the world, or back in time. Expediency, comfort, and the exigencies of social order at the time of the shaping of marriage laws and customs would settle such questions of detail; and they, in turn, would themselves be settled

by, among other influences, climate and a country's need of a larger or less population.

The instinct of self-defence pervades organic nature, and, in combination with the other two primary forces in all living things, it becomes aggressive. To it is due all that is called cruelty in creation, although we look in vain through nature for any sense of cruelty in the preying of living things one upon another. The sense of cruelty seems to be a development in civilized man. Not only animals, plants also display arrangements for self-defence if one may not speak of an instinct in plants. On their stems there are thorns and prickles, viscid exudations, and other insect traps; on their flowers, beautiful hairlike formations in protection of, especially, the reproductive organs. A thorny defence developed to meet a fresh emergency of danger is not unknown to botany.

To speak of right or wrong in reference to the activity of the original instinct of self-defence in man is to misuse language. That instinct is the potentiality of social life, the seed-bud of society, the germ of duty. Its natural aggressiveness is heated by friction in society. "Thou shalt not kill," is a restraint laid on this aggressiveness; and, as might be expected, it is an elastic rule of right and wrong. For it shows society regulating its own formative principle. It is an elastic rule! As far as words go, it prohibits the wresting of dear life from any living thing. Cruelty to animals has been very properly branded as wrong in this country; but killing them for sport is not yet regarded as cruelty to animals. Passing by also the feats of man, the arch destroyer, in the way of killing flocks and herds, and every kind of "lower" animal, winged, legged, crawling, finned, let us take the prohibition in its obvious intention, as forbidding man to kill his brother man. The rule has been relaxed to allow of the long red roll of the killed in war, and of the lurid list of the hanged, beheaded, and otherwise capitally killed. Society has sanctioned these relaxations, and, of course, they are right, notwithstanding the rule. Duelling is not called wrong till society no longer needs it; till forces of the nature of police are strong enough to let it be dispensed with. Justifiable homicide is a legal verdict; if the act of killing a man were wrong in itself, such a verdict would be a crime. The avenger of blood has all through the ages commanded more or less sympathy—less as society gets into the way of doing without him. People who kill, say for political reasons, have still a large public to applaud them; all the more if they are killed themselves for the killing they have done. If the applauding public becomes, as has not seldom happened, the dominant public, then the killers who were killed are worshipped. Their names become sacred. They are the stuff out of which patriots, heroes, martyrs are made. Society grades the wrong of killing, and gives names to the degrees. A bad name is murder. But a

motiveless murder is hardly recognised in courts of law, or anywhere else. When the motive is got at, it is always some advantage or disadvantage created by society. It can be no other than acquirement of property, concealment of infamy, inability to meet claims, revenge for wrongs, or some other incident of social arrangements, for which society, and not the individual, is ultimately to be held responsible. Society defines and gives quality to the deed, and supplies the motive.

To conclude from the instances advanced that, as a general truth, society, the arbiter of right, is the origin of wrong, of moral evil, is inevitable. In fulfilling this high function society transgresses laws of nature, of individual human nature, and that is the ultimate secret of sin on the earth. Those laws cannot be effaced. The forces they reveal are mighty workers of metamorphoses. Like life in the acanthus, they shoot up blossoms all around and beautify the clogs that are thoughtlessly laid on them and crush them. Hence love, duty, and all their graceful kindred.

The duty of the individual to society is the burden of traditional moral teaching. It is a wholesome and needful lesson. A lesson more needful and wholesome, but less heard of, is the duty of society to the individual. Society has been blinded to its duty by being taught that atonement is due to it from the individual. Only the original transgressor can effectually atone. The atonement of charity is due to the individual from society. Charity, daintily be-lauded as a beautiful exercise of voluntary kindness, is a rational duty. Under a sense of that duty, society would gradually yield to a bent of moral feeling more favourable to habitual brotherly kindness than is the mood that is fostered by the traditional theory.

## THIRTY YEARS OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.<sup>1</sup>

WHATEVER may be said as to the respective merits of the army, navy, and civil service of Great Britain, when compared with the corresponding services of foreign Powers, it is beyond dispute that in the matter of our Colonial and Indian services, so far as they are supplied from our island home, we may justly boast of standing "easily first." This proud position is undoubtedly due to the innate characteristics of our race that qualify us to succeed where earlier colonising nations failed, and to which we owe our present pre-eminence among the peoples of the world, and upon which we must base our sole and entire hope of maintaining and strengthening our united Empire. Too little has, hitherto, been known of the daily life and of the laborious details incident to the career of our Colonial Governors, and we welcome the two handsome volumes lately published by Messrs. Longmans as affording a graphic and complete sketch of the public and domestic life of one of our most eminent pro-consuls, and who for the long space of thirty years has been carrying on the Government of the Queen with the happiest results in the Greater Britain beyond the seas. Successively appointed Governor of Queensland, New Zealand, Victoria, Mauritius, and Hong Kong, Sir George Bowen has found the life of a Colonial Governor so congenial and so healthful that he has been absent on leave from his various posts for a period of little more than eighteen months in the course of his service of over thirty years. But his statesmanlike and liberal conception of the duties of his position as the Queen's representative has reacted in very happy fashion upon himself; and we find him at all times abreast of not only the political affairs of Europe—of which, indeed, his post would naturally compel him to be cognisant—but also of affairs appropriate to the most polished and refined of modern European *salons*. The passage in which he sets out his estimate of his duties occurs in a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle (then Secretary for the Colonies), and is dated from Government House, Brisbane, April 7, 1860. Notwithstanding the lapse of thirty years since the words were written,

<sup>1</sup> *Thirty Years of Colonial Government.* A Selection from the Despatches and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE FERGUSON BOWEN, G.C.M.G. Edited by STANLEY LANE-POOLE. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1889.

they remain as wise and appropriate as they were at that date, and well deserve to be recorded. Sir George Bowen says :—

“ . . . The Governor of each of the Colonies in this group is expected not only to act as the head of society ; to encourage literature, science, and art ; to keep alive by personal visits to every district under his jurisdiction the feelings of loyalty to the Queen, and of attachment to the mother-country, and so to cherish what may be termed the Imperial sentiment ; but he is also expected, as head of the Administration, to maintain, with the assistance of his Executive Council, a vigilant control and supervision over every department of the public service. In short, he is in a position in which he can exercise an influence over the whole course of affairs exactly proportionate to the strength of his character, the activity of his mind and body, the capacity of his understanding, and the extent of his knowledge.”<sup>1</sup>

After a perusal of the above sentences, we can understand why so few Colonial Governors return home enriched in worldly wealth from their residence in the colonies ; and, to some extent, we are enabled to appreciate how it is that so many of our colonial countrymen—democratic as they are in most respects—still “ so dearly love a lord ! ” “ Strength of body,” which Sir George couples with strength of mind, as a necessary essential to a governor, had just been demonstrated to be one of his own qualifications when he wrote to the Duke, by his riding “ one day, to the delight of the Centaurs—I mean of the squatters—and without the slightest fatigue seventy miles in eight hours—of course, with a change of horses.”<sup>2</sup>

There is still an enormous multitude of home-staying Britons who believe the Australian colonies to be the abode of folk who have to rough things terribly, unless they happen to live in one of the few cities. We commend to their study the following picture of the state of districts in Queensland traversed by Sir George in the first of his many progresses through that colony. In the letter to the Duke of Newcastle, from which we have already quoted, Sir George expresses the surprise and admiration with which his journey across the Darling Downs had filled him :—

“ Even before I left England I knew by report the rich natural resources and the picturesque beauty of this district. But I confess that I was not fully prepared for so wonderfully rapid an advance in all that can promote and adorn civilization, an advance which has taken place during the fourth part of an average lifetime. Not only have I seen vast herds of horses and cattle, and countless flocks of sheep overspreading the valleys and forests, which, within the memory of persons who have yet scarcely attained to the age of manhood, were tenanted only by wild animals and by a few wandering savages ; not only have I travelled over roads beyond all comparison superior to the means of communication which existed less than a century ago in many parts of the United Kingdom ; . . . not only have I admired these and other proofs of material progress, but I have also found in the houses of the long chain of settlers, who have entertained me

<sup>1</sup> *Thirty Years of Colonial Government*, vol. i. p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 122.

with such cordial hospitality, *all the comforts and most of the luxuries and refinements of the houses of country gentlemen in England.*"<sup>1</sup>

In a letter to Herman Merivale, written three days later than the one to the Duke, the residences of the squatters are said to contain "carpets and curtains, plate and pianos, champagne and crinoline [so the fashions of the fair were not neglected], in places where fifteen years before the face of a white man had never been seen." Alluding to the great wealth of the "shepherd kings" of Queensland, a story is told to the effect that many of them, still in the prime of life, look back to the old days when they lived in huts, and, in the absence of ready-money, used to play whist with each other for *sheep points and a bullock on the rubber!*

On May 22, 1860, the first Parliament of Queensland met at Brisbane; and a week later Sir George delivered his opening speech, which, commemorating, as it did, the founding of a new State—"far more than equal in extent to the aggregate of two of the principal monarchies of Europe," is of a specially interesting character. After the customary formalities and compliments had been exchanged, the Governor enumerated the chief Bills to be laid before Parliament relating to education, police, finance, telegraphic communication, and the like, and then turned to *the question of the day* :—

"The land question is at once the most comprehensive and the most important with which you will have to deal. Queensland embraces a territory blest with a salubrious climate, and with a fertile soil, equivalent, at the lowest estimate, to nearly three times the area of France, and nearly ten times the area of England and Wales. Along our sea-coast, and on the banks of our rivers, we possess millions of acres, which bear the same relation to the cotton and sugar which the great pastoral districts of the interior hold to the wool manufactures of the mother-country. Of this gigantic patrimony, the Crown has constituted this Legislature to be the guardians and administrators. The control and disposal of the whole are in your hands. . . . Next to a wise management of the public lands, a good system of immigration is, perhaps, the most essential element in the prosperity of a new country."

At a moment when the granting of responsible government to Western Australia (whose territory *exceeds* that of Queensland by *one-third*) is about to be seriously discussed, and, in all probability, granted with a good grace, in deference to the expression of the wishes of the other Australian Colonies rather than from a sense of the justness of the demand on the part of the 40,000 West Australian colonists, it is, perhaps, pertinent to express an earnest hope that stringent provisions may be inserted in the enabling Act to secure to the Home Government a share in the disposal of the illimitable Crown lands, and also to indicate the successful working of the Coolie system in operation in the West Indies as suggesting a probable means of most quickly developing the vast subtropical

<sup>1</sup> *Thirty Years of Colonial Government*, vol. i. p. 128.



districts of Queensland, of South Australia, and of Western Australia.

The following extracts are alike interesting in themselves and from the fact that they are taken from a letter addressed to Mr. Cobden, dated March 18, 1862 :—

"I see it reported in the English newspapers that the state of your health will require you to take a long sea-voyage, and to pass a short time in a more genial climate than that of England. Do not be startled if I urge you to pay me a visit at the Antipodes. Recollect that the journey from London to Sydney (whence there are weekly steamers in forty-eight hours to Brisbane) is now a *voyage d'agrément* of about forty days. Your return would also require forty days; so that if you confine your absence to the Parliamentary recess—say, five months—you could spend about eight weeks with me at Brisbane. During these eight weeks you could learn more than in as many years in England of the real condition of Australia, and of that most interesting question—interesting alike to statesmen and philosophers—the working in these colonies of the almost purely democratic institutions which have been conferred upon them. . . . The climate of Brisbane resembles that of Madeira, and it is the resort of invalids from all the Australian Colonies, as well as from India and China. The summer is rather warm, but very healthy. During the rest of the year our climate is delicious. The winter reminds me of a succession of the finest days of a Neapolitan winter. . . . Pray show this letter to Mr. Bright, whose acquaintance I first had the pleasure of making at your house in 1854. I wish I could persuade him also to pay me a visit in Australia. . . . In his political studies he could be assisted by an old schoolfellow and associate in the Anti-Corn Law League, Mr. T. B. Stephens, who is now the mayor of the city of Brisbane. You are doubtless aware that vast tracts of this territory are admirably suited for the growth of cotton. Several local cotton companies are already in operation; but the great English manufacturers must embark some portion of their own skill, energy, and capital in this enterprise, if cotton is to be grown on an extensive scale here, for most of the local capital is invested in wool."

When Sir G. Bowen assumed the government of Queensland in 1859, there was no settlement except in the south-eastern corner. Settlers to the number of 25,000 were thinly scattered over a space as large as the area of Great Britain. Rockhampton was the most northern settlement on the coast; pastoralists had scarcely crossed the Darling Downs. During the eight years of his administration a line of new ports was opened all along the eastern coast of Queensland, from Rockhampton to Cape York, as well as at the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and the pastoral settlers overspread the whole of the interior. Surveying the general development of the colony under his genial and statesmanlike rule, Sir George Bowen was well justified in remarking: "Such are the triumphs of peaceful progress; they are victories without injustice or bloodshed; they are conquests, not over man, but over Nature; not for this generation alone, but for all posterity; not for England only, but for all mankind."

If Sir George Bowen met with any rebuffs in the course of his

extended rule over so many of our colonies, he and his editor have been careful to keep such experiences so far in the background that they are not apparent to the readers of this life-story. On the contrary, these volumes abound in eulogies that proceed from Parliament, press, and people in the colonies, and from Ministers and statesmen at home. Interspersed thickly throughout the nine hundred pages we find anecdotes and good stories, and everywhere signs of a happy and contented existence. Altogether we can safely say that no two volumes of equal bulk contain so many good things. The first part of volume i. is devoted by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole to an exhaustive Prefatory Memoir of Sir George, in which his political life is traced through its progressive stages of Secretary of Government at Corfu, when the Ionian Islands were still under the protectorate of Britain; thence to Queensland, whence, after eight years of government, he was transferred to New Zealand, over which he ruled from 1868 to 1873, and was mainly instrumental in bringing to a close the protracted Maori war. Shortly after the conclusion of the war, he was promoted to the government of Victoria, and whilst in that colony (from 1873 to 1879) the collision between the two houses of the legislature took place upon the question of the payment of members, during the whole course of which Sir George seems to have maintained with perfect success a position of "dignified neutrality." Upon leaving Victoria in 1879, Sir George proceeded to Mauritius, and his period of sway appears to have been remarkable for the quiet and peace that prevailed in the island contrasted with the warfare and turmoil he had been concerned with in his two preceding Governments. From Mauritius to Hong Kong meant the removal from a post of comparative inactivity to one the exposed position of which, on account of the outbreak of hostilities between France and China at one time, and of the threatened war between Britain and Russia at a later date, needed all the tact and vigilance possessed by so consummate a ruler of men as Sir George has invariably shown himself. Fortunately events so happened that Sir George's laurels were added to rather than in aught diminished; and in 1887 the successful Pro-Consul was at liberty to return home, with the full knowledge that he might do so without, in any degree imperilling the affairs of the great eastern colony in which he had spent some of the most anxious hours of his life. But even then Sir George had not ceased from his labours by land and sea; and in 1888 he was appointed a Royal Commissioner to proceed to Malta to inquire and report on the arrangements connected with the new constitution granted to that island. With the principal Parliamentary papers connected with this mission the volumes proper end; but an Epilogue is added which contains an important letter from the Marquis of Dufferin, in which his lordship gives an emphatic approval of the volumes under review. Lord Dufferin says: "I am sure that this will be an

excellent book, and will make people understand, better than they are sometimes apt to do, what hard and admirable work is performed by our Colonial Governors, amongst whom few have had such varied or more successful experiences than yourself." In these remarks we cordially agree; but we feel constrained to point out that a certain amount of condensation will strengthen the work without making it less intelligible. We are constantly informed in minute detail, by means of extracts from the colonial newspapers, of events of a certain moment, but of comparatively little interest or significance at the present day, and our complaint is that we should have so frequently been obliged to read through great spaces (such as that from page 86 to page 98, vol. i.), only to find ourselves confronted immediately afterwards by a concise despatch, written by Sir George, in which, in the reduced space of *four* pages (99 to 103, vol. i.), he compresses all that is material in the *twelve* pages preceding. We would also add a hint that the index would be immensely improved in value if many of the proper names, such as *Ngaruaiahia*, *Ngatapa*, *Ngatiapa*, *Ngatihaua*, *Ngatikahungunu*, *Ngatipora*, *Ngutiwhutua*, were expunged, and some attempt were made to assist the political student in his search for the opinions of Sir George and his correspondents upon such matters, for instance, as the land laws in force in the different colonies, the difficult question of immigration, and the no less necessary subject of irrigation, as well as the condition of the armed forces, and naval and military defences of the various colonies. But many things may be forgiven to an editor who secures his readers such *morceaux* as the stories of Bishop Wilberforce and of Brigham Young. Wilberforce, when he was examining the son of an English merchant settled in Greece, was so horrified at the pronouncement of the candidate of certain passages of the Greek Testament, that he cried: "Where *did* you learn Greek?" To which the trembling candidate made humble reply, "*At Athens*, my lord!" And the story of Brigham is equally good. It is related that it was Brigham's custom to ask any clergyman who might visit Utah to preach in the "Tabernacle."

"Warning them that if they said anything against the 'peculiar' institution (polygamy), he reserved to himself the right of replying at the end of the sermon. Mr. Newman Hall, the well-known Baptist minister, was thus invited, and preached on the parable of the 'Rich Man and Lazarus.' In the course of his sermon, he brought in an attack upon polygamy; but wound up with the hope that all present, whether polygamists or monogamists, would meet at last in 'Abraham's bosom.' When he sat down, Brigham rose up, and merely said: 'My Mormon brethren, our reverend friend, Mr. Newman Hall, has forgotten in his eloquent sermon to remind us of one little fact, and that is that *Abraham himself was a polygamist.*'"

With a "specimen day" of Sir George's social life we must bring this review to a close, only premising that it is by no means unique

in the records of what we must all consider to have been, through threescore years and ten, a strikingly successful and happy life.

"It began with a reception by the Queen, and luncheon at Windsor Castle. The same evening he was present at a dinner given in London by the members of Trinity College, Oxford, of which he had been a scholar. . . . Later on the same night, Sir G. Bowen had accepted an invitation from Mr. Henry Irving to attend the representation of *Faust* at the Lyceum Theatre, and afterwards to a supper on the stage. He got back from Windsor just in time for the Trinity dinner, and he effected his retreat from the dinner just in time to see the last act of *Faust*, and to be received on the stage by Mr. Irving in the costume worn as Mephistopheles. On his explaining why he had to leave the dinner before the company dispersed, a prominent politician present said: 'You certainly have had an eventful day. You lunch with the *Queen*, you dine with the *Trinity*, and you sup with the *Devil*!'"

## THE IRISH UNION: ITS LEGALITY.

THE most untenable as well as the most unwarrantable plea constantly put forward by the Unionists party in support of their policy and in defence of their conduct is, perhaps, that which alleges that they are acting in accordance with the principles of the British Constitution. Nor do they ever cease to depounce Mr. Gladstone and his followers for their unconstitutional and unpatriotic action in supporting the Irish demand for Home Rule. That their plea is erroneous and their denunciations are puerile I shall now endeavour to show, while I shall also point out how the Dissident Liberals have deserted the traditions of the great Whig party, and not—as they assert—Mr. Gladstone and his followers. Moreover, I shall prove that the Act of Union was not alone an usurpation, but absolutely unjust, immoral, and illegal according to the highest English authorities; and that, since its adoption, the spirit in which it was passed, as the Act itself, as well as the Constitution, have been ruthlessly violated.

To start with, if we take the Act of Union, we shall find it was egregiously unconstitutional. Ireland had enjoyed for centuries her own Parliament and her Constitution, both modelled upon those of England, and both fostered and maintained by British rule under British Sovereigns. Indeed, as Burke put it, in his famous speech on conciliation with America, Englishmen did not churlishly “sit down alone to the feast of Magna Charta,” for “Ireland was made immediately a partaker, and though the benefits of English laws and liberties were not at first extended to the whole of the kingdom, he pointed out how the boundaries within which were confined her privileges were also the confines of her authority.” “Your standard,” he said, addressing the British Commons, “could never be advanced one inch before your privileges;” and after various futile attempts had been made in the reign of Elizabeth to rule Ireland with a military government it was discovered that nothing could make the country “English in civility and allegiance, but your laws and your legislature.” It was the English Constitution, he declared, and not English arms that conquered Irishmen; and these weighty words of Burke, one of the greatest political thinkers and writers of any age, are well worthy of serious attention at the present moment; when the

abortive and defeated policy of former centuries is being re-hashed with even less success than of yore.

"From that time," he further said, "Ireland has ever had a general Parliament, as she had before a partial Parliament. You changed the people, you altered the religion; but you never touched the form or the vital substance of free Government in that kingdom. You deposed kings, you restored them; you altered the succession to theirs as well as to your own Crown; but you never altered their Constitution, the principle of which was respected by usurpation, restored with the restoration of monarchy, and established, I trust for ever, with the glorious Revolution."

Alas! for the respect of usurpation; the time when Europe, trembling from the shocks of revolution feared more the rumblings of anarchy than the powers of despotism, and in this moment of weakness, Ireland fell a victim to the will of a young statesman, who by long tenure of office might well have become reckless of the people's rights, and who, aided by treachery and bribery, in an age when political morality was at a low level, accomplished what he might not have dared to dream of under different circumstances in less hazardous times.

But that the transitory powers of a limited Parliament were sufficiently authoritative to annihilate the *permanent* and *inherent* rights of a nation is a political axiom that could scarcely, I think, be upheld by any serious politician; while to maintain that the Irish people's *trustees* or representatives have either the right or the power to auction their trusts without their direct consent or sanction, but has happened in the face of their opposition,<sup>1</sup> is worse than childish, for it is grossly immoral.

This is, however, a very important and debateable subject: for the most able lawyers and jurists hold that in all matters whatsoever, affecting any of the Dominions of her Majesty, the Parliament (comprising Crown, Lords, and Commons) is omnipotent. Macaulay, who supported this view, appreciated its importance, and, in one of his essays, he points out how the great conflict of the seventeenth century was one waged between the Parliament and the Crown, while that which commenced in the middle of the eighteenth century was one between a large portion of the people on the one side and the Parliament united with the Crown on the other; and he prophesied that either we or our children might be called upon to act or to suffer in this struggle. As it is, however, still undecided, and is a subject of the greatest moment to the people of both countries,

<sup>1</sup> That the Union was passed in direct opposition to the expressed wishes of the Irish people is proved from Lord Grey's speech dealing with the subject in the British Parliament. He said twenty-seven counties petitioned against the measure, and while there were 707,000 who signed petitions against it, only 3000 could be got to sign in favour of it. The noble lord said that, in fact, the nation was nearly unanimous in its protest in which joined all classes and all religions.

I shall deal with it at some length, in so far as it affected the validity of the Union, which I shall now show was illegal.

In my contention that the powers of the Legislature are limited and confined within the bounds of the Constitution, I am supported by many great authorities, both ancient and modern.

Locke, one of the oldest and best writers upon the functions of Government, says, in his treatise on the subject, that when a king or prince makes himself the dependent of another, he forfeits his right to kingship; for by this alienation, as it were, of his kingdom, he himself loses the power he had in it before, without transferring any the "least right to those on whom he would have bestowed it; and so by this act sets the people free, and leaves them at their own disposal." He further says "that the Legislature cannot transfer the power of making laws into other hands, for it is merely a delegated power from the people," and consequently those who have it cannot pass it to others. He holds that "the people alone" can determine the form of the Commonwealth, by appointing the Legislature, and appointing into whose hands it shall remain, while its functions are to make laws and not legislatures. Moreover, he is very explicit upon a violation by either the king or the Parliament of the trust imposed on them by the people, who, he says, are the *only* and proper judges of such violation. "For who," he asks, "shall be judge, whether his trustee or deputy acts well, and according to the trust reposed in him. but he who deposes him, and must by having deputed him have still a power to discard him when he fails in his trust."

Burke, who describes Government as an institution of Divine authority, originating and having its being in the people, distinctly sets a limit to the powers of Parliament in his *present discontents* when referring to the Middlesex election. He states that the House of Commons can never be a control on the other parts of Government, unless they are themselves controlled by their constituents; and "unless these constituents possess some *right* in the choice of that House which it is *not in the power* of that House to *take away*." He describes the three parts of the Legislature with the judges as "the trustees of the people, because no power is given for the sole sake of the holder."

Junius was again equally clear upon this matter. The powers, he declared, of King, Lords, and Commons are not "arbitrary." With Locke, Burke, Fox, Chatham, and a host of other eminent statesmen, he described them as "the trustees," and not the owners, of the estate, the "fee-simple" of which, he declared, was vested in the people.

And this being so, he argued that the power of Parliament is limited not only by justice and the welfare of the community, but also by the forms and principles of the particular con-

stitution; and hence these trustees "cannot alienate, they cannot waste."

Thus we see that according to these three great political writers the Irish Commons had not the authority to pass or accept the Union; and if we consult jurists of the first rank we shall find this view corroborated.

Now, Austin, who has been described as the father of jurisprudence, and who, with the greatest English jurists, maintains most resolutely the sovereignty of Parliament, admits, in spite of it, that the Commons are in reality only the trustees of the people. He says that a representative body must be bound either by law or by a fear of offending the bulk of the community, when it breaks its contract with the electoral, and this latter he holds is the position of the Commons House; for to speak accurately, he says its members are "merely trustees for the body by which they are elected and appointed, and consequently the sovereignty always resides in the king and the peers with the electoral body of the people." He moreover asserts that it would be absurd to suppose that "the delegating empowers the representative party to defeat or abandon any of the purposes for which the latter is appointed: to suppose, for example, that the Commons empowers their representatives in Parliament to relinquish their share in the sovereignty of the King and the Lords."

But Professor Holland, another great jurist, will not admit as much for an instant. He avers that the British Legislature is absolutely sovereign and supreme, and that any of its acts, no matter how much it might be in contradiction to the expectations and political usages of the people, could only in a very lax sense of the term be described as unconstitutional. In fact, that any and every act of this sovereign power is legal and constitutional, no matter how it may violate what I shall call the spirit of the Constitution. Yet, though Professor Holland adheres so emphatically to this complete sovereignty of Parliament, in another manner he virtually cedes to its want of supreme potency. For he says that the "sole source" of laws, in so far as that which impresses upon them their "legal character," is their "recognition by the State;" and a State he defines as "a numerous assemblage of human beings among whom the will of the majority, or of an ascertainable class of persons, is by the force of "such a majority or class made to prevail against any of their number who oppose it."

This doctrine of the sole source of laws being their recognition by the State is by no means a new one. In his *Constitutional History*, Mr. Stubbs tells us that from the earliest times the right of the nation to determine by what laws it would be governed was fully admitted. Canute and the Conqueror had heard the people accept and swear to the laws of Edgar and Edward. The great Charter and the Provisions of Oxford were promulgated in the county courts,



and all men were bound by oath to obey them, "as if without such acceptance they lacked somewhat of legal force."

But now, again, did not the "representative party" abandon the purposes for which it had been appointed, when the Irish Commons passed the Union? and did they not relinquish their sovereignty in the State by merging their power in that of the British Commons, which Austin denies they had power to do? Or was the Union ever improved by the necessary "legal character," by being recognised by the Irish State, which Professor Holland considers so necessary to the legality of a measure? If so, the Union was legal according to these two eminent jurists.

Professor Dicey is, however, the latest and best authority I can cite upon this matter of the sovereignty of Parliament. In his extremely able work on the law of the Constitution, though he admits its legal sovereignty, he declares very plainly that, in spite of what lawyers may say to the contrary, there are certain measures which never could be passed into law in England, and he distinctly asserts that the "sovereign power of Parliament is not unlimited," and that "Kings, Lords, and Commons united do not possess that restricted omnipotence, which is the utmost authority ascribable to any human institution." He further says that the political sense of the word sovereignty is if anything more important than its legal sense, and that if the doctrine regarding it means to attribute "unrestricted power to Parliament" it is "no better than a legal fiction." He says that "theoretically" the Legislature may be supreme, and that though it is regarded as "absolutely" so in the eye of the law, the very "essence" of representative government is, "that the Legislature should represent or give effect to the will of the political sovereign—i.e., of the electoral body, or of the nation."

But Professor Dicey points out that, "legally" speaking, Parliament is unquestionably sovereign, and this he infers from the validity of the Septennial Act, the power of passing Acts of Indemnity, and the fact that Judges cannot recognise the will of the people, in any shape, except through Parliament. Now, the first was undoubtedly an assumption by the people's representatives of an undelegated power. And I cannot help thinking—though it may seem presumptuous, when Hallam, Professor Dicey, and a host of great authorities are against me—that it was an usurpation rendered legal only in its "recognition by the State" through the State's acquiescence. As to passing Bills of Indemnity the Professor admits that there are certain Acts which could not be passed into law in England, and why, then, should these be specially excluded from the category; and if, for instance, the Nation were against one of these being granted what would be the result? Lastly, regarding Judges and Courts of Law not being able to recognise the will of the people, say in contravention to an Act of Parliament, this is again only partially true; for

does not the carrying out of the law depend chiefly upon the verdict of the jury? and can they not consequently interpret the law.

But, as a matter of fact, has not the law, through the Judges in open Court, denied the sovereignty of Parliament, and, in so far as it could, subverted the people's rights, by the result of the trial of the Dean of St. Asaph? For if in the eye of the law the Legislature is entitled legally to pass any and every Act whatsoever, even forfeiting the rights and liberties of the nation, and violating the spirit of the Constitution (though not the Constitution itself, since, according to jurists, every act of the Sovereign power is constitutional), is it not unlawful and a seditious libel to publish broadcast a denial of that power, at the same time asserting that the people have a right, and are bound to resist that power when it infringes upon their rights and liberties? This in reality tests the case, and thus it has been tested, as we shall now see.

In 1874 the Dean of St. Asaph was tried at Shrewsbury for a seditious libel, said to be contained in his famous *Dialogue*, upon the principles of government, between a gentleman and farmer. This was originally composed by an eminent English barrister—Sir William Jones—who was shortly afterwards appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal.

In this dialogue the gentleman conversed with the farmer upon the powers of Parliament, which he said were supposed to control the lives and liberties of the people. Upon hearing this the farmer said that the king ought to be a good man, as also the men of Parliament. The gentleman explained that the king could do no wrong, and asked who should judge of the goodness of "Parliament men"; to which the other replied, all those whose lives, freedom, and property might be affected by their laws. It was then agreed upon that if the king alone were to insist upon making the laws, or altering them at his will and pleasure, he should be expelled the kingdom; while, if he were to use his standing army against the people, they should resist him, for the State would then cease to be a State. But if the great representatives of the nation were to "abuse their trust, and cruelly injure, instead of faithfully serving the public," the king should be appealed to to remove them and make trial of others, but "none should implicitly be trusted." "What if," asked the gentleman, "a few great lords and wealthy men (meaning the Lords and the Commons) were to keep the king in subjection, yet exert his force, banish his treasure, and misuse his name, so as to domineer over the people and mismanage the Parliament?" "They must fight," answered the farmer, "for the king and ourselves." This was the innuendo upon which the Crown prosecuted and relied, and undoubtedly it emphatically declares the right of the people to resist the power of Parliament when that body encroaches upon their rights or liberties.

The farmer was next promised "a firelock" by the gentleman, who begged him to pass his mornings in learning to prime and load expeditiously and charge with bayonet firmly and regularly," so as to be prepared for any case of emergency. Now, the jury in this case returned a verdict of guilty of publishing *only*, but refused to pronounce the matter seditious. Judge Buller insisted that the verdict implied both, since he was to declare the law, and he did his best to browbeat the jury into submission. But the great Lord Erskine (then Mr.) fought up manfully for his client, and when finally applying to the King's Bench for arrest of judgment, even the not too liberal Lord Mansfield, with the other two judges, dismissed the case, as they held there was no illegal matter in the dialogue.

This trial and its result were all the more remarkable, as, at the time, England was in a state of ferment and agitation, and the verdict was the direct cause of Fox's great Libel Act, which did more than any other to secure the liberty of the press in England. It was chiefly through this case that Lord Erskine stepped into such fame, and in support of the principles contained in the dialogue he staked his honour and his whole professional career. During the trial he described the Government under which the British people live as "a trust proceeding from themselves; an emanation from their own strength; a benefit and a blessing which had stood the test of ages; that *they are governed because they desire to be governed*, and yield a *voluntary* obedience to the laws *because the laws protect them in the liberties they enjoy*."

This would seem to coincide very much with Burke's ideas on the same subject, and to support the view that the suppression of the Legislature is "theoretical," as Professor Dicey says, or "relative" and not "absolute," as Junius puts it, and the verdict of the King's Bench undoubtedly establishes Locke's doctrine that there is "inherent" in the people a "supreme power" to remove the Legislature when they act contrary to the trust reposed in them.

Mr. Justice Stephen, in his Commentaries (founded on Blackstone's), refers disparagingly to Locke's theory, while admitting its justice, and declares emphatically that Parliament is omnipotent in so far as anything earthly can be so. Yet, in another volume of his work, he practically admits the soundness of Locke's view; for he avows that all the great Acts, from Magna Charta to the Act of Settlement, "have confirmed and exemplified the doctrine of resistance when the executive magistrate endeavours to subvert the Constitution." But now the executive magistrate cannot subvert the Constitution without the sanction of his Ministers, and his Ministers owe their being, and derive and exercise their powers, directly through Parliament, so does it follow that the doctrine of resistance holds good against this, the omnipotent power. If so, it surely has no title to omnipotence.

Again, if we consult the journals of both the Lords and Commons

prior to the passing of the Union, we find that, upon more than one occasion, their members have set limits to the powers of the Legislature.

In the Irish Parliament, Lord Chancellor Plunket, Lord Chief Justice Bush, Mr. Grattan, and others, openly denied the right or power of Parliament to pass the Act of Union. During the debate on Orde's Commercial Propositions, Grattan, Flood, and other prominent members likewise denied unlimited powers to any Parliament. These, however, with other eminent authorities I shall not give, as I am anxious to rely solely on English ones, a few of which will suffice.

For instance, in the debate which ensued the projection of the Bill of Indemnity for those concerned in the embargo laid on the exportation of wheat by George III., it was maintained in the Commons that the law was "above" the King, and that no point of time nor emergent circumstance could alter the Constitution or create a "right not antecedently inherent." This debate is condensed into two speeches in the Parliamentary history. The arguments of the Lords are transcribed into one speech "in defence of the Constitution," which was penned by Mackintosh, assisted by Lord Temple and Lyttelton. In this, the fall of the Ministers, or as many successions of them, no matter how great, is compared as nothing to "one thrust" at the Constitution, no matter how slight and harmless. The principle that the safety of the people should be paramount to every other consideration in the making of laws as well as in the execution of, and obedience to them, is unequivocally laid down. Moreover, the safety of the people it is here asserted could not be secure for one moment if the Constitution were not maintained entire and "unhurt," and it declares "supreme law" should ever be to preserve "unrelaxed and unenervated the fundamentals of the Constitution."

Again, Lord Camden, when speaking in the House of Lords on the American disturbances in consequence of the Stamps Act, stated most positively that he believed there were certain matters with which the Parliament had not power to deal; and in support of his contention he referred to the King, Lords, and Commons combined, not being able in former times to tax the clergy. He stated that he found how, in 1674, the clergy had denied, in Convocation assembled, the right of Parliament to tax them, and on that occasion the Commons admitted and recognised their right to tax themselves. The American Act he described as contrary to the fundamental laws of the Constitution; and having remarked that he disputed the authority of any "supreme Legislature," trod upon very dangerous ground, he declared emphatically: "In my opinion, my Lords, the Legislature had *no right* to make this law." Thus the right of Parliament to make an unjust law was here distinctly denied by a great Lord Chancellor of England.

Of course the supremacy and sovereign power of Parliament were

*theoretically* established in regard to the American Stamps Act, but were they so practically? Macaulay, though he declares the most atrocious act of confiscation or of attainder is just as valid as the Toleration Act or the Habeas Corpus Act, emphatically adds, "from Acts of Confiscation and Acts of Attainder law-givers are bound, *by every obligation of morality*, systematically to refrain;" and he denounced the Stamps Acts as "indefensible, unjust, impolitic and fertile of discontents." Strange, he did not mention the Union.

It is all very fine, however, to talk about being bound by moral obligations, but such are no security for the State, as we have too plainly witnessed by the Act of Union. Would the framers of Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, or the Bill of Rights have accepted from the Crown such a moral obligation as security against its encroachments? Certainly not. As it happened, it was far different. For instance, when the Lords tried to add a clause to the Petition of Right drawn up by the Commons, in which clause was mentioned the sovereign power of his Majesty the King, what was the result? The Commons forced the Lords to expunge the clause. During the debate that followed in the Commons on this addition made by the Upper House, several expressions were made use of which will support me in my contention as to the limitations of the powers of the Legislature. I shall cite two as examples:—"I know," said Mr. Pym, "how to add sovereign to the King's person, but not his power; and we cannot leave to him a sovereign power, for *we never were possessed of it.*" Sir Edward Coke denied that "sovereign power" was a "Parliamentary word." In his opinion it "weakened" Magna Charta and all the Statutes—"for they are *absolute* without any saving of sovereign power." He further declares that such an addition would weaken the very foundations of law, and that then the whole building must fall. "Take we heed," he said, "what we yield unto; Magna Charta is such a fellow that *he* will have no 'sovereign.' I wonder this 'sovereign' was not in Magna Charta or in the confirmation of it, if we grant this by implication we give a sovereign power above all laws."

The quotations are but a reflex of the whole debate upon this eventful occasion, and they show clearly what position the rights and liberties gained by the Barons at Runnymede held in the minds of the people's friends and defenders.

Again, in the debates in the House of Commons on the election of Mr. Wilkes for Middlesex, the arguments which are given in what is described as an able summary all tend in the same direction. The power of enacting new restraints—which are not, of course, to be compared in significance with the annihilation of a Parliament—is distinctly restricted to the "Legislature alone," which is then defined as—"The united powers of State, King, Lords, and Commons." The

State being conspicuously enough placed first; and by which was undoubtedly meant the will of the people expressed through a general election. During this debate Mr. Townshend declared that the people of England, by whose authority the members sat in that House, did not hold these rights and privileges "under the arbitrary will" of their representatives.

In the Upper House during the debate on the Address to the King's Speech, Lords Chatham and Camden denounced the conduct of the Commons in connection with the Middlesex elections, while they defended the rights of the people and the Constitution in the most able and outspoken manner. "In my judgment, my Lords," said Lord Chatham, "and I speak it boldly, it were better for the people to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of *a single iota of the Constitution.*" Lord Camden taunted the Government with having in this matter conspired against the liberties of their country, and warned them that the people might take the matter into their own hands, and become "their own avengers." Lord Mansfield replied, and contrived to defend the Commons and the Ministry, upholding their action. But Chatham once more rose on his feet, and in one of the most eloquent and powerful of the speeches that he ever delivered, he expressed his abhorrence at having heard an invasion of the Constitution defended upon principle. He spoke of that mysterious power undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without awe, nor speak of without reverence, which *no man must question*, and to which all men must submit. He described the slavish doctrine of passive obedience as having long since exploded, and alluded to the title of the Crown, and the rule of the Government as being founded on the known laws of the land. Having animadverted upon Lord Mansfield's assertion that there was no law that could limit Parliament, and that if the House of Commons "determined wrong," the subject had no appeal but to Heaven, he continued in the following very significant words: "What, then, my Lords, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions by which they meant to secure to themselves and to transmit to their posterity as known law, a certain rule of living reduced to this conclusion that instead of an arbitrary power of a king, we must submit to the arbitrary power of a House of Commons. If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange. Tyranny, my Lords, is detestable in every shape, but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants. But, my Lords, this is not the fact; this is not the Constitution; *we have a law of Parliament*; we have a code in which every honest man may find it; we have Magna Charta; we have the Statute Book and the Bill of Rights."

From these words no other conclusion can be drawn but that one

of the very greatest of English statesmen believed that the rights, liberties, and privileges of Englishmen passed into fundamental laws by these Acts are supreme and above the powers of Parliament; and this was, if anything, strengthened in a few sentences later, when he declared that "the people, when they choose their representatives, never mean to convey to them a power of invading their rights or trampling on the liberties of those whom they represent."

But I think the most conclusive evidence that can be produced against the doctrine that Parliament is entitled to subvert the people's rights and liberties is to be found in the Bill of Rights; coupled with the Act of Settlement, and sealed with the Coronation Oath.

The Bill of Rights, which is the most modern of the great bulwarks of the Constitution, and which defines the title of the Throne, and vests the right to maintain a standing army (the real lever of the powers of the Government) in the body of the Commons, distinctly and emphatically declares—

"That all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the principles aforesaid shall be firmly, strictly holden and observed as they are expressed in the said declaration, and all officers and ministers *whatssoever* shall serve their majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come."

This is incontrovertible, more especially, as in Article 13 of the Declaration above referred to, the right of Parliament to amend all laws is distinctly reserved and defined in the following words:—"13. And that for the redress of all grievances and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently." But though this reserves to Parliament the right to alter the laws, it in no way entitles them to alter them to the prejudice or injury of the subject, as is evident from the clause which immediately follows this 13th Article, and runs—

"And they do claim, demand, and insist upon *all* and *singular* the premises as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises ought in any wise to be drawn into consequence or example."

Yet it was on the powers conferred in this fundamental enactment that Pitt replied for the right of the Irish Parliament to pass the Act of Union. When Sheridan denied the right or power of Ireland's Legislature to pass such a measure without the people's consent, Pitt quoted the first sentence of the Bill of Rights, and described it as the language of the Constitution. That he, however, either misunderstood or misapplied the words is, I think, obvious, from what I have shown, as well as from the sentence itself.

Again, the Act of Settlement, by virtue of the Crown of England, was vested in a new dynasty, and which completed the ramparts of England's freedom, by rendering the Judges independent of the Sovereign, and removable only by the joint requirements of the two Houses of Parliament; confirmed the above clauses, and itself concluded, in nearly their identical words, with one remarkable addition, which is worthy of special attention: "And whereas the laws of England," it concludes, "are the birthright of the people thereof, and all the kings and queens who shall ascend the throne of this realm ought to administer the government of the same according to the said laws, and all their officers and ministers ought to serve them respectively according to the same," &c.

Of course, I am aware that jurists hold that one Parliament cannot bind another, and this view is certainly maintained by many Acts of different Parliaments, the most notable being, perhaps, that affecting the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. But I cannot see what is incongruous or unreasonable in all Parliaments being bound by the *fundamental* laws from which they themselves derive their existence and authority. The property of individuals in private life is bound by the stipulations of those who confer it, and this public property—the Constitution—was left by those who created it and built it up to their descendants under conditions contained in the most legal and authoritative of all public deeds or acts. Lord Chatham would seem to have held this view; while Lord Erskine has plainly stated that "we are bound by the acts of our ancestors, who determined that there existed an original contract between king and people—who declared, that King James had broken it—and who bestowed the Crown upon another." But whether or not the Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement should in themselves be binding upon Parliament and above its control, I hold the fundamental laws—the rights, liberties, and privileges referred to and set out in the Acts—are beyond question, secured against violation by the Coronation Oath, which, from a constitutional point, I venture to think, is of inestimable importance. If properly understood and *rigidly* adhered to by the Sovereign it would be the best and safest security for the preservation intact of the Constitution, and would in itself be a good return to the nation for the cost of even the royal Households. For the Sovereign, on this the most momentous occasion in his or her life, solemnly and publicly swears "to govern the people of this kingdom of England and the Dominions thereto belonging according [mark!] to the Statutes in Parliament agreed on and the laws and customs of the same."

But what are these "laws and customs" of the land here sworn to but the very rights and liberties claimed and set out in the Bill of Rights, and referred to and ratified by the Act of Settlement. They have been confirmed more than thirty times by British kings



and Parliaments, and so long as they are respected they will ensure the preservation of the great good and glorious British Constitution. To violate it the Sovereign must violate his oath, for no act forfeiting any one of them can be passed without his consent, and he has sworn to rule in accordance with them. But now, does not this oath itself set a limit to the powers of Parliament, by limiting the Crown, one of its component parts? If so, it may well be described as the "crowning glory" of the Constitution, and the great advantage of our limited monarchy.

There was one very remarkable instance of this oath having effect upon the action of the Crown, and that was when George III. refused to grant Catholic Emancipation on its virtue. The folly and shortsightedness of his action is, however, transparent. For, to speak plainly, had he not violated his Coronation Oath by abolishing the fundamental law which established Ireland's Parliament, and which was beyond question included in "the laws and customs" of one of "the dominions of the kingdom of England" which he had solemnly sworn to abide by. Then, again, was not the granting of Emancipation provided by the 13th Article of the Declaration of the Bill of Rights, which provided for "the redress of all grievances" of the subject?

But now, if the king violated his oath when he signed the Act of Union he offended against the moral law, the law of God, and thereby the law of man was rendered not only not binding upon the subject, but absolutely null and void. Moreover, he thereby broke his compact with his Irish subjects, and having grossly and flagrantly infringed the Act of Settlement; he was, strictly speaking, no longer their legal Sovereign; and thus relinquishing his sovereignty in the Legislature the power that passed the Act of Union was no sovereign and supreme power in the State, and consequently the Act itself was not as much legal, much less binding upon the conscience.

Yet, in the face of the great authorities I have given, lawyers hold (for instance, Sir E. Coke, whose language here differs partly from that he used in Parliament on the same subject) "the power and jurisdiction of Parliament is so transcendent and absolute that it cannot be confined either for causes or persons within any bounds." Judge Stephen states, in his Commentaries, that it can change and create afresh the constitution of the kingdom, and Parliaments themselves, and he exemplifies his assertion by pointing to the Act of Union. He also quotes Sir Mathew Hale, who says, that if misgovernment should fall upon the people of England they are left "without all manner of remedy." "To the same purpose," says Judge Stephen, "the President Montesquieu, though it is to be hoped too hastily, presages that as Rome, Sparta, and Carthage have lost their liberty and perished, so in time the Constitution of England will lose its liberty and will perish; it will perish when-

ever the Legislative power shall become more corrupt than the Executive."

This presage is a very remarkable one, and deserving of reflection, when under its ban we are reminded of the sordid corruption that carried the Act of Union. Moreover, it should ever be remembered that Parliament might be corrupted otherwise than by bribery—for instance, by fear—which would prove even more treacherous than self-interest, and that the more the democracy grows powerful the more inclined will the susceptible propensities of our rulers be to give way to fear.

But what would Englishmen think if Montesquieu's prophecy were to be realised? What would their feelings be? How would they treat their representatives? Yet, was it not thoroughly realised in Ireland with the aid of the very means which he suggests, and at the instigation of English statesmen? Judge Stephen, of course, hopes that the presage is too hasty, for he could not tolerate the idea of the Constitution of England being lost for ever. Why, then, I may well ask, is he so vehement in upholding the confiscation of Ireland's? Do unto others as you would be done by, as Fox once said when referring to the same subject. Such a catastrophe could, however, scarcely befall England, because of the great and salutary force of public opinion. But are Englishmen willing to look on and help to enforce the forfeiture of the rights of others, while they protect their own? If so, this is scarcely the British fair play and justice we have heard so much about.

But that the Parliament had neither the right nor the moral power to agree to the Act of Union I am inclined to maintain on the strength of the authorities I have given, and to believe with Fox and Burke that whenever any usage appears subversive of the Constitution, if it has lasted even for centuries, it is no precedent but an usurpation plain and simple.

It seems ridiculous to suggest that we depute men to betray us or to annihilate us at their own will or pleasure. To suppose that the Legislature have either the power or right to order the army, which is in their pay and under their control, to shoot, say, every Radical in the realm is a supposition worthy of a Bedlam politician. Yet it is on about the same footing as that they have the right or legal authority to dissolve the Constitution by Act of Parliament, and thereby commit the political murder of the nation, as was done in Ireland!

No, England had no right, power or authority, either legal or moral, to purchase from fraudulent trustees the birthright of the Irish people. That it was grossly immoral is undeniable according to Macaulay. That it was violently and aggressively unconstitutional cannot be gainsaid after the evidence I have produced. But how it can be argued, that to support what in its very nature

is *unconstitutional*, becomes, *ipso facto*, constitutional, is beyond my powers of comprehension, and must be Unionist logic. That it was *illegal* I hold from the facts that the King violated his Coronation Oath, and, thereby, forfeited his right and power in the Legislature, as well as from the law as laid down by the King's Bench in the trial of the Dean of St. Asaph, which distinctly denied to Parliament the right or power to pass such a measure as the Act of Union. In any case it was a cowardly injustice to force such an Act on the Irish nation against its will, and the perpetration of injustice by sheer physical force; though sanctioned by the united powers of Crown, Lords, and Commons, is the greatest, basest, and most unalloyed tyranny.

JOHN R. EYRE.

## THE RELIGION OF THE SEMITES.<sup>1</sup>

THIS volume contains the first of three courses of lectures which Professor Robertson Smith has undertaken to deliver at Aberdeen, at the request of the trustees of the Burnett Fund, on "the primitive religions of the Semitic peoples, viewed in relation to their ancient religions, and to the spiritual religion of the Old Testament and of Christianity." The present lectures may therefore be considered as only part of a wider subject, but the fundamental institutions treated of in this volume are so thoroughly dealt with, that practically it may be considered so far complete in itself. It covers a wide field, is rich in illustration, and is the fruit of great scholarship and remarkable industry. To some extent it appears to be a development of the first and second chapters of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, but there is much that is original, and the illustrations in support of the author's views are gathered from an extensive field. The volume also has an importance far beyond its intrinsic merits. It is calculated to popularise the conclusions of the most advanced critics on the serious question of the composition of the Old Testament, all the more so, perhaps, as it is not written for that especial purpose. The conclusions arrived at by a series of scholars, of whom Kuepen and Wellhausen may be considered the greatest living representatives are not discussed by Professor Robertson Smith, but are accepted as definitely proved, and are made the basis of his investigations. It is this which gives the volume its importance in this direction; the views of Wellhausen are not treated as hypothetical, and still under the discussion of scholars, but as recognised truths which can be brought before the public without any reserve. The effect of this position is to enable the student of the Old Testament to put on one side the whole mass of Levitical legislation found incorporated in the Pentateuch, and to consider the religion of Israel from a new and independent point of view. In this way we get at what we may call the natural history of the religious customs of the Hebrews, and trace them to their root in still older and more universal customs; and we find that instead of the religious practices of the Israelites being founded in a law, the law itself is based upon custom; it is this principle which

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites. First Series: The Fundamental Institutions.* By W. Robertson Smith, M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1889.

Dr. Smith has so successfully developed in his series of lectures. He has gone behind the Old Testament, and shown us from whence most of its sacred institutions have sprung.

Unaccountably the lectures start with a proposition which appears to be inconsistent with this principle. On the first page we read : "Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, are *positive* religions, that is, they did not grow up like the systems of ancient heathenism, under the action of unconscious forces operating silently from age to age, but trace their origin to the teaching of great religious innovators, who spoke as the organs of a divine revelation, and deliberately departed from the traditions of the past." This hardly seems to be correct so far as Judaism is concerned, and is not consistent with what the author says elsewhere, and is in fact contradicted by the whole tenor of the lectures.—Professor Smith, himself, says on almost the next page : "The ritual of the Temple was not in its origin an entirely novel thing ; the precepts of the Pentateuch did not create a priesthood and a sacrificial service on an altogether independent basis, but only reshaped and remodelled, in accordance with a more spiritual doctrine, institutions of an older type, which in many particulars were common to the Hebrews with their heathen neighbours (p. 3). And again he says : "The ritual of Jerusalem as described in the Book of Leviticus is undoubtedly based on very ancient traditions, going back to a time when there was no substantial difference, in point of form, between Hebrew sacrifices and those of the surrounding nations" (p. 108). The chief difference out of which all other differences subsequently sprang between the later and the earlier form of worship was the substitution of one central sanctuary in place of the innumerable local altars. Yet one other quotation on this important point. "All the Semites were originally nomadic, and the ritual of the nomad Arabs and the settled Canaanites has so many points in common, that there can be no question that the main lines were fixed before any part of the Semitic stock had learned agriculture, and adopted cereal food as its ordinary diet" (p. 205). The inference from these statements is that the ceremonial religion of Israel, and subsequently that of Judah, was not due to religious innovators, and that it was not a deliberate departure from the traditions of the past ; but that it was only a highly developed and elaborated heathenism. More than ever is the difference between the prophets and the priests made clear ; the sacrificial and heathen forms of worship were maintained by the priests and condemned by the prophets ; the religion of the one was ceremonial, of the other ethical. They had nothing in common. The sacrificial system of the Hebrews had no higher religious meaning or ethical value than that of any other people.

Before discussing Professor Robertson Smith's account of sacrifice, which is the main purpose of the lectures, it may be worth while to

glance at some of the preliminaries which lead up to it. The first topic of importance, and probably the first entitled to consideration, though not the first treated in these lectures, is that of the idea of "holiness" which was originally entirely without ethical significance. Places, people, things and times were considered holy as they were associated with some supernatural notion; though it is even possible that they were treated as holy before they were considered supernatural. Places such as thickets or mountains which were mysterious or dreaded were avoided, and so became "holy." Wells which were to be cherished because of their necessity were placed under the same taboo; a traveller slept with his head upon a boulder, and had a dream which promised good fortune, he called the place the "house of God," and the stone was henceforth sacred. Any place in which tradition declared the deity had appeared was set apart as holy. Altars, shrines, or temples, were subsequently erected on or near these sites, and the persons associated with them became holy also. The underlying idea is that of separation from common purposes. The places were not to be entered, nor the things touched, by ordinary people in an ordinary way. Holiness conveys "the notion of prohibition, so that a sacred thing is one which, whether absolutely or in certain relations, is prohibited to human use." Places were holy in themselves. "It is obvious that in the history of Jacob's vision the idea is not that Jehovah came to Jacob; but that Jacob was unconsciously guided to the place where there was already a ladder set between earth and heaven, and where therefore the god-head was particularly accessible." "It is clear that in Exod. iii. the ground about the burning bush does not become holy because God had appeared to Moses. On the contrary, the theophany takes place there because it is holy ground, Jehovah's habitual dwelling-place." A curious illustration of how these ideas became reversed or rationalised in the course of time is found in 2 Maccabees v. 19, where it is said: "God did not choose the people for the place's sake, but the place for the people's sake." Originally it was all the other way.

Another thing that is very distinctly brought out in these lectures is the corporate nature of early religion, which is also found to survive in Israel. Religion was not a personal matter, but the affair of the community. The clan or tribe was the unit, and no one had any religious interest apart from that of his kin. Thus all practices and customs, and all beliefs which grew out of them, it was the duty and interest of all to maintain inviolate. The safety of the community depended upon the proper fulfilment of the customs of the tribe. If one person committed sacrilege the safety of the whole tribe was thereby imperilled. This is the explanation of the severity of all laws against sacrilege, such as that which made death the penalty for the desecration of the Sabbath, or for touching

the ark, or for questioning the authority of the priesthood. In reality it was considered unlucky to break the rules of holiness, not only for the individual, but for all those who were kin to him. "In early ages the act of one member of the tribe is conceived to make all the tribe impious; to offend its peculiar god, to expose all the tribe to the penalties of Heaven. The early tribe or nation is a religious partnership, on which a rash member by a sudden impiety may bring utter ruin. If the State is conceived thus toleration becomes wicked."<sup>1</sup> How much of this idea survived in religions which are considered far above heathenism is well known, not only to every reader of the Bible, but to the students of all religions. Heresy and schism are ceremonial offences, and therefore sacrilegious, and are generally treated with more severity than offences against morality. "Accordingly it is the business of the community to narrow the responsibility for the crime, and to free itself of the contagious taint by fixing the guilt either on a single individual, or at least on his immediate kin, as, in the case of Achan, who was stoned, and then burned with his whole family."<sup>2</sup> This corporate interest of the community in religion is further illustrated by the condemnation of illicit intercourse with supernatural powers, or sorcery, upon which Dr. Smith very ingeniously remarks, "a man had no right to enter into private relations with supernatural powers that might help him at the expense of the community to which he belonged."

With regard to the relations of the gods to men as conceived by early peoples Professor Robertson Smith takes a somewhat unusual view. He differs from Renan in the opinion that "man fancied himself surrounded by enemies he sought to appease." *Primus in orbe deos fecit timor*. It is not true, he says, that the attempt to appease the powers is the foundation of religion. "It is not with a vague fear of unknown powers, but with a loving reverence for known gods who are knit to their worshippers by strong ties of kinship that religion, in the true sense of the word, begins—on the whole, men live on very easy terms with their tribal god and his paternal authority is neither strict nor exacting." This hardly coincides with the severity of the penalties against sacrilege to which we have referred; the "jealousy" of Jehovah could hardly have been entirely a novel thought; on one side, the god was unreservedly strict and exacting. It is doubtful if Professor Smith does not err on his side by laying sole stress upon one aspect of the relationship between men and gods. While circumstances were favourable, and men obedient, the heathens could believe their god was good-tempered, and they could be good-tempered with him. But when circumstances were unfavourable or it was feared that the god had been disobeyed they would regard him with a very different feeling.

<sup>1</sup> Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Semites*, p. 401.

It is around the account of sacrifices that we find that which is most important in these lectures. The author apparently has a purpose in view in his elaborate analysis of this side of early religion. He professes to start without any preconceived notion, and to examine the subject from a purely objective point of view; to trace the actual practices of savage worshippers, and infer their intention from the practices. But he can hardly be acquitted of the appearance of attempting to make all his facts support a theory, which is to reduce all the ideas of sacrifice to one simple root, that in itself one of a somewhat unusual nature. Not that Professor Robertson Smith is the first to discover it, as it is referred to by Wellhausen, Reville and others. But Dr. Smith would find in it the sole explanation of original sacrifice. It is summed up by him in the word communion; however many different intentions we shall find in sacrifice as time goes on the one simple purpose at first was that of communion with deity. As all the members of the tribe were kin to one another, so the god was kin to all, and sacrifice was the means by which they had communion with him. Reville has laid down the rule that "we must not carry back to the origins of sacrifice the metaphysical and moral ideas which did not really appear until much later." We cannot but feel that Dr. Smith infringes this rule; we can hardly deprive the word communion of a metaphysical association, and we doubt if the author wishes so to deprive it. Notwithstanding the apparently purely scientific purpose of the book, we cannot get rid of the impression that it is partly polemical, and that while the lecturer had one eye on the Semites he had the other alternately on the Calvinistic or scholastic doctrine of the atonement, and on the ceremonial religion of ritualistic churches. The latter impression is supported by the emphatic sentence with which the book concludes: "A ritual system must always remain materialistic, even if its materialism is disguised under the cloak of mysticism." We feel that the author had something else besides the religion of the Semites in his mind when this sentence was penned. So also he aims at discrediting certain doctrines of the atonement which were supposed to be supported by the Levitical doctrine and practice of sacrifice, and evidently he favours another view of the atonement, the key to which is to be found in the word Communion. The earnestness with which he repeatedly returns to the assertion that communion was the one purpose of early sacrifice, encourages us in this impression—the contrast is distinctly stated in his conclusion: "Redemption, substitution, purification, atoning blood, the garment of righteousness, are all terms which in some sense go back to antique ritual. But in ancient religion all these terms are very vaguely defined; they indicate impressions produced on the mind of the worshipper by features of the ritual; rather than formulated ethico-dogmatical ideas; and the attempt to find in them anything



as precise and definite as the notions attached to the same words by Christian theologians, is altogether illegitimate. The one point that comes out clear and strong is that the fundamental idea of ancient sacrifice is sacramental communion, and that all atoning rites are ultimately to be regarded as owing their efficacy to a communication of divine life to the worshippers, and to the establishment or confirmation of a living bond between them and their god. In primitive ritual this conception is grasped in a mere physical and mechanical shape, as, indeed, in primitive life, all spiritual and ethical ideas are still wrapped up in the husk of a material embodiment. To free the spiritual truth from the husk was the great task that lay before the ancient religions, if they were to maintain the right to continue to rule the minds of men. That some progress was made, especially in Israel, appears from our examination."

The whole tendency of this conclusion appears to us mistaken; the highest minds in Israel did not aim at freeing the spiritual truth from the husk; they rejected the husk—that is, the sacrificial ritual wholly, and endeavoured to substitute for it ethical ideas which it neither contained nor represented. Professor Smith appears to be anxious to prove that there is a connecting link between his view of the atonement and early Semitic religious practices.

His own account of early sacrificial customs scarcely justifies his language; for though they favour the statement that the tribe approached the god with perfect confidence and good humour, the idea contained in the word communion is far too highly refined to be applicable to the orgiastic character of early sacrifice. "A sacrifice was a public ceremony of a township or clan, and private householders were accustomed to reserve their offerings for the annual feasts, satisfying their religious feelings in the interval by vows to be discharged when the festal season came round. Then the crowds streamed into the sanctuary from all sides, dressed in their gayest attire, marching joyfully to the sound of music, and bearing with them not only the victims appointed for sacrifice, but store of bread and wine to set forth the feast. 'The law of the feast was open-handed hospitality; no sacrifice was complete without guests, and portions were freely distributed to rich and poor within the circle of a man's acquaintance. Universal hilarity prevailed; men ate and drank and were merry together, rejoicing before their God.'" This picture of Hebrew worship contains nothing peculiar to the religion of Jehovah. The ritual observed at a Hebrew and a Canaanitish sanctuary was so similar, that to the mass of the people Jehovah worship and Baal worship were not separated by any well-marked line; this character of sacrificial feasts was not confined to the Semitic people; everywhere we find that a sacrifice involves a feast, and that a feast could not be provided without a sacrifice. No feast was complete without flesh, and all slaughter was sacrifice. When men met their god they feasted and

were glad together, and whenever they feasted and were glad they desired that the god should be of the party. It is surely carrying the metaphysical idea of a later time into this kind of festal religion to describe it as sacramental communion, or to see in it the husk of a spiritual doctrine of atonement, which is neither that of Anselm nor that of Calvin. Not only did the tribe feast in the presence of their god, but some portion of the food was literally offered to the god; it was actually called the food of deity. As the materialism of the conception of deity was unmodified, some portion of the food was burned, in order that the god might inhale the fragrant odour. Sacrifice then was nothing but a feast, which the tribe and the god enjoyed together, and this hardly deserves to be dignified with the title of a communion.

How many of the ideas which are associated with sacrifice date from very early times it is difficult to say, but that some of them do is at least probable. The idea of propitiation is very ancient; propitiation and expiation are too often confounded in Christian theology, for while the notion of expiation is of the latest, that of propitiation is of the earliest, origin: "To the majority of the worshippers, even of Israel, before the exile, the dominant idea in the ritual was that the material oblation afforded a physical satisfaction to the god, and that copious offerings were an infallible means of keeping him in good humour." That is, he was propitiated by the offerings; either he was kept in good humour by them or restored to good humour if it was feared he had been offended. Connected with this propitiatory idea are such sacrifices as were thought to draw down the favour of the gods upon the flocks or harvest, though this may only date from the introduction of agriculture. In Scandinavia the chiefs sacrificed for the "bettering of the year," and the solstitial sacrifice in China may belong to the same class, though it was primarily eucharistic, as in all such ceremonies it is felt that if they are neglected the god will be angry and the future disastrous. Another very ancient idea connected with sacrifice was that of a covenant; or, rather, the sacrifice was performed to ratify or bear witness to a covenant—either between the sacrificers amongst themselves reciprocally, or between the covenanters and their god. During the period embraced in the work called "Spring and Autumn" many covenants were made among the feudal princes—made over the blood of a victim, with which the covenanting party smeared the corners of his mouth, while an appeal was addressed to the invisible power to inflict vengeance on all who should violate the conditions agreed upon. Such a sacrifice might be called "imprecatory."<sup>1</sup> The consecration of Aaron and his sons is accompanied by a somewhat similar ceremony in the account in the priestly code, both in Exod. xxix., where it is given as an instruction, and in Lev. viii., where it is related as being actually

<sup>1</sup> Legge: *Religions of China*.

performed. Moses killed a ram, and took the blood of it and put it upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot.

Dedicatory sacrifices were of various kinds. The offering of firstlings and first-fruits was an acknowledgment of the proprietary rights of deity. Neither flocks nor herds nor produce were available for common use until the right of the god had been recognised by the offering of the firstlings as an admission that everything belonged to the tribal deity. With this was connected the offering of the human firstborn, either actually or symbolically. It was only in later times that a moral intention was supposed to be involved in the offering of the firstborn. "Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" In some cases the offering was made to appease the anger of the god which had manifested itself in famine or plague or some other calamity, and even the idea of substitution, the substitution of one valuable life for that of the many, sometimes entered.

In the offering of Isaac by Abraham there appears to be no idea beyond that of simple dedication or the offering of a gift which Elohim had a right to demand. There can be little doubt that the ideas of substitution and expiation in connection with sacrifice are the latest in their origin. It is not till after the exile that they are fully developed, and in the priestly code we find that what the thank-offering had lost the sin- and trespass-offering had gained; the voluntary private offering which the sacrificer ate in a joyful company at the holy place had given way before the compulsory, of which he obtained no share, and from which the character of a sacred meal had been altogether taken away. No trace of this is found before Ezekiel.<sup>1</sup> It was only as the original purpose of sacrifice was lost sight of that the idea of expiation, which has erroneously been considered the primary significance of all sacrifice, entered, and then the whole offering, instead of being the substance of a general feast, was entirely made over to the priest; at first as a compensation for some ceremonial trespass, and ultimately to condone some moral offence. It is this which has been, in a measure, transferred in thought to some conceptions of Christian theology. The popular theology which represents all sacrifices as typical of one great expiation is shown to be entirely without foundation. Whatever transmutations the practice and idea of sacrifice have undergone, they are traced back originally to essentially heathen and idolatrous customs. These were at first common to the Israelites and all the Semitic tribes; they underwent various modifications in the course of time, were essentially altered in Judaism after the exile, and a whole mass of ideas which had become associated with them were most disastrously carried over into Christianity by the writer of the

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen; *Prolegomena*.

Epistle to the Hebrews, and finally adopted in scholastic and Calvinistic theology. The innate tendency to conservatism in human nature has determined with every advance that there shall be as little change as possible, and that the "new thing shall be in the old fashion," or, in other words, the new wine shall be poured into the old bottles. Whether Professor Robertson Smith is yielding to this same tendency we shall be better able to judge when we read the two other volumes of lectures which we are promised, and which we shall await with interest.

WALTER LLOYD.

## THE COMMISSION DEBATE.

By a majority of 339 to 268 the House of Commons has rejected Mr. Gladstone's amendment, and has thus refused to acknowledge that it "deems it to be a duty to record its reprobation of the false charges of the gravest and most odious description, based on calumny and forgery, which have been brought against members of this House, and particularly against Mr. Parnell; and while declaring its satisfaction at the exposure of these calumnies, this House expresses its regret for the wrong inflicted, and the suffering and loss endured, through a protracted period, by reason of these acts of flagrant iniquity."

The majority of the House of Commons has preferred to adopt Mr. Smith's motion, which sets forth: "That Parliament having constituted a Special Commission to inquire into the charges and allegations made against certain members of Parliament and other persons, and the Report of the Commissioners having been presented to Parliament, this House adopts the Report, and thanks the Commissioners for their just and impartial conduct in the matters referred to them, and orders that the said Report be entered on the Journals of this House."

The great debate is over, but the reflections which the action of the Tory Government has given rise to are only beginning, and to-day the question is being asked, and at next general election will be answered, "Stands the Unionist party where it did?"

It is to the consideration of that question that this article is applied.

In the columns of a contemporary, Mr. Frederic Harrison last month pointed out the distinction to be drawn between the *class* of charges recently disposed of by Sir James Hannen and his colleagues, and very clearly showed that the counts upon which Mr. Parnell and his associates stand acquitted are such as may fairly be assumed as capable of being decided by a court of justice, whilst the counts upon which the finding of the judges are adverse to the National party cannot fairly be held capable of being adjudicated on even by a specially constituted Commission, inasmuch as "they are questions of politics, not of tribunals," and are therefore susceptible of individual opinion, but not of judicial finding!

This is a distinction, however, which the Unionists were either

indisposed, or unable, to see, and in effect Mr. W. H. Smith, in his capacity as spokesman for the Government, proposed that bygones should be bygones, and that neither sympathy nor reprobation should be expressed by the House regarding the charges made and disproved, or made and sustained, against the character of Mr. Parnell and those with whom he is associated.

Such a course, obviously, could not be acquiesced in by the Liberal party; for had they done so, they would have let it go forth to the country that they, in common with her Majesty's Ministers, believed that so bad had the Commissioners made out Mr. Parnell's character to be, that that gentleman could not consider himself ill-used in having no official expression of sympathy extended to him in respect of an honourable acquittal, on account of that acquittal being held to be counteracted by a dishonouring condemnation, which must, under other circumstances, have rendered him liable to the severest reprobation, and perhaps to prosecution.

Now as determining the present status of the Unionist party, it seems necessary to make a somewhat searching inquiry as to how far the action, or inaction, of the Government was determined by motives of conviction or by motives of expediency; if they acted from conviction, it can be demonstrated that their conduct is disfigured by want of courage; whilst, if from expediency, it can no less surely be shown that their conduct is tainted by injustice.

As determining, then, the want of courage or injustice of the present advisers of the Crown, it is important to endeavour to arrive at the most likely answer to the question: Did Ministers believe, or did they disbelieve, that the points upon which the Commission found adversely to Mr. Parnell or his associates, were at all comparable in gravity to those other charges in respect of which a complete acquittal was pronounced?

In order to arrive at that answer, it is necessary in the first place to consider what must have been the position of Mr. Parnell and the action of her Majesty's Ministers had the findings of the Commissioners been in every respect the opposite of what they in reality are.

It would in that case have been decided that Mr. Parnell *did* write the letters published by the *Times*; that he *was* insincere when he denounced the murders; that he *did* enable one of the accomplices to escape from justice; that he was personally acquainted with the Invincibles; that he suggested and was privy to their schemes of assassination; that he employed men whom he knew to be the organisers of crime; and that he incited others to the commission of punishable offences: *per contra*, it would have been decided that Mr. Davitt and his seven colleagues *did not* enter into a conspiracy to establish the absolute independence of Ireland; that Mr. Parnell and his associates *did not* conspire, by a system of intimidation, to stamp

out landlordism; that they did *not* disseminate the *Irish World*; that they did *not* incite to intimidation, the consequence of which was crime and outrage; that they *did* denounce outrage and crime; and, that the League did *not* defend persons charged with crime, did *not* make payments to persons who had been injured in the commission of crime, and did *not* accept subscriptions from American societies which advocated criminal methods.

Now let us apply the test of reason, to the present attitude of the Government.

Assuming for a moment that the verdict of the Commissioners had been the reverse of what it is, and that their findings had been such as I have shown that, in such an event, they must have been, is it permissible or possible to suppose that no further action would have been taken by Ministers than, to pass a vote of thanks to the Commissioners, and to inscribe the result of their inquiry on the Journals of the House? Is it possible to suppose that no other steps would have been taken against a man and a party convicted of grave and terrible offences for which no punishment could be considered too severe, no condemnation too scathing?

I say that it is impossible, and, further, I maintain that a Government which so far and so disgracefully neglected its obvious duty, would have deserved the condemnation and the punishment meted out to those who compound a felony.

Mr. Jennings was very distinct on this point, and in the course of his speech he said that there was "a difference between those murder charges and the other charges in respect of the penalty which was incidental to each, for if these murder charges had been brought home to honourable members opposite, the House could not have rested at this (Mr. Smith's) motion."

Had the findings of the Commissioners been reversed, Ministers would not have dared to assume the fearful responsibility of letting it be inferred that they considered the one set of findings a set-off to the other, or that the measure of guilt attributed to the Nationalists was to be condoned on account of the measure of innocence meted out to them!

And yet that is precisely what they are, by means of the implication contained in the motion of Mr. Smith, allowing to be assumed and inferred by the country.

But it will not do, and men will not believe it! If the course taken by the Government is right, and if they honestly believe it to be fair and right, then they are shrinking, with reprehensible timidity, from the logical conclusion which imposes on them the paramount necessity of taking action, not merely by reprobation in the House of Commons, but by prosecution in a Criminal Court of Justice, against men whom they profess to believe guilty of the equivalent of what all men allow to be grave and heinous offences. If they think the

disseminating of the *Irish World* as grave a crime as would have been the assisting the flight of a criminal fugitive from justice, why on earth do they not proceed against the perpetrator of the one crime in like manner as they would have proceeded against the other?

If the Government acted from conviction, then it has not the courage of its convictions, and cannot complain if it be called timid and irresolute.

But, of course, there remains the alternative—the alternative that the Government acted from motives of expediency.

Let us examine the probabilities in favour of this assumption :

Whatever else may be thought of the present Government, it can scarcely but be allowed that in Lord Salisbury, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Balfour it contains men of undoubted talent and experience, while of the remainder of the Cabinet it may be said that they are men of fair abilities, and quite capable of forming some sort of judgment. This being so—and allowing that the present is scarcely the season for midsummer madness—it seems inconceivable that Ministers should have so faint an idea of the proportion of things as soberly and in earnest to have come to the conclusion that the findings against Mr. Parnell are equal in importance to the findings in his favour; it would be an insult to their judgment to assume that they did anything of the kind, because it cannot be supposed that they were unable to discriminate between charges directly affecting the honour and character of members of the House of Commons, and charges of which the most that can be said is that they apply to the working of an organisation and not to the acts of any one specified individual. Even Mr. Chamberlain, recognising this point, said: “Undoubtedly I think that the offences of which the respondents have been acquitted are more serious and more dishonouring charges than those charges which have been proved against them, and therefore if you are to pick out any part of the Report at all, you ought to take out that part which deals with the most important charges.”

Allowing that the collective discernment and ability of the Ministry is not inferior to that of Mr. Chamberlain, it is only possible to assume that the attitude taken up by them was prompted by motives of expediency which have served to lead them into the path which is *not* called straight. To quote the words of Cicero (*De Oratore*, lib. iii. chap. lxxxii.), with the single substitution of the words “party interests” for the word “worth,” Ministers evidently felt that “party interests ought chiefly to be regarded, but expediency commonly prevails, there being a concealed fear that even party interests cannot be supported if expediency be disregarded.”

So far as they were concerned, expediency affirmed what common honesty would have denied—viz., that it would be impolitic to make even a verbal reparation to Mr. Parnell, lest by so doing they should



appear to stultify the eminently uncharitable interpretation they had chosen to put on the adverse findings with which they sought to identify the man, but with which, in reality, only the organisation can be connected. But even supposing for the sake of argument that it is to the man and not to the organisation that the adverse findings of the Commissioners apply (findings of which, be it remembered, these learned men remarked that it was not for them to say how far they might be softened down by a consideration of the good achieved by mistaken means), what do they amount to as compared with the heavy condemnation which must have been passed had the findings been adverse on what may now be called the "forgeries" part of the case? Apply these adverse findings to the man instead of to the organisation, and popular judgment will but endorse the explicitly stated opinion of one who is reckoned as among the clearest and most unbiassed thinkers of his time—I refer to Lord Macaulay who, in his essay on Lord Clive, and in discussing the importance to be attached to the charges brought against that distinguished man in regard to his alleged malpractices in India, said:—

"Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set-off. The greatest desert cannot be pleaded in answer to a charge of the slightest transgression. If a man has sold beer on a Sunday morning, it is no defence that he has saved the life of a fellow-creature at the risk of his own. If he has harnessed a Newfoundland dog to his little child's carriage, it is no defence that he was wounded at Waterloo. But it is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who, raised far above ordinary restraints, and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed; and if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one not merely of acquittal, but of approbation. Not a single great ruler in history can be absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts. [N.B. The imprudent acts of a party leader and of a party organisation cannot be judged without taking into account the good attained by such acts, and cannot therefore be decided on by judges—whether specially commissioned or otherwise—but must stand or fall at the bar of public opinion.] Bruce the deliverer of Scotland, Maurice the deliverer of Germany, William the deliverer of Holland, his great descendant the deliverer of England, Murray the good Regent, Cosmo the father of his country, Henry the Fourth of France, Peter the Great of Russia, how would the best of these pass such a scrutiny? History takes wider views; and the best tribunal for great political cases is the tribunal which anticipates the verdict of history. Reasonable and moderate men of all parties felt this in Clive's case. They could not

pronounce him blameless; but they were not disposed to abandon him to that low-minded and rancorous pack who had run him down and were eager to worry him to death. . . . The result of this memorable inquiry appears, on the whole, honourable to the justice, moderation, and discernment of the Commons. They had, indeed, no great temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad judges of an accusation brought against Jenkinson or against Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party question; and the House accordingly acted with the good sense and good feeling which may always be expected from an assembly of English gentlemen, not blinded by faction!"

Such was the view taken by Lord Macaulay; such is not the view taken by her Majesty's Ministers!

The concluding sentence of the quotation which I have just cited, has for us at this time, and in the light of recent events, a curious interest. *Clive's was not a party question*; Parnell's—to the discredit be it said of the Unionist party—most unfortunately is. Blinded by faction, the majority of an assembly of English gentlemen have refused to act with good sense or good feeling towards one of their own number, lest by so doing they might appear to allow him, and those with whom he is associated, to make a little political capital; for this reason they have refused to express contrition for unworthy suspicions entertained against, or to tender congratulations on the acquittal of, a much maligned man, who requested to be tried, and has been tried, on charges, not of a political character, but of a character calculated, if established by evidence, to blast and blight his personal reputation beyond all hope of redemption.

The main question to be decided with regard to Mr. Parnell was not of a political character, for it involved no question of politics. What it did involve was the affirmation or denial of the right of the *Times*, or of any individual, to stigmatise him as a constructive murderer associating with hired assassins. But, then, Mr. Parnell is a politician, and, moreover, the leader of a nation on whose behalf he has formulated a policy detested and feared by the Unionist party; evidence against him was what they required, evidence such as would ruin the man, and relegate his policy to the dim and perhaps impossible future, and that evidence they determined to procure and substantiate. Accordingly, with a foresight, almost it would seem with a foreknowledge, of the impossibility of substantiating the grave and terrible charges in which before the question of a Special Commission was mooted they exultingly declared their belief, they sought and contrived to widen the scope of inquiry, by imposing on the Commissioners the task, not merely of deciding as to the genuineness or otherwise of letters published in the *Times*, but of making full investigation into the actions and methods of an organisation of which Mr. Parnell was admittedly the originator and

mainspring. In other words, they sought to \*confuse the issue. As the result of this inquiry, Mr. Parnell stands acquitted of the terrible charge of constructive assassination, but it is sought to fasten on him the follies—it may even in exceptional cases be the wickednesses—of individual members of the defunct Land League and of the living National League.

Col. Saunderson, with a frankness which perhaps he now regrets, stated in the debate just concluded, that “upon the personal charges connected with the letters Mr. Parnell had been absolutely acquitted, but other accusations had been made against the organisation (not, be noted, against Mr. Parnell) to which many honourable members belonged.”

There lies the truth in a nutshell. Parnell *the man* is absolutely acquitted; Parnell’s *organisation* is mildly censured. An organisation can never consist of one man, yet it is on one man that Ministers seek to fasten responsibility and blame, and having satisfied themselves forsooth that this is fair and just, they audaciously invite their supporters to reject the manly and straightforward amendment of Mr. Gladstone, because it sought to express sympathy with a wronged man and omitted to take notice of the findings against an organisation with whom and whose honour the House of Commons had nothing whatever to do. And why did they adopt this course, at once so unjust and ungenerous?

Because it was expedient; because they could not bear that the country should have it on the authority of the House of Commons that all the *personal* charges had been disproved; because they were in death-grips with Mr. Parnell; because they could not afford to be fair; and because they detest the man!

This is plain but true speaking, and leads to the irresistible conclusion that the action of the Government was animated, not by sincere conviction, but by a shameless expediency which has refused to do justice to an honourable opponent and has imposed on Ministers the stigma of paltry partisanship!

How many Unionists, I wonder, in recording their votes against Mr. Gladstone’s amendment “gave [to quote the noble words of that great statesman] such a judgment as will bear the scrutiny of the heart and conscience when a man betakes himself to his chamber and is still?” Not many, I fear.

But there were some among the ranks of the Ministerialists who seem to have felt that if Mr. Gladstone’s amendment amounted, as their leaders told them, to a *suppressio veri*, Mr. Smith’s motion contained a very strong essence of the *suggestio falsi*, and to those men, halting as they were between two opinions, desiring on the one hand to do justice to Mr. Parnell, and therefore, to avoid voting for a motion which subtly implied that that gentleman deserved quite as much of censure as of sympathy, and, on the other

hand, shrinking from voting for Mr. Gladstone's amendment, and thereby expressing sympathy with one whose gain meant their own party's loss, the skilfully framed amendment of Mr. Jennings must have proved—had not an unforeseen event occurred to obscure the issue—what Mr. Caine is reported graphically to have called “a veritable *Deus ex machina*.” No doubt it was. It committed nobody to anything beyond an expression of “condemnation of the conduct of those who are responsible for the accusation of complicity with murder brought against members of this House, which has been discovered to be based mainly on forged letters, and declared by the Special Commissioners to be disproved.” It committed nobody to an expression of sympathy with the man who had been proved guiltless of the enormities charged against him; it committed nobody to a retraction of the shouts of disbelief with which Mr. Parnell's denial as to the authenticity of the *Times*' publications was received two years ago. It was clever, dexterous, but insufficient. It directly affirmed the guilt of the accuser, it only by inference affirmed the innocence of the accused; it started well, but it stopped half-way, for further than half-way it did not seem probable that any but Gladstonians and Nationalists could be induced to go.

It will never exactly be known what support that amendment might have obtained from those who ordinarily vote with the Government, for the departure of Lord Randolph Churchill from what were understood to be the arrangements with regard to speaking to it, together with the tone of his vigorous and able onslaught on the Government, so alarmed the faint-hearted inhabitants of the Lilliputian Cave of Adullam that forth from it they rushed back panic-stricken into the sheltering arms of the Tory party, leaving behind them Mr. Jennings' luckless and all but stillborn offspring to perish miserably. From this tragic end the well-meant efforts of Mr. Caine rescued it, and for a brief period Mr. John Morley galvanised it into a state of suspended animation.

That luckless amendment never had a chance. It failed, as perhaps it deserved to fail, for after all it amounted to no more than the somewhat contemptible expedient of a few conscience-stricken men who—too cowardly to openly offer their sympathy to the wronged—yet fancied themselves brave enough to be able to express their detestation of the conduct of the wrong-doer! But they gave themselves credit for more courage than they really possessed, and in the end ran away from their own amendment, leaving Lord R. Churchill, Mr. Staveley-Hill, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Caine, and the Opposition to support it. That it secured the support of the Liberal party is not to be wondered at, for after all half a loaf is better than no bread, and a condemnation of the accusers seemed the next best thing to an expression of sympathy with the accused.

And now for a parting glance at the position of the Unionists.

The powerful speech of Lord Randolph Churchill has damaged them in the country, but their acceptance of the motion of Mr. W. H. Smith, and their rejection of the amendment of Mr. Gladstone, has damaged them tenfold more! Theirs has been a course of action which it is impossible for any courageous or high-minded man to approve, for it has been a course of action which, if animated by conviction, is disfigured by want of courage, and which, if inspired by expediency, is tainted with manifest unfairness. There is no escape from this predicament unless, indeed, it be assumed—first, that Ministers are incapable of forming a sound judgment; or, second, that having formed what appears to them a sound judgment, they are incapable of comprehending the stern duty which is forced on them as the logical consequence of their own action.

But be all this as it may—be the Government a timorous Government, be it an unjust Government, or be it an incapable Government—the fact remains, and is a fact which nothing can alter, that following the lead of their leaders, the overwhelming majority of the allied Tory and Liberal-Unionist parties have refused to officially record their sympathy with Mr. Parnell in the wrong, the suffering, and the loss which he has endured in consequence of the iniquitous conduct of the *Times*. They have refused to supplement the bare, bald statement of the Commissioners in regard to the forged letters, or to make any acknowledgment of the fact that while as regards the adverse findings the position of Mr. Parnell is exactly the same as it has been any time during the last six or eight years, the accusation of complicity with assassins made by the *Times* would have left him in a very different position had it been substantiated, and therefore entitles him to a very complete reparation now that it has been proved to be a baseless and wicked libel.

Everybody knew all along that Mr. Parnell was associated with the National League; everybody knew all along that there had been incidents in the conduct of that organisation—incidents for which Mr. Parnell was not personally responsible—which called for censure. But it was not matter of common knowledge that Mr. Parnell was the aider, the abettor, the associate of murderers. The accusation fell like a thunderbolt on the political world. If true, how terrible was the position of the Irish leader! If untrue; how ineffectual could any reparation be to recompense Mr. Parnell for the appalling load of suspicion and opprobrium cast upon him!

This was a new charge, all the others were old as the hills! This was the one charge that called for, and secured, the constitution of a special tribunal. If that charge had never been heard of, neither would there ever have been a Special Commission Report presented to the House of Commons. That Report being presented, it was not the province of members of the House of Commons to sympathise with, or to condemn, the adverse findings on points which

had been for years matters of common knowledge; but it was their bounden duty, and was the least thing they could have done, to place on record on the Journals of the House their sympathy—which, after all, could scarcely by any stretch of imagination have been considered as reviewing the findings of the Commissioners—with Mr. Parnell, and their detestation of the foul charges made against his honour. This the subservient Government majority have refused to do, on the implied ground that the charges sustained against the National League are so heinous as to debar Mr. Parnell from any expression of sympathy from the Ministerial benches.

Such has been the action of the “gentlemanly party,” as they love to style themselves; and it will rest with the homely agricultural labourer and with the grimy toilers in great cities to set wrong right at next general election, and to give practical proof to the Salisburys, the Goschens, the Balfours, and all the genuine or self-styled aristocrats of whom the Tory party is composed, that the people of England still believe that there should be some such thing as honour in politics, and reject with scorn and contempt the Ministerial creed that expediency justifies underhand behaviour towards political opponents.

JAMES DOUGLAS HOLMS.

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

*Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely, on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]*

## THE NEW ROUND TABLE.

### HOME RULE FOR WALES.

*Communications from*

RT. HON. G. OSBORNE MORGAN, M.P.

SIR E. J. REED, M.P.

OWEN MORGAN EDWARDS, Fellow of  
Lincoln College, Oxford.

PROFESSOR HENRY JONES, University  
College of North Wales, Bangor.

BERIAH GWYNNE EVANS.

A. C. HUMPHREYS-OWEN, Chairman  
of the Executive of the North  
Wales Liberal Association.

THE expression "Home Rule" may mean a good many things, and, before applying it to Wales, it is very desirable to define clearly the sense in which it is so used.

Applied to Ireland, "Home Rule" is generally understood to imply a separate Parliament with a separate Executive responsible to such Parliament, charged with the duty of dealing with purely Irish affairs, Imperial questions being left to the determination of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster.

In this sense I do not think that Wales is ripe for Home Rule. Its population is too small, its connection with England, at least in the case of its border counties, is too close, to make it either possible or desirable to constitute a separate legislature and a separate Executive for the Principality. On the other hand, the indifference of the English Parliament and Government to the wants and wishes of the Welsh people is a matter which calls loudly for some remedy. Let me give one instance. Last year Mr. Dillwyn's motion for the Dis-establishment of the Welsh Church was supported by 25 out of 30

Welsh representatives, and only opposed by 3—a preponderance of opinion for which no parallel can be found in recent parliamentary annals. Yet the motion was rejected by more than 50 votes, and the present Government—let us hope unintentionally—are doing their best to envenom and complicate the controversy which is raging on the subject; while a leading Conservative statesman is sent down to the Principality to insult the Welsh people on their most sensitive point by talking nonsense about the “Parish of Wales.” I am willing to believe that these lamentable exhibitions are mainly due to ignorance of the Welsh, their language, and character, but they are not on that account the less to be deplored. As long as English statesmen refuse to acknowledge so distinct and undoubted a nationality, they will never succeed in satisfying the aspirations of my countrymen, or in governing them as a free people ought to be governed.

There can be no doubt that this systematic disregard—if the Education question be excepted—of Wales and Welshmen has aroused great indignation in the Principality, and created a strong and growing desire for what is somewhat vaguely called “Home Rule for Wales,” a desire which lately found expression in an amendment to the Address calling for the creation of a “separate department of State for the conduct of distinctly Welsh affairs.” Speaking for myself, and looking to the Irish precedent, I confess that I am not inclined to put much faith in such a remedy. I should much prefer the proposal, made two years ago by Mr. Rathbone, and rejected by a very narrow majority of the House of Commons, to refer all Welsh Bills to a Grand or Standing Committee, composed mainly, but not exclusively, of members from Wales.

I believe, however, that the true solution of the problem is to be found in the creation of a Grand National Council, composed of the members of the various Welsh County Councils, which are, in the true sense of the word, popular and representative bodies. Such a Grand Council, endowed with largely extended Legislative, or quasi-Legislative, as well as administrative powers, in matters purely Welsh, and holding its sittings in some central place in the Principality, would, I believe, for the present, adequately meet the justice of the case, and the legitimate aspirations of the Welsh people.

The details of such a scheme would obviously require the most careful examination, but this is a subject upon which I have neither space nor time to enter.

G. OSBORNE MORGAN.

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In offering a few remarks upon the question of Home Rule for Wales one must have present to his mind some clear definition, or at least some clear conception, of what he means by Home Rule. Now



to me these words signify, when used in connection with Ireland, a system of Government under which the people of Ireland would have the control—by means of a separate Parliament and executive, both subject to the Imperial Parliament and to the Sovereign—of all such concerns as are exclusively their own.

The moment one applies the phrase Home Rule, with this signification, to Wales one experiences some hesitation as to the expediency and good sense of suggesting, or of advocating, Welsh Home Rule. Why is this? I have asked myself this question, and have found for myself its answer in a fact of which we are all well aware—viz., that whereas in Ireland Irish ideas, Irish habits, Irish peculiarities are everywhere prevalent, with a partial exception only in one particular corner of the country, in Wales the case is very different, for there Welsh ideas, Welsh habits, Welsh peculiarities are by no means prevalent in what I may call the circumference of the country, the interior of Wales being alone pre-eminently Welsh in its characteristics. One might be a considerable time in Cardiff, Newport, Swansea, Tenby, Pembroke Dock, Holyhead, Llandudno, Rhyl, and other of the towns which in a sense surround the Principality, not indeed without being aware in many of them that you were in Wales, but without being brought into close and palpable contact with those national characteristics from which there is no escape in the interior mining and agricultural districts. So, at least, it seems to me, and for very many years I have been pretty familiar with both exterior and interior Wales, so to speak. If I be right in this, it follows that Home Rule for Wales is not a question of giving a separate domestic government to a homogeneous, or almost homogeneous country, but is rather a question of establishing a separate domestic government, over a country in which the proofs of nationality are very strongly marked in the more scattered inhabitants, agricultural and mining, of the interior, but are very much less marked—much less marked on the whole than the evidences of a mixture of nationalities—in the remaining portion of the country. If it should be true (and may it not be?) that the denser populations of extreme North Wales and extreme South Wales are in their general characteristics as much allied to England and Scotland as to interior Wales itself, it would follow that we ought to have very convincing evidence of the necessity for the change to exclusively Welsh rule before urging or advocating it.

I will take the great town of Cardiff, which I have had the distinguished honour of representing in Parliament for the last ten years, as an example of what I have in my mind. Now Cardiff is most unquestionably a town of Wales—the largest and most important of all. That it contains a large number of Welsh inhabitants is quite certain, and among them are not a few of its most successful and most esteemed citizens. Purely Welsh movements find warm

sympathy there, and Wales may well lay claim to this great and thriving and enterprising town as a capital ornament, possibly the very crown, of the Principality.

But looking to the trading and commercial character of Cardiff, and to its intimate relations with the remainder of the United Kingdom, and with other countries, can any one pretend that it would be a boon and an honour to Cardiff to detach it, in all its local interests from the rest of the United Kingdom and from the Parliament in which I write this, to put it under a local Parliament and a local Executive, in which purely Welsh ideas, views, feelings, habits, &c., prevail? I doubt it. As Cardiff's representative, I can safely say that I should, as at present advised, be very sorry to have to go to Aberystwith, or Welshpool, or Brecon in pursuit of those objects for which I now have very frequently to have recourse to the Home Office, or the Local Government Board, or the Education Department, or the Privy Council Office, at each and all of which I find the business of Cardiff well and carefully attended to. I see no necessity for such a change as this.

But what I do see is an urgent necessity for Welsh representatives securing all the aid possible in this Westminster Parliament for getting the Church Disestablishment and Disendowment question, the Tithes, Education, Endowments and other like questions settled with the least possible delay, and therefore before a Welsh Home Rule Bill could be passed. And I also wish to see County Government so developed and enlarged in Wales that every section of the Welsh people may have the means of dealing with its own affairs in its own fashion. This is especially more important in the Welsh-speaking districts where at present the people live under peculiar and heavy disadvantages in respect of education, the administration of justice and otherwise.

I hope it will be understood that in this brief paper I am not dogmatizing, or laying down fixed opinions upon what is a very novel and complex question. I am rather stating hurriedly and tentatively some of the ideas and feelings which present themselves to me in coming fresh to the subject. I may be, perhaps I am, unduly biassed by my connection with the greatest commercial town of the Principality, which I would do everything to aggrandize and nothing to lessen. If so, while my views may be warmly contested, my motives will nevertheless be warmly sympathized with by those Welsh friends and supporters of mine in Cardiff who may differ from me on this subject. I am delighted to find that these influential pages are devoted to its free and friendly discussion.

E. J. REED.

I do not mean to discuss the question whether a distinct nationality, a distinct language, and a distinct development of thought justify a demand for Home Rule ; I simply aim at showing that, for purposes of government, it must be taken into account that, as far as race and language and thought are concerned, Wales is different from England in a sense in which no other part of Britain is.

Wales is conscious of its unity, and always has been ; for it is the only part of our islands whose history had the Roman sense of unity for a beginning. Scotland was never fused into one Roman province, the Irish tribes were never united by Roman organization and Roman roads ; but the chronicles which describe the confusing wars of Welsh princes are pervaded by a yearning for the unity which the Romans had introduced into Wales, and the highest praise given to Welsh kings is that they "kept united the whole kingdom of Britons." In our own day "the unity of Wales" is not the meaningless expression of a sentimental feeling artificially fostered by ambitious demagogues ; it is the expression of a real power which, whether the Welsh people are conscious of it or not, is fashioning modern Welsh institutions. Of these I shall only mention two. The *Eisteddfod*—the literary folk-moot of Wales—has grown of itself to such an extent that only the largest towns can contain it ; and the names of the chaired bards and the winning choir are anxiously expected throughout the whole Welsh land. The growth of *Y Gymdeithasfu* shows that it is impossible to separate North and South Wales ; in the early days of the revival it was thought that the two districts must have separate central assemblies ; but a general assembly grew, like the English Cabinet, recognised by no deed, simply because it was felt that Wales could not be divided.

Wales is conscious of its separation from England, and always has been, since the time when the battles of Deorham and Chester broke its connection with Cornwall and Strath Clyde. A Cornishman regards himself as an Englishman, but the Welshman would be as greatly surprised at being called an Englishman as he would at being called a Scotchman or an Irishman. During the last general election I found that Flintshire men cared nothing about the politics of Lancashire and Cheshire, while they took the liveliest interest in the Cardiff and Monmouth elections. When a member of Parliament told his electors in one of the most mountainous parts of North Wales that Monmouth "had been won back for Wales by being included in the Intermediate Education Act," the audience cheered as rapturously as a Paris audience would have done if told that Alsace was part of France again.

As the causes of the feeling of Welsh unity and of separation from England, prejudiced politicians vainly talk about Celtic obstinacy, blindless to real interest, and unreasoning love of isolation. But blind hatred of England cannot be regarded as the cause of

anything, after five centuries of union and peace; it is incredible that any legend of sleeping Arthur, however eloquently told, could charm a sober-minded people, who are making rapid strides in education and material prosperity, into paths of wild and foolish political speculation about Welsh independence; it is incredible that the Welsh movement has been caused by a few self-seeking leaders, for the Welsh have refused to be led by their aristocracy, and are now forcing their chosen leaders to move on. The Welsh movement is not due to national antipathy, ignorance, or the action of agitators. The causes are to be found in the past history and literature of Wales.

Strangely enough, English and Welsh literature developed from the same materials. The Norman Conquest, however slight its influences on the continuity of English history, caused a break in the continuity of English literature. For the material of English literature became Celtic. Arthur became the hero of his conquerors, and he has been made the representative of every great period in English literature to our own day. Geoffrey of Monmouth seemed to have united the literature of the two nations—the Arthurian knights and Lear and Cordelia took a lasting place in the development of English thought.

But though the beginning of English and Welsh literature was the same, their development has been different. In English literature as in Welsh literature, there are two great periods—the period of the study of man, and the period of the study of the wild beauty of Nature. In English literature the study of man comes first, and the study of Nature afterwards; in Welsh literature, Nature is first studied, and then man. The Wordsworth of Wales came before her Chaucer and Shakespeare. The Welsh romances were made English in spirit by Layamon, the son of Leovenath; that was the first stage in the separation. Then causes affected England which did not affect Wales: the Crusades, the influence of the Italian poets, and, above all, the social upheaval of the peasant revolt, drew the attention of men to their fellows. The mystery of the Celtic romances was dispelled, and Chaucer brought into literature real men and women. While English thought developed into the highest study of man—into the Elizabethan drama—Welsh thought developed into a passionate study of Nature. In the fourteenth century we find in Welsh poetry that delight in the wild beauty of moorland, and mountain, and sea, that peace between man and Nature, which we do not find in English literature till the time of Gray, and Collins, and Wordsworth. In thought, in religion, in political ideas, Welsh development has been utterly unlike English development; and still Wales is governed as if it were as English as Cornwall or Cumberland.

The real causes of modern Welsh nationalism, in its political

aspects, are the methods used for the purpose of Anglicizing Wales. Deliberate attempts have been made on the part of the English Government to force the Welsh to become English speaking and to enter a Church which, of all churches in the world, is the least adapted for them. The Tudor Statute enacted that "no person or persons that use the Welsh speech or language shall have or enjoy any manner of office or fees within this realm of England, Wales, or other of the king's dominion, upon pain of forfeiting the same offices or fees, unless he or they use or exercise the English speech or language." The result was that the natural leaders of the people lost all hold upon them, and the feeling of separation between England and Wales was intensified by the very means used to unite the two countries. Again, during the last three centuries persistent attempts have been made to force an alien church upon a people whose religious convictions are their strongest and most characteristic feelings. It is only the simple truth to say that, by the middle of the eighteenth century, this Church had reduced Wales into a state of heathenism; and it has caused a religious revolt which found expression in a Nonconformist organization, which is perfectly adapted to the needs of Wales.

Hopes and fears that the growth of commerce and the spread of the English language in Wales will destroy the feeling of nationality are equally groundless. Mr. Ruskin rejoices that in Wales "there is still the Welsh element in its purity and strength." "I have believed so always," he adds, "but of late have feared its being crushed out by manufactures and education." But it is the industrial bi-lingual districts—Monmouth and Glamorgan—that are most Nationalist; so far, they alone have begun to demand Home Rule for Wales.

Wales, then, is not English; the attempts to Anglicize it have intensified the feeling of separation; the growth of commerce and an acquirement of English make the Welshman more patriotic. The unanimous demands of Wales are that, on account of her distinct development, her religion and her education should be under her own control—that is, the Church of England in Wales should be disestablished and the system of Welsh education should be completed by the creation of a Welsh University. The former demand has been persistently refused, and Wales is forced to agitate for Home Rule.

OWEN MORGAN EDWARDS,  
Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.

The question of Home Rule for Wales is evidently a political corollary to that of Ireland. "There is no vital distinction between the cases of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland," said Mr. Gladstone at

Aberdeen. "The claim of Wales to Home Rule cannot be resisted if the concession is made to Ireland," said Lord Hartington, when the "Government of Ireland Bill" was introduced; and less distinguished Unionists make the same admission when opposing the Irish demand.

Both Liberal and Tory Governments have conceded that the Welsh have social needs peculiar to themselves and of such importance as to induce Parliament to legislate specially for them; and the step from special legislation to a special legislature may not prove a hard one if Home Rule is once granted to Ireland.

All the elements of the Irish argument can be used for Wales under two limitations: Wales is smaller, and its social disorganisation is not so great—we neither shoot each other nor hate England, as yet. But these differences are only of degree and can be made use of in two ways. For if it be urged on the one hand that the smallness of Wales brings it beneath the "limit of self-sufficiency," or makes it a matter of indifference to the empire whether or not the Principality is allowed to regulate its own life, the concession of self-governance could, on the other hand, be made without running any serious imperial risks, and while the absence of social disorder and hatred of England does not point to the absolute failure of the English Parliament to govern Wales on its present method, this also diminishes the probability that Wales would make a violent use of powers granted to it.

Moreover, the legislature, burdened as it is with great imperial tasks, will always be tempted to overlook altogether, or postpone indefinitely, the remedial measures desired by the most insignificant of the peoples over whom it rules. And Wales, finding it difficult to make its voice audible, is tempted to resort to violent means of expressing its sense of the wrongs which England is so slow to remove. And no country can force legislation on in this manner without falling into arrears with morality and injuring itself almost irreparably.

I do not see how an imperfect and overburdened instrument like the English Parliament can avoid doing this injustice to the smallest nation, and governing it worse than the more important members of the empire. And the fact that Wales has asked for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church for a longer time and with greater unanimity than even Ireland has demanded Home Rule, and that its claim has hitherto received no practical response, exemplifies this truth in a very striking way. England could not and would not disregard such claims, so urged, by the Irish or Scotch or its own people. And yet, such is the political magnanimity and sense of fairness of Englishmen that I cannot believe that either of the great political parties would desire to deal scant justice to Wales, although it is comparatively little and unable to defend

itself. Nevertheless, they do it, Liberals and Conservatives alike; and it is hard for them to avoid this except by some devolution of legislative power to Wales.

What power it should grant to Wales it is not possible to say—as long, at least, as Home Rule may mean anything, from the consolidation to the disruption of the Empire. Most Welshmen, who reflect, would deprecate sensational legislation in the direction of Home Rule, and would prefer to see their countrymen serve their apprenticeship in self-government on the County Councils, and on these Councils combined, either by representation or otherwise, into a central governing body with definitely prescribed powers. They would also, I believe, base their claim for some measure of self-government on moral, rather than on material grounds, and, perhaps, limit it according to this distinction, so far as that is practicable. In other words, the English Legislature should proceed further in the line already taken by it; and allow Wales to regulate the drink-traffic, to educate its youth, to support its religious institutions, to deal with its social problems, and to remove the obstacles to the development of its national character, *in its own way*. It should cut Wales free of England in these respects, instead of bidding it wait till similar demands have arisen in England. I know that these statements are indefinite, but an example may elucidate my meaning.

The deepest need of Wales at present is, beyond doubt, its need of a Land Bill. That need does not arise from the poverty of the farmers, although many of them are very poor; but from their servility, and lack of moral courage to protect their own interests and perform openly the duties of citizenship; and on the other hand, from the opportunities thus offered to men of a tyrannous disposition. Out of this there springs the corruption of both sections of the community; there is oppression on the one side, and deceit on the other; and on both a social bitterness which shows itself in matters of religion and education and trade, as well as in politics.

Now there is nothing analogous to this either in England or Scotland. The Scotch tenants, when farming was profitable, were able to secure long leases, and, when it ceased to pay, they were able to get them broken. But the Welsh farmers were yearly tenants during the good times, subject to an annual increase of rent; and, during the bad times, they were able to secure no reductions except those voluntarily granted by landlords who try to act justly apart from all legislative constraint. The Scotch farmers could protect themselves; the Welsh cannot. They need the stay of legislation as truly, though not to the same degree, as factory children or paupers, and for a similar reason. They differ from them in that they have within them the *promise* of freedom; and the most sacred duty of Parliament is to remove the external obstacles which prevent its attainment.

A Land Bill giving them security of tenure would lift them into a position of independence and within reach of the enjoyments of the rights of manhood, would take away the means of oppression, and thereby do more for the welfare of Wales, in the truest sense, than aught else known to me, which is within the power of legislation to grant. But is there the least probability that an English Parliament can for many years to come realise the needs of the Welsh in this matter, or satisfy them? The case of England is quite different, the dependence of the farmers there does not mean the corruption of English manhood, and the straining of all social relations; and England is disastrously slow to recognise wrongs that are different from its own. It is always willing to do justice, but willing only in the somnolent and inarticulate fashion of Mr. Barkis.

But, it may be urged, granting that Wales would under a measure of self-government be more sensitive to its own just needs and prompt to satisfy them than England can ever be, can it be trusted with self-governing powers? Small countries are often fickle, and Celts are specially prone to excitement and hurry.

There is, no doubt, truth in this. Neither in England nor in Wales will democracy learn self-government except through blunders. But it is worth learning all the same; and its blunders are not likely to be so unjust to so many people for so many centuries as the blunders of government by a few. And Wales has, in the history of its large and democratic religious institutions, shown a power of self-restraint, deliberation, and patient perseverance, resulting in a peaceful continuity of development, that is not easily surpassed in any country. The watchword of the most powerful religious body in Wales has been government, not by majority but by unanimity, and it has so acted upon this maxim, so laboured to restrain the violent and persuade the timid that, when the forward steps were taken, they were taken with a firmness beyond recall, and with a wisdom that rarely needed it.

At this day Wales is bound together by a consciousness of organic life, and animated by national aspirations, which are not stained by a tinge of dislike to its neighbours, or by any foolish dreams of independence and isolation, but which make for education, and freedom, religious and social, and for all those qualities which can render a little people great. It is proud of the inheritance into which it has entered by its long and peaceful union with England in the British Empire: and in asking for some measures of self-government, it only asks for room to live within that Empire its own life. Its people cling to their own language while learning English, they love their own literature and history, have their own artistic traits and religious instincts; and though living under the shadow of a great country that has imposed its language and mode of thought on two continents, have maintained their own characteristics intact;



and England will prove both weak and blind if it does not give to this people so peaceable, yet so tenacious of life, every opportunity of showing what is in it. No nation, however small, was ever expunged without leaving the world poorer for its loss.

HENRY JONES.

When the respective claims of the three Celtic Nationalities in the United Kingdom to govern their own domestic affairs are compared, it will be seen that the case of Wales differs in some material respects from that of either Ireland or Scotland. If a fair balance be struck between these various claims, I am decidedly of opinion that the comparison will be in favour of Wales as against either of the other two. This may appear at first sight a bold assertion to make, but will on examination be found to be justified by facts.

The Welsh people have a historical record which can fairly command a place among the roll of the history of nations. They have retained until to-day to a large extent their distinctive manners and customs, and until very recently it might be said that even their peculiarities of dress denoted their nationality as unmistakably as the kilt and tartan distinguished the Highlanders. The character of their religious observances as a distinguishing trait will bear comparison with that of the Irish people. In geographical identity Wales can stand on a par with Scotland. In national institutions she will compare favourably with either, and in the matter of a separate language and literature, she is immeasurably superior to both.

The nation's history dates to the remote past, and lies hidden in the mist of centuries before the ambitious Roman first set foot upon her soil. Julius Caesar found them a nation brave in war, skilled in the arts of peace, and enjoying a degree of civilization to which no English historian has yet done justice. That invincible conqueror, who had brought continental nations to their knees, was compelled to be satisfied with a purely nominal tribute from the Britons, and for nearly a century imperial Rome refrained from further attempts upon their independence. When, finally, Southern Britain succumbed to the giant strength of the invader, Western Britain presented a resistance quite as stubborn, if not altogether so successful, as did the Scots, and Roman supremacy in Wales partook of a character equally doubtful with that of the Norman occupation of a later period. The Saxon Vikings inured to all the dangers of storm and battle, found foemen worthy of their steel, even in the Britons of the East and the South, enervated though they had been by the Roman system and final evacuation, while they utterly failed to

reduce the people of Cambria. Offa's Dyke to-day affords as effective testimony to the distinct nationality of the Cymry as does Hadrian's wall to the fury of northern incursions at an earlier date. Even William the Conqueror whose iron heel crushed Saxon independence to the earth, failed to penetrate the wilds of Gwalia, whose warriors, led by their native princes, made the Norman occupation more a farce than a reality. The Welsh only failed to keep the Normans entirely out because the castles the invaders built afforded them protection against the imperfect arms of the natives. Two hundred years after the Norman duke by his victory at Hastings became the arbiter of the fate of the Saxon nation, a native prince, held undisputed sway throughout the length and breadth of Wales. Internal dissension, sectional rivalry, and petty jealousies succeeded where the power of the invader failed, and Llewellyn owed his overthrow more to native treachery than to foreign force. The strength of the spirit of nationality was displayed in a remarkable manner more than a century after the supposed subjugation of Wales, when Glyndwr flashed like a meteor through the darkness, showing in strong relief that the bold spirit and national unity, which were thought to be broken for ever, possessed as great vitality as when Llewellyn reigned supreme. Indeed, it would hardly be too much to say that Wales came to be incorporated with England on almost the same principle as Scotland. Henry Tewdwr, when he became king of England, was nearly as much of a Welshman as James the Sixth of Scotland was a Scot, when he reigned as James the First of England. It may safely be assumed that Welshmen were little less conciliated to English rule by the elevation of the heir of Penmynydd to the English throne, than the people of Scotland were satisfied by the increased dignity conferred upon James Stewart by the Crown of England. A fact of considerable importance in this connection, and one which English historians are too apt to overlook, is, that Henry VII. owed his throne far more to the loyalty and bravery of his fellow-countrymen under Sir Rhys ap Thomas, than he did to either French assistance or English disaffection. Since that day to this, though Wales has not been up in arms against England, she has retained her individuality as a nation as distinct and as clearly defined as has either Scotland or Ireland.

In this retention of distinct national characteristics, the native language and literature of the Principality have been among the most important forces. Subjected as Wales has been for centuries to powerful Anglicizing influences, her native tongue still shows unabated vitality, and is spoken, and written, and read, by a greater number of persons than at any previous period in her history. Englishmen have been, and still are, too ready to assume that the English language has swept all before it. Of the original Celtic tongues of these islands, Cornish disappeared a century ago, and the

Manx language is practically extinct. Erse is spoken by only a limited number in the remoter districts of the sister isle, while Gaelic retains a fragile hold upon the Highlands of Scotland. While these sister tongues have dwindled and been extinguished, or only retain a flickering existence, Welsh flourishes from Caergybi to Caerdydd. This is primarily due to three inciting causes, the native literature, the national institution known as the Eisteddfod, and the religious fervour of the people. A few facts and figures may help to bring the linguistic condition of the Principality into bolder relief.

The Bishop of St. Asaph, who will hardly be regarded as inclined to favour the claims of Wales to Home Rule, estimated that out of a population of 1,570,000 in Wales, including Monmouthshire, 600,000, or somewhat over 38 per cent. worshipped in English, leaving 62 per cent. to perform their devotion in their native tongue. On referring to statistics, I collected and placed before the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts three years ago, I find that over 75 per cent. of the religious services among the three great Nonconformist denominations in Wales were conducted in Welsh. Nor must it be imagined that this state of things is confined to the rural districts. Mr. D. W. Jones, Coal Inspector, Cardiff, assures us that "nine-tenths of the colliers of South Wales speak Welsh in the coal pit." Ten years ago, a Government School Inspector, who had charge of the most populous mining and manufacturing district in South Wales, declared, as the result of minute inquiry, that "of 24,383 children above seven years of age, 55 per cent. were returned as speaking Welsh habitually at home, while in the Rhondda Valley (with its teeming thousands), the proportion of purely Welsh children is much greater—viz., 72 per cent. What is true of South Wales is even more so of North Wales. In the densely populated quarry districts of Carnarvonshire and Merionethshire, we have it on authority that "the language used by children out of school is exclusively Welsh." Even in the great cosmopolitan town of Cardiff, where, if anywhere in Wales, one might have expected the native tongue to have been extinguished by the aggressive influences of English, there are no fewer than fifteen separate religious congregations worshipping in Welsh, and an audience of 1200 is by no means uncommon. Even the Cardiff School Board, which aims at being intensely practical, and which prides itself on its schools holding the premier position in the kingdom, has recognised at once the vitality and the commercial value of the language by making arrangements to have it systematically taught in its schools.

Nor must it be supposed that this knowledge of Welsh is at all times accompanied by an adequate knowledge of English. I have myself lived for sixteen years in a district where, outside the necessary duties of my profession, I had little or no occasion to use a word of English from January to December. But perhaps the

truth will be brought still more closely home to English readers by three incidents which occurred in populous towns within the past two years, and which created no little sensation on occasions of the utmost solemnity. All three happened in connection with Assize charges, each arising out of cases where human blood had been spilt, and human lives sacrificed. The latest of these occurred only a few months ago, and was locally known as the Llanelly Poaching Tragedy. Four poachers having been set upon by two gamekeepers, one of the first-named was shot dead. His three companions were brought up at the following Assizes charged with poaching. On being charged in English, each in turn, to the no small surprise of the counsel for the defence, pleaded "guilty." After a sharp conflict with the Clerk of Arraignment, the prisoners' counsel succeeded in having the question put to them in Welsh, when each pleaded "not guilty." The next case is of an even more serious nature. In March of last year, a man named Richard Evans, of Merthyr, was tried before Mr. Justice Grantham at Cardiff, on a charge of wilful murder. The prisoner, and the majority of the witnesses, could only give their evidence in Welsh. The whole of the judicial proceedings, including counsels' speeches, judge's summing up, jury's verdict, and the uttering of the sentence, were in English. The jury found the prisoner guilty of manslaughter only, and the judge, in passing a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment, favoured the prisoner with a homily intended to impress him with the narrowness of his escape. The poor fellow listened with bated breath, and, at the conclusion of the judge's address, turned with horrible anxiety to the interpreter, and asked, in trembling accents, "*A ydwyv i gael vy nghrogi?*" "Am I to be hanged?" The next case is even worse than this. At the Carmarthen Assizes two years ago, a man was charged with and found guilty of wilful murder. The dread sentence of the law was passed, and listened to by the prisoner with a stolid indifference, which invited unfavourable comment. The judge quitted the court, the condemned man was led back to the cells, where he surprised the warders by a question which clearly indicated that he was in absolute ignorance of the sentence just passed upon him. The judge was hastily summoned back to the bench, the prisoner was replaced in the dock, and amidst a scene of suppressed and unequalled excitement, the man was sentenced a second time to death, the sentence now being interpreted in Welsh. In each of these cases, all occurring, be it noticed, in the most populous centres, we have the same ignorance of English leading in the one instance to entering a plea of "guilty" where "not guilty" was intended, in the second, picturing twelve months' imprisonment as a condemnation to the hangman's rope, and in the last, leading a man condemned to death to imagine he had been acquitted!

Let not the reader be misled by these overtrue facts into supposing that the inhabitants of the Principality are plunged in dense

darkness and ignorance, unfitting them for the exercise of the privileges of Self-Government. Indeed, it is far otherwise. The peasantry and labouring classes of Wales will in point of culture and intelligence compare favourably with similar classes of the people in any country on the face of the globe. Assuming that we may take the amount of periodical literature disseminated among the people as a rough guide to their intellectual standard, Wales compares most favourably with either of the three sister countries. Ten years ago at the Church Congress held at Swansea, the Rev. Canon Williams gave statistics showing that England, with a population fourteen times as large as Wales, had only thirteen times as many newspapers; Ireland, with four times the population had only a little more than twice the number of newspapers; while Scotland stood in this respect proportionately equal to Wales. In the matter of magazine literature—a higher test possibly than that of newspapers.—Wales appeared to still better advantage, for in proportion to population Wales had twice as many periodicals as England, one and a half times as many as Scotland, and four times as many as Ireland.

Much of this current literature is native in language as well as in production. In the statistics to which I have already referred as having been collected by me for the purposes of a Royal Commission three years ago, I find the following statement:—

“I have been making inquiries of the publishers in Wales, and though I had previously flattered myself as being pretty well posted in Welsh matters, the replies which I have received have astounded me. The circulation of Welsh newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and books of all sorts, far exceeds my previously formed ideas. I find, for instance, that we have seventeen weekly newspapers published in the vernacular in Wales, ranging in price from a halfpenny to two-pence each. The total weekly circulation of these exceeds 120,000; the lowest circulation of any single paper is 1500; and the highest weekly circulation returned for any single paper is 23,000, which has been the weekly issue for years of ‘*Y Genedi Gyfreig*’ (*The Welsh Nation*), an eight-page fifty-six column penny Welsh newspaper published in Carnarvon. I do not wish, of course, to state anything but what is absolutely necessary to found our own case. One magazine alone, published monthly, has attained a circulation of 37,760, and there are altogether 150,000 copies of magazines published in the Welsh language circulated monthly in the Principality. As to books, I may say that a leading firm in Wales assures me that they have expended £18,000 on the production of a single Welsh work, and yet the sale has been sufficient to repay the expenditure and to afford a fair profit on that expenditure. A Welsh-English Dictionary is now being published, the first volume of which, consisting of over 400 pages, quarto, and sold at half-a-guinea, does not reach the end of the first letter of the alphabet. English and Scotch firms also reap a rich harvest in Wales by the issue and circulation there of Welsh works published by them. One firm from Glasgow (and that I would wish to say is not the foreign firm that has circulated most Welsh books) has issued a number of Welsh works amounting in all to over 18,000, attaining a sale worth £36,250. The total annual value of Welsh literature of all kinds published, is estimated by one of the leading Welsh firms as exceeding £200,000.”

On this phase of the question I might enlarge indefinitely, but space forbids. There is, however, one fact which I would impress upon my readers, as it affords a striking illustration of the remarkable influence of the national spirit among the Welsh people. They have retained their language, not only as a spoken but as a written tongue, and produced a literature of which they have, to say the least, no cause to be ashamed, under circumstances absolutely unparalleled in the history of the literature of any nation. They have had absolutely no assistance from the schools or the colleges in preserving the literary purity of their language. Its grammar and its literature have never been systematically taught. To all intents and purposes every contributor to a Welsh publication is a self-taught man. The only aid accorded the student in learning to read Welsh has been given in the Sunday-schools, and the only university where a Welshman can earn his degree in his native literature is the Eisteddvod, which does not undertake the functions of a teacher. Surely no stronger proof could be afforded of the intensity and strength of the national spirit than that it should thus have triumphed over so many difficulties, and that to-day it produces in greater volume, and of a higher type than ever, a current literature which successfully holds its own, both in quantity and quality, against the English invasion.

There is yet a brighter future before the language. Four and a half years ago the Society for Utilizing the Welsh Language was established. Its aim was to give the Welsh language a recognised standing in the educational system of the Principality. Last year a Conservative Government conceded the demands of the Society, and Welsh may now be taught, and is recognised as an essential part of the curriculum of Welsh elementary schools. The first text-book, issued two years ago, has run through four editions. In the Intermediate Education Act, passed last Session, provision is made for the systematic teaching of Welsh: and each of the three national colleges has its lecturer or professor of Welsh. Even the authorities of the University of London have recognised its claims, and the language has been included in the syllabus of optional subjects for the M.A. examination.

I have referred to the national Eisteddvod, and can only make a further passing reference to this distinctively national institution. Its origin must be sought for in the remote past. The last English Sovereign who appears to have given it direct patronage is Queen Elizabeth, who granted a Royal Charter for its due observance. Her Majesty Queen Victoria, when she was only Princess Victoria, graced one of its meetings with her presence and invested one of the successful bards. The heir-apparent, who derives his proudest title from the Principality, has, on one occasion only, honoured this national festival with his presence, and then only when it was held in London three years ago. This is the extent of royal patronage

which the present and the future Sovereigns of this country have extended to the oldest public institution now extant in the kingdom. To gauge the influence of the Eisteddvod upon the people, one must, in the first place, watch the weary ploughman plodding through his book by the dim light of the flickering farm-kitchen fire, or the collier, in his peaceful evenings yielding his unaccustomed pen with greater effort than he does his heavy pick, or the still more ambitious student poring over the heavy tomes in the local library, all preparing for the coming contest. Then let him, who would estimate what the Eisteddvod means, attend this national gathering where, for three or four days in succession, an audience varying from 8,000 to 12,000 may be found congregated from city and hamlet, from coal-mine and slate-quarry, from the colleges and open fields, from all parts of the country, to watch if not to take part in the great Olympian contest of the year. Of this, Matthew Arnold said :—"An Eisteddvod is no doubt a kind of Olympic meeting; and that the common people of Wales should care for such a thing shows something Greek in them, something spiritual, something (I am afraid one must add) which in the English common people is not to be found." A no less keen observer, who possessed even better facilities for judging, Bishop Thirlwall, said :—"It is a most remarkable feature in the history of any people, and such as could be said of no other than the Welsh, that they have centred their national recreation in literature and musical competition."

But deeper and more powerful in its influence upon the national character, even than this, has been the religious fervour of the Welsh people. The British Church had been grafted upon the native institution of Druidism, and flourished in Christian purity and simplicity for generations before St. Augustine set foot upon British soil. For generations after that event the sister Churches of Rome and of Britain existed side by side, as independent of each other as were the Saxons and the Cymry, who respectively supported them. Even after the native Church submitted to the authority of Rome, it remained spiritually independent of the See of Canterbury down to the time of Henry I., when the Bishop of Llandaff led the way in tendering submission to the English primate, an example followed in turn by the Bishop of St. David's, and at a later period by those of Bangor and St. Asaph. No sooner was this submission tendered, and the supremacy of Canterbury established, than the English Church commenced that system, which, to its own destruction, it has continued almost to this day. In a petition presented in the thirteenth century, by the Welsh princes to the Pope, we find the following :—

"The Archbishop of Canterbury, as a matter of course, sends us English bishops, ignorant of the manners and language of our land, who cannot preach the Word of God to the people, nor receive their confessions but through interpreters."

The system initiated with such fatal consequences by the English

ecclesiastical authorities, while still subject to the Pope, was fatuously continued after the Reformation, and the history of the Church of England in Wales during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries is too notorious a scandal to need specifying in detail here. Compare Prince Llewelyn's protest to the Pope, with the statement that it was Mr. Gladstone who broke the tradition of the past by appointing a pure Welshman in the person of Bishop Hughes, to the See of St. Asaph, and you will have some idea of the irony of fate in ecclesiastical polity.

Nonconformity, amongst whose earliest and purest martyrs was John Penry, found in Wales congenial soil. Under the oppression of the Stuarts it struck its roots deeply into the heart of the nation, and under the persecution of the following century, it bore abundant fruit in the great Methodist upheaval which forms a landmark in the nation's history. The power and strength of Nonconformity, deeply implanted in the affection of the people, and aided by their attachment to their native tongue in which religious ministrations were now extensively afforded them, are matters of too common repute to need recapitulation here. That a poor people like the Welsh should within a single century, have, by voluntary offerings alone, erected some 6000 places of worship, is a fact which speaks far more forcibly than any arguments I might adduce. During the five years, 1872-1877, one of the three leading denominations, the Welsh Congregationalists, paid-off, by voluntary contributions, the sum of £100,000 in chapel debts, without reckoning the amounts contributed annually to the ordinary support of the pastorate and to meet other necessary current charges. The other two denominations, the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, and the Welsh Baptists, would be able to show an equally creditable record, as would also, in proportion to their number, the Welsh Wesleyan Methodists. These vast sums, be it remembered, have been contributed voluntarily, while at the same time there is in every parish a State Establishment of Religion; and in view of the fact that the great mass of the people have thus to maintain their own churches, it is little matter for surprise that they should demand that the tithes, which are now so largely allotted to the alien church, should henceforth be devoted to purely national purposes.

It would be impossible to deal with the religious characteristics of the Welsh people without touching upon one of its most prominent peculiarities—the Sunday-school. This institution, established in Wales a century before Mr. Raikes introduced it into England, maintains yet its national characteristics. Entering one of these schools, you cannot fail to be struck by two features. The first is that for the junior classes the school is, to all intents and purposes, a school in the primary sense of the word, and teaches the elements of reading—in Welsh. Indeed it is still distinguished in popular parlance from the day-school by the phrase, "*Ysgol Gymraeg*," Anglicè, "*The Welsh School*." The other peculiarity you will note



is the large proportion of adults. The grey-haired grandfather is there, studying the theological mysteries of Holy Writ, side by side with his stalwart son in all his prime of manhood, and within reach of eye and voice, the infant grandchild will be found just crossing the threshold of the A B C. I attended recently in Cardiff a Welsh Sunday-school Examination, conducted by two Professors at a University College, and by a Graduate of London University, and the 300 successful candidates who were awarded certificates or prizes ranged all ages from four to fourscore, the latter as proud of their diploma in religious and biblical knowledge as the former of their pretty gift.

Wherever Welshmen go the world over they carry with them their national characteristics. It is estimated that in England alone at least 130,000 Welsh speaking people may be found, a large proportion of whom attend religious services conducted in their native tongue. In the United States, the Welsh element is not only numerous but influential, and able to render a good account of itself when necessary. At least three Welsh weekly newspapers, which will bear favourable comparison with English papers produced under similar circumstances, are published exclusively in the interests of Welsh-Americans, with a correspondingly proportionate number of magazines. In Australia, South Africa, and South America, Welsh services, Welsh Sunday Schools, and Welsh Eisteddodau are held, and the praises of the old country—made all the dearer by absence,—are sung. Should it ever be necessary, in order to ensure Home Rule for Wales, there would be little difficulty in arousing among these Welshmen from home an enthusiasm as fervid and as self-sacrificing as that which American-Irishmen have displayed on behalf of their Green Isle.

This all too hasty a glance over some of the more prominent features of Welsh Nationality may suffice to show that the claims of Wales cannot be ignored when those of Ireland and Scotland are considered. I have not endeavoured to deal with the problem of what form Home Rule for Wales should assume. That did not lie within my province. All I was asked to do and which I have endeavoured to do was to prove that Wales has been a nation, is a nation, and will continue to be a nation, so far as historical individuality can preserve and declare nationality. Welshmen can well be proud of Cymru Vu, of the Wales of the Past; can regard with satisfaction Cymru Sydd, the Wales of the Present; especially when looking forward hopefully to the Cymru Vydd, the Wales of the Future. Welsh Nationalists the world over re-echo more heartily and enthusiastically than ever the sentiment:—"Cymru Vu, Cymru Vydd!" "Wales has been, and Wales shall be!"

On the first day of the present Session 111 public Bills were brought into the House by private members. At least twelve measures are foreshadowed in the Queen's Speech; and it is a moderate estimate to put at 500 the number of local and personal Bills which will attempt the ordeal of the Committee-rooms. Add to this mass of legislation the general oversight of the whole financial, foreign and colonial business of the Empire, and the wonder is not that the 600 or 700 members of Parliament, most of them elderly, all of them with serious affairs of their own to attend to, should do much of the work of the nation imperfectly, but that they should manage to get through any of it at all. A classification of the Government Bills is instructive.

I. General, five, namely :—

(a) Employers' Liability. (b) Winding-up Joint-Stock Companies. (c) Working-class Dwellings. (d) Savings Banks and Friendly Societies. (e) Barracks.

II. England and Wales, two, namely :—

(a) Land Transfer. (b) Tithes.

III. Ireland; three, namely :—

(a) Occupying Owners. (b) Local Government. (c) Congested Districts.

IV. Scotland, one, namely :—

(a) Private Bill Legislation.

V. Metropolis, one, namely :—

(a) Public Health.

Thus of twelve public measures proposed by Government, and so certified to be of primary importance, five, or little more than two-fifths, affect the whole United Kingdom; while seven, or nearly three-fifths, are sectional. Even this does not state the case fully, inasmuch as the Tithes Bill ought really to be treated as two Bills, one dealing with England, the other with Wales. For (speaking broadly) in England legislation is demanded by the tithe-payers and opposed by the tithe-owners. In Wales it is demanded by the tithe-owners and opposed by the tithe-payers. The Englishman objects to the burden of tithe, but approves its application; the Welshman will be willing to bear the burden if he can change the application.

A rough analysis of the 111 private members' Bills shows that of them also much more than two-fifths are of a sectional character; dealing with matter which, though of grave importance to the localities which they affect, are to the rest of the United Kingdom indifferent, except in so far as the whole country is interested in the well-being of each of its parts.

It is worth while to give a single instance of the working of the system. In the autumn of 1881 a strong departmental Committee of the Education Office, including men of both political parties, recommended the establishment of a State-aided system of intermediate

education in Wales. In almost, if not quite, every Session since that time Bills have been brought in based on those recommendations. Wales was eager for such a measure. Hardly the most stern and unbending Tories were opposed to it. Yet it was only in 1889 that the Bill was got through. Three school generations of Welsh children have lost the benefits which the Act would have given them, and it will be well if another does not pass away before the schools are fairly at work. Moreover, the Act itself betrays to those who have to work it the troubles which it has passed through; troubles due not, I need hardly say, to its authors, nor even to its critics (for the departments concerned and the Vice-President of the Council were friendly and helpful), but to the circumstances of haste and detraction inseparable from the task of guiding such a measure through an overworked Parliament.

But slackness and imperfection in legislation, though annoying, and in the case of Disestablishment (of which I shall have something to say presently) an intolerable evil, are not the only, nor even I think the primary, cause of the unrest of Wales.

The instinct of nationality, which has within the last thirty years<sup>1</sup> remodelled the map of Europe, has never been quite extinguished among us. It has indeed been under the ban of the English Government ever since the time when Welshmen, upholding the kinsman and successor of that Tudor dynasty which (as they never forget) Wales gave to England, yielded themselves with fatal loyalty to the hopeless cause of the Stuarts. From the Revolution of 1688 onwards Wales was the victim of harassing oppressions. Extensive grants of its soil were made to the followers of William III.; the old prohibition of the use of the Welsh language in legal proceedings was actively maintained, and is even yet unrepealed. Englishmen were often brought in to fill the humblest local offices. The bitterest memories exist in South Wales to this day of the Oriental insolence and outrage with which the English foremen and overlookers in the collieries and ironworks invaded the most sacred rights of their dependents. Till the reign of George III. the leading landowners of Wales were proscribed as Jacobites. When they were reconciled to the Hanoverian dynasty, they were taught that it was the first duty of loyal subjects to root out, or at any rate to Anglicise, the national feeling of Wales. The whole machinery of the Established Church was prostituted to serve the same ends. From bishoprics downwards all preferments of any value were in the hands of English absentees. The leaders of the great Evangelical revivals of the eighteenth century were persecuted by the clergy as fanatics and by the gentry as rioters.<sup>2</sup> The Parliamentary representation was monopo-

<sup>1</sup> Dating from the Italian campaign of Napoleon III., the first step towards the creation of the kingdom of Italy.

<sup>2</sup> "I have a warrant in my possession, about a hundred years old, for the arrest of some poor folks for attending a prayer-meeting "which had rather the semblance of riot than of religion."

lised by the great families. But though the fire of patriotism burned low and dim it was never extinguished. Its most striking manifestation, Nonconformity, has held the field in Wales, and has given to the nation a training in citizenship not inferior to that which Presbyterianism gave to Scotland.

There is an interesting engraving, which sums up the whole story, in the Powysland Museum at Welshpool. It represents an Eisteddfod held in that town little more than sixty years ago. In the centre of the picture is a party of elderly men, rudely dressed, their whole aspect that of simple peasants, but engaged in a manner showing tokens of culture, in strong contrast with their modest garb. Some of them hold harps, others scrolls of music or books. All round is a circle of fine folks, looking at the show with benevolent curiosity. This humble group was a link between the patriotism of the past and the promise of the future. It typifies a national self-consciousness and self-respect, which never wholly died out, which rapidly grew with the vigour, intelligence, and wealth of the country, and which was developed into fuller life by the political emancipation wrought by the ballot and by household suffrage. A further stage was reached when the Local Government Act entrusted the whole administrative business of the counties to the ratepayers; and, to-day, the descendants of those rustic poets and musicians, and of their patronising audience, sit side by side on the benches of the County Councils, all alike owing their position to the mandate of the electors, and working with equal zeal for the common good. No reason can be fairly alleged for refusing to a nation, with such a history, the honourable ambition of shaping more completely, and controlling with ampler powers and over wider fields, its own domestic affairs, and, as the North Wales Liberal Federation has again and again proclaimed, governing Wales in accordance with Welsh ideas.

Of all Welsh ideals, that of religious equality is the most widely spread, and most closely embraced. What the land is to Ireland, that the Establishment is to Wales. It has been well said by the President of the Welsh National Council, Mr. Stuart Rendel, that "the Establishment is the Dublin Castle of Wales." It is the centre and rallying-point of all that is most distasteful to the people. By a well-endowed seminary, planted in one of the most thoroughly Welsh counties; by a network of prizes, which, though small if measured by English standards, are large measured by that of a poor agricultural country, covering the length and breadth of the land; by all the influence which the adherence of nearly the whole of the territorial, the capitalist, and the official classes of the country can bestow; by a subsidy of £30,000 a year from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; it has done, and is doing, its utmost to paralyse Welsh Nonconformity, and to repress Welsh aspirations. It has succeeded

only in infecting the Anglican Communion in Wales with the views of political partisanship; in creating a peasant clergy whose ministry is utterly rejected by the peasantry; in adding to the inevitable causes of friction between landowners and capitalists on the one side, and the mass of the nation on the other, those arising from differences of church discipline and ritual; and in infusing into political controversy in Wales an acrimony utterly alien to the nature of the people.

Wales is sternly and irrevocably determined that this huge evil shall cease. Over and over and over again, by motions in Parliament; by votes at public meetings; by resolutions of Councils, of Federations, and of Executives; by every known form of public and political protest and declaration, it has proclaimed and pressed on public men the urgency of the case. Nothing but the Irish question, and scarcely even the Irish question, comes before it in the estimation of the Welsh people. If a general election could be fought to-morrow on a fair and square issue of Disestablishment, I don't know a seat in North Wales which we should not carry. For South Wales I need not speak, for, unless they belie themselves sadly, the little finger of their Radicalism is thicker than the loins of ours.

But just as Parliament has refused to let the power of dealing with the Irish land question go out of its hands, so we may be sure it will refuse to allow any body but itself to deal with the Establishment in Wales. So be it. Let us fight it out on that line. We shall never have a better chance. The Liberal party, both by its leaders in Parliament and by its organ in the country, the National Liberal Federation, has repeatedly pledged itself to the disestablishment of the Church in Wales. But we must "take occasion by the hand." Parliamentary opportunities are easy to miss, but hard to regain. Reform was offered by Pitt in 1785; it was not secured till 1832. Lord John Russell was ready to concede land reform to Ireland in 1847; the work was only begun in 1870 by Mr. Gladstone, and is avowedly unfinished in 1890. Such instances are pregnant with warning. We have formidable competitors. Mr. Gladstone himself has warned us that Scotland is pressing us in the race. We all know that England and the metropolis (in itself a province with four times the population and twice the Parliamentary representation of Wales) have questions to push forward of vital interest to themselves. In such a contest those are most certain to win who know their own minds, who set one object before them, and determine that nothing shall divert them from it; and no Welshman need be thought wanting in patriotism or loyalty to Welsh ideals whose settled policy is Disestablishment first.

A. C. HUMPHREYS-OWEN,

Chairman of the Executive of the North Wales  
Liberal Federation.

## THE DECLINE OF DIVORCE.

At the close of his drastic reply to an anonymous critic of his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Milton gives us to understand that the ruthless cut-and-thrust of *Colasterion* was due rather to the impertinence of his opponent's spirit than to the unsoundness of his opinions. Had the "trencher-man" been able and sincere he would have been handled in gentler fashion (and, indeed, making every allowance for the controversial methods of the day, and for aggravation on the part of the nameless pamphleteer, it must be admitted that there is room for improvement on the part of the author of *Comus* and *Lycidas*), and any honourable assailant would still find in the doughty champion of divorce a fair and courteous foe. "If any man equal to the matter," he says, "shall think it appertains him to take in hand this controversy, either excepting against aught written, or persuaded he can show better how this question, of such moment to be thoroughly known, may receive a true determination, not leaning on the old and rotten suggestions whereon it yet leans; if his intents be sincere to the public, and shall carry him on without bitterness to the opinion, or to the person dissenting; let him not, I entreat him, guess by the handling which meritoriously hath been bestowed on this object of contempt and laughter, that I account it any displeasure done me to be contradicted in print; but as it leads to the attainment of anything more true, shall esteem it a benefit, and shall know how to return his civility and fair argument in such a sort, as he shall confess that to do so is my choice, and to have done this was my chance."

The challenge is nearly two hundred and fifty years old, and yet it has not been seriously taken up—not at least by any strong opponent of divorce outside the theological camps. Is it too presumptuous an undertaking to try and answer it to-day, approaching this "question of such moment to be thoroughly known," in such temper as Milton desired in his antagonist, and might not have disdained to meet on equal terms, "without bitterness to the opinion or to the person dissenting, and without other aim than the attainment of [something] more true"?

To say "the decline of divorce" is as who should say, "the decrease of population in these islands," or "the fetardation of scientific discovery," or "the falling-off in the amount of matter

annually issued from the press." It is, in a word, to utter a paradox of a more than usually adventurous kind. The current of modern thought would seem to have set in a diametrically opposite direction. The tendency of legislation in country after country is to relax, instead of consolidating, the old stringency of the marriage-bond, and the tone and temper of society on marriage-questions are such that it has almost become an eccentricity, in discussing these subjects, to treat of anything but the decline of marriage and the progress of divorce. And in presuming to espouse the unpopular side (even Milton notwithstanding), in trying to state the case for indissoluble marriage from the point of view—not of the theologian—but of the dispassionate student of social phenomena, it should be stated at once that the word "decline" is here used in a prospective or prophetic sense merely. It is employed, not as describing the actual, but as pointing to the ideal, as indicating the goal towards which civilisation, recovering from temporary hallucinations, must ultimately tend; as expressing the creed of a remnant who believe the divorce fever capable of cure—believe even that if let alone and allowed sufficient time, it will inevitably cure itself. And if, as it has been remarked, "the utterance of a prophecy is sometimes a main step towards its fulfilment," one may be permitted, in the absence of general support, to extract what capital may be obtained out of the refuge of all such as cry in the wilderness—vaticination.

There is something weird in breaking lances with an antagonist who has been dead two hundred years and more. The ever-varying opinions, faiths, emotions of a dozen generations gather, cloudlike, round the shadowy lists, and the spectators of the dream-tourney are the thronging ghosts of controversialists whose unimpeachable theories and awe-inspiring fulminations have long since perished with them. But, after all, what a modern figure is the central figure of the scene! What a living, vivid, actual personality is the personality of Milton! How close is his kinship with ourselves! How intimate his relations with even the pioneers of to-day! It is only his phraseology which differs; the dress in which his thoughts are clothed; the outward form assumed by his modern independence of authority and tradition, his modern democratic humanness and sympathy, his modern reliance on the inward light—reason, illumined by experience. His thesis, of course, is worded as a seventeenth-century Protestant would word it. His "doctrine" of divorce is "restored to the good of both sexes from the bondage of Canon Law and other mistakes to the true meaning of Scripture in the Law and Gospel compared." His business, in all his divorce writings—in the *Doctrine and Discipline*, *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*, *Tetrachordon*, *Colasterion*—is to tilt against Canon Law, against the tyrannical, insufferable usurpations and impositions bequeathed by "Roman Antichrists," in the name of "Law and

Gospel." Scripture is his arsenal, because in his day it was every one's arsenal, indispensable to the polemist, as machine guns and torpedoes are to modern warfare. But he treats the Bible as cavalierly as Samson treated Delilah's withes, and, while believing theoretically in verbal inspiration, like all his contemporaries, believes really (all unknown to himself, doubtless) in the individual revelation vouchsafed to him personally as to all elect souls. It is almost with a smile that one watches his giant intellect, now writhing in the toils of the religious conventions whose dialect he uses, now grappling with the "literalism" which is his arch-foe, anon fairly bursting his bonds, and proclaiming in set terms that "there is scarce any one saying in the Gospel but must be read with limitations and distinctions to be rightly understood." The extent of the "limitations and distinctions" required to show that divorce is sanctioned by the "Gospel," as well as by the "Law"—notably to prove that the pronouncement of Jesus (Matt. v. 31, 32) endorses instead of contradicts the Mosaic prescription (Deut. xxiv. 1), will be appreciated by any fair-minded student of the Bible. The task which Milton has set himself is, briefly, to add to that momentous parenthesis of Jesus, upon which the divorce question has, to a great extent, hinged since it was uttered, "Saving for the cause of fornication," this rider, "Except also in case of charity"—a term which, as he understands it, covers almost every imaginable plea for divorce. It is really a herculean task (given the conditions under which Milton had no choice but to accept it), and he acquits himself of it with all the ease and grace of the practised athlete, quite unaware of casuistry or over-subtlety, delightfully impervious to the humour of the situation, and unsuspecting of the mood in which a later age, trained by critical and scientific methods to distrust glosses and to avoid recondite meanings, until the simplest common-sense meanings have been tried and have failed, would look on at his dialectical gymnastics. After all, these are of secondary importance. They are but the scaffolding of his argument, which the WESTMINSTER REVIEW might have printed to-day without hazarding an anachronism. The essential point is that, like any unbaptised agnostic of our own time, Milton believes in divorce, and means to have it at all costs, Bible or no Bible; and if any text of Scripture should seem to make against it, why, so much the worse for the text, which must be pounded and pommelled and turned and twisted until it can be made to favour it. The rest is easily put on one side, and whosoever shall make so bold may encounter the mighty Puritan in the neutral territory of principle, leaving quite out of sight the adventitious aids by which, in his day, it was sought to reinforce principle—a man's honest, intimate conviction—with a sanction higher and with a dignity more majestic than its own.

And first, let us acknowledge our immense indebtedness to Milton



for the spirit in which he works to gain his end—whether or no we consider that end desirable—for that glorious if incidental defence of true marriage which is implied in his very resolve to procure divorce on other than physical grounds. Whatever his divorce writings may be worth as an argument against the indissolubility of marriage, they will remain, as long as the English language lasts, as a magnificent protest against that view of marriage, too prevalent then, as it is too prevalent still in our laws, in our social usages—alas! in our ritual—which regards it as a physical union merely. With Milton, marriage is nothing if it is not a “*human society*,” a fellowship—if not of equal minds (the notion of *equality* in marriage was, of course, as remote from his ken as the notion of evolution)—at least of spiritual beings, whose association was and must be on an entirely different plane from that of the lower creation. In that majestic prose whose rhythmic march stirs the pulses like organ music, in those trenchant periods to which, for virile force and grace, the whole range of English literature affords no parallel, he again and again denounces the inhuman and insufferable degradation of a bodily union which is not at the same time a union of souls.

“What a stupidity is it . . . to esteem the validity of marriage merely by the flesh, though never so broken and disjointed from love and peace which only can give [it] a human qualification . . . and distinguish it from bestial?” Again: “If the noisomeness . . . of body can soon destroy the sympathy of mind to wedlock duties, much more will the annoyance and trouble of mind infuse itself into all the faculties and acts of the body, to render them invalid, unkindly, and even unholy against the fundamental law-book of nature, which Moses never thwarts but reverences: therefore, he commands us to force nothing against sympathy or natural order, no, not upon the most abject creatures; to show that such an indignity cannot be offered to man without an impious crime.” Again: “As for the custom that some parents and guardians have of forcing marriage, it will be better to say nothing of such a savage inhumanity, but only thus: that the law which gives not all freedom of divorce to any creature endued with reason so assassinated is next in cruelty.”

Marriage is a sacrament; marriage is a spiritual union with a physical “sequel”; marriage is a “*human society*”; Milton is for ever repeating it with the untiring persistency of unalterable conviction. If he had but been able to add—as it will be shown that he could have added without paradox—“marriage is permanent and indissoluble,” his confession of faith might have been ours, so clean is it, so loftily resolute in its rejection of what is gross, while adhering firmly to what is natural. But what he does affirm in this matter of the sanctity and spirituality of the supreme human tie, we have reason to recall to-day with the thankfulness of “a weak

and easily discouraged race," as Matthew Arnold says, for the testimony of such a man and such a mind to human marriage: We need such witnesses in these days of reaction from the old ascetic theories, when, in our haste to restore due honour to the body, we "give away," as the colloquial phrase is, our manhood; going about to work in the brute, in the name of science, falsely so called, in the name of nature (which has, through development, made us *men*), in the name of art, which is truly "realistic" only when she reaches, as man has always reached, away from the lower and towards the higher. These modern sophistries would have received small quarter at the hands of the man whose name is the glory of Puritanism, standing as it does for catholic breadth of culture as well as for passionate moral enthusiasm, and whose spirit, widely diffused in his own time, and, happily, in all times, is the glory of England, since it alone has made England what she is. With what a royal scorn he would have demolished the physiological cynics who would persuade us that the whole duty of man is to be a healthy animal, the literary cynics who prefer to regard him as a diseased animal and find nothing "real" in him save his sordidness, the artistic cynics who see in him merely a beautiful animal, and who neither know themselves nor attempt to teach others aught else concerning him!

It is only when Milton proceeds to argue from this incontrovertible premiss that all marriages which are false, which are not sacramental, which are not hallowed by fellowship of soul, should be dissolved as lightly as they were entered into, that we are compelled to part company with him, denying his corollary as emphatically as we endorse his main proposition. For, in order to complete the conception of true marriage, the idea of persistency, of lastingness, is indispensably necessary. Without this the ideas of spirituality, of comradeship—of equality even—fall dismally short. Fixity, stability, permanence—it is these which, quite as much as spirituality, constitute the "note" of human marriage, as distinguished even from the monogamic unions of the higher brutes. These monogamic unions are often temporarily exclusive, it is true, but they are not permanent. It is only man who, after passing through the lower stages, has grasped the true monogamic idea—exclusiveness *plus* spirituality (*i.e.*, the physical relation based upon the mental and moral one), and permanence. The history of monogamy—of the gradual development of human marriage—is the history of growth in the fixity of the conjugal relation; and whatever tends to relax this is not progress, but reaction, whether regarded ethically, or merely anthropologically, in the dry light thrown by science upon the evolution of human institutions.

Let us pause for an instant to recall the glowing words in which, twenty years ago, the marriage ideal of the future, in all its splendour of sympathy, service, equality and love was set forth for us by a

master hand. But a single touch is needed to make the picture perfect :

"What marriage may be in the case of two persons of cultivated faculties, identical in opinions and purposes, between whom there exists that best kind of equality, similarity of powers and capacities with reciprocal superiority in them—so that each can enjoy the luxury of looking up to the other, and can have alternately the pleasure of leading and being led in the path of development—I will not attempt to describe. To those who can conceive it there is no need; to those who cannot; it would appear the dream of an enthusiast. But I maintain, with the profoundest conviction, that this, and this only, is the ideal of marriage; and that all opinions, customs and institutions which favour any other notion of it, or turn the conceptions and aspirations connected with it into any other direction, by whatever pretences they may be coloured, are relics of primitive barbarism. The moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings learn to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and in cultivation" (J. S. Mill, *Subjection of Women*, p. 177).

Mill, of course, lays stress upon equality, as Milton laid stress upon spirituality; but neither is Mill's ideal—noble and manly as it is—complete without the crowning touch—permanence, any approximation to which would be out of the question were divorce obtainable, as Mill would have it, on such slender grounds as, *e.g.*, obstinate self-will in either party (*Subjection of Women*, p. 78). Neither the grand Puritan ideal of the seventeenth century—marriage a "human society," nor the grand democratic ideal of the nineteenth century—marriage a relation of absolute equality, can be fully realised until we add to them—dare we say the ideal of the twentieth century?—marriage an indissoluble union, strictly, not nominally, monogamous, and, if terminable at all, terminable only by death.

At this point, one begins to catch the swelling chorus of dissent, expostulation, shuddering horror, indignant denial. What tyranny is this that, in an age of liberty, it is sought to impose on adult men and women! What barbarous cruelty is this, that, in an age of humanitarianism, it is proposed to inflict on the wretched victims of a mistaken marriage! Has not the torture endured by such been admitted, but now, to be intolerable? What is this but the merciless severity of a bygone time, pitiless to the husband, pitiless to the children of an ill-assorted union, thrice pitiless to the incomparably degraded and miserable wife? Is not this the very essence of obsolete tradition, of exploded sacerdotalism?

<sup>1</sup> As long ago as December 1888 I was taken to task by Miss Jane Hume Claperton, in a reply to an article on "Marriage Rejection and Marriage Reform" (*WESTMINSTER REVIEW*, September 1888), for advocating a state of things not

Not so. If no relief were possible in cases where marriage is a purgatory, or worse, save Milton's unconditional divorce with liberty of re-marriage, then, of course, that relief should be granted; in other words, the opponents of divorce must give up their case, and its redoubtable champion must be left master of the field. On these terms there is no answer to Milton's "The superstition of the Papists is 'touch not, taste not,' when God bids both, and ours is 'part not, separate not,' when God and charity both permits and commands." On these terms Milton's bitter cry, "Marriage . . . will not admit now either of charity or mercy to come in and mediate, or pacify the fierceness of this gentle ordinance, the unremedied loneliness of this remedy" leaves us dumb. The continuance of marriage as a "society" in the full sense of the term, with the human element in abeyance—the maintenance of physical relations after spiritual relations have ceased—this is, of course, unthinkable to any minds save those which have not yet outgrown the lower stages of development, or those whose ideal it is to return to them. But there are ways of alleviating trial too grievous to be borne, short of tampering with the supreme sanctity of the marriage-bond, short of making terminable a contract which should differ from every other contract in its character of a lifelong engagement, in its absolute irrevocability and inviolability. Lady Macbeth's "What's done cannot be undone," if it is true of any human act, is true of that supreme act by which adult men and women consent to a life union for mutual help, solace, and stimulus, and for the perpetuation of the race; yet to say this is not to say that their irrevocable act admits of no palliative whatever when it chances to bring on them a curse instead of a blessing. When courage, patience, and common-sense have reached their limits, and nature can endure no more, then it is time to resort to one or other of the many degrees of separation, legal and other, by which the consequences of the one irretrievable error of life may be mitigated, if not averted.

The idea of separation as a way out of the difficulty does not so much as occur to Milton. He knows of no *via media* between the enviable facilities enjoyed by the Jewish patriarchs, with his bill of divorcement handed to any member of his harem who had ceased to find favour in his eyes, and the merciless yoking together, body, soul and spirit, of an alienated or hopelessly inharmonious pair.

merely in the highest degree inhuman, but also eminently anti-social, loveless unions from which there is no escape, producing not merely misery, libertinism, "jealousy, hatred and malice," and so forth, but also offspring of an inferior type, incapable of co-operating with the forces which make for progress, or "whose birth-right is the strain of the drunkard, the maniac, the gambler." The fault was my own for touching on the complex subject of divorce at the close of a REVIEW article, when there was no space to defend the obnoxious proposition advanced—"No divorce"—or to state the many qualifications with which it should be accompanied. I was prevented by circumstances from replying to Miss Clapperton's strictures at the time, and must take this opportunity of making my position clearer to her and others who may recollect the marriage controversy of last autumn.

And the idea of separation, if more familiar to the modern world than it was in Milton's day, is now, by a large number of minds, scarcely tolerated as an alternative to, or at least as a substitute for, divorce. We are told that separation is worse than no remedy for the evils of an unhappy marriage: that, without liberty of re-marriage, we shall, by permitting separation, create more mischief than we can hope to cure; and that, so far from abolishing divorce and facilitating separation, the only practical course—the only course possible to an enlightened civilisation—is to abolish separation, and to enormously facilitate divorce. Milton and the modern world are here entirely at one. Milton knows nothing of separation, and regards the theory of the indissoluble marriage as a monstrous piece of popery and priestcraft—nay, veritably as “the first loosening of Antichrist, and as it were the substance of his eldest horn.” The modern world ignores separation, and talks—if not of Antichrist and “the canons and decretals of audacious priests” usurping the functions of the civil law—of an outworn age of theologism, of exploded ecclesiastical dogmas, of superstitious theories of marriage. Essentially it is the same attitude. Entire freedom from the religious restrictions of the past; liberty to be practically a law unto oneself in this as in other matters; emancipation from everything irksome, everything galling, everything wearisome in marriage—this is Milton's aim, and this is, speaking generally, the aim of the modern world.

And yet—this is the question which urgently presses for solution—what if, after all, the old religious view should turn out to be the sound view? What if the churches, pledged to support indissoluble marriage and to oppose divorce, should prove to be in the right? What if the theory of marriage which they defend on grounds of authority and tradition should be found to be in exact accord with the teachings of history, with the results of experience, with the facts of life? Religion has, from the first, largely contributed to the evolution of true monogamy, or human marriage, the stability of the conjugal relation varying in all times and places in direct proportion to the admixture of the religious element. In early periods, it is true, this influence of religion on marriage seems but a doubtful boon, as in the case of those Hindu “sacramental” theories of the institution which are responsible as well for the hideous abuses of it prevalent in India as for the almost insurmountable difficulty of reforming them. Still, on the whole, a religious manner of regarding marriage—however blind, misguided, ferociously cruel, even in primitive stages—has been, it is not too much to say, the main factor in the evolution of true marriage, and, what is more, a religious manner of regarding marriage must continue to be the main factor in its future development, if social order and progress—not disintegration and anarchy—be in store for us. Religion may change her outward garb, and speak in a tongue as

little understood by Milton as by Mohammed, by the torturer of the Inquisition as by the Brahmin torturer of the child-wife; but the religious spirit will remain, the spirit of reverence and devoutness, the adhesion of the soul to righteousness, the devotion of the heart to duty; and religion will continue to test theories of marriage—not by whether they make for ease, but by whether they make for goodness, for conduct, for order, and for the permanent and highest well-being of the race. To suppose that the sacramental view of marriage is confined to theologians is to greatly err. For all the elect, for all chosen souls, for all the pure in heart, for all men and women of fine understanding, marriage is still a sacrament—the life-tie between husband and wife, between father and mother, is still supremely awful, supremely reverend, supremely holy.

Already, here and there, outside the churches, a more or less solitary voice may be heard proclaiming this truth, pleading for the stability of the life-union on grounds of reason and common-sense, deprecating divorce on grounds of history and experience.<sup>1</sup> Such a voice in the wilderness is that of the Russian thinker whose child-like, crystalline sincerity of thought and deed, even more than his intellectual equipment, has won him the startled ear of Europe, with his strict monogamic union of one man with one woman, “no libertinism and *no divorce*.” It is very possible that Tolstoi’s interpretation of the parenthesis of Jesus, which he practically explains away altogether, leaving Jesus as an unconditional opponent of divorce on any pretext whatsoever, may be as arbitrary as Milton’s in the opposite sense (though here, of course, one defers to the skilled in Scriptural exegesis). He has, to his own entire satisfaction at any rate, disposed of any weapon which Christian orthodoxy has sought to draw from St. Matthew’s Gospel in defence of divorce; and he has, moreover, by his independent handling of the “second commandment of Jesus,” afforded in his own person another example of the tendency to seek inspiration *within*, rather than in any outward ecclesiastical body or collection of sacred writings. Whether Milton was exegetically right in expanding indefinitely the permission of the parenthesis, or Tolstoi exegetically right in expunging the parenthesis altogether, matters little to an age which really finds its sacred canon written in the developing human intelligence and on the fleshy tables of the heart. The point for us is, which of these two prophets of our own time, so to speak, is rightly “inspired,” Milton, the masculine Puritan polemist, or Tolstoi, the visionary, the fanatic who carries consistency to the verge of insanity, who would make a present of his property to the first comer, and would look on while a bully tormented a child

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of this paper was written before the appearance of two weighty declarations against divorce *a vinculo*, and in favour of judicial separation as the only admissible form of relief—that of Mr. Gladstone in the *North American Review* for December last, and that of Mr. Phelps in the *Forum* for the same month.

without offering to "resist evil"? Tolstoi, surely, can be no authority upon delicate and complex social problems, bearing closely upon the painful practical needs of work-a-day human life! And yet—and yet—there seems little doubt that that almost solitary voice of the single-eyed and simple-hearted dreamer, sounding almost alone from half-civilised Russia, across highly civilised Europe, with its ever increasing divorce-mania, its never abating war-mania, its gross worship of material prosperity and oblivion of those things by which men live; there seems little doubt that that voice—and not Milton's voice—is really uttering the watchword of the future—"No libertinism, and no divorce."

Returning to the alternative of separation, it cannot, of course, be denied that there are grave objections to any extension of a compromise often proved to be attended, even under existing limitations, with serious drawbacks. There is the danger of increasing the number of illicit connections, and there is the risk of inflicting a considerable degree of privation upon innocent sufferers. Admitting, however, that the choice between divorce and separation is a choice of evils, the contention of the opponents of divorce is that separation—as a last resort in cases of intolerable hardship—is considerably the lesser evil of the two. As to the encouragement which any wider application of the principle might give to the formation of irregularities, this difficulty would be met, it may be hoped, by the renewed respect for the sanctity of marriage implied in the very act of substituting separation without re-marriage for divorce,<sup>1</sup> as well as by the spread of the higher morality and of nobler and more human views of the sexual relation generally. And as to the disabilities which such a change would entail upon the blameless partner in a union which has been wrecked by vice or crime, it must always be remembered that his or her sufferings would be, after all, of a negative not a positive character, the innocent party exchanging not one form of active torture for another, but, at the worst, active suffering for a state of more or less privation, differing not one jot from that in which thousands of solitary men and women in all periods of history have lived lives of widespread usefulness and of chastened happiness. For the rest, the penalty of a mistaken choice must be paid, ay, even if that choice be not our own, and, as still sometimes (though rarely) happens in the case of the wife, the resulting misery be due to the initiative of others. The primary assumption upon which the very notion of human marriage rests—the categorical imperative of marriage—is unfettered choice of two adult individuals. Marriages which are formed under the coercion of parents or friends, are nothing but barbaric survivals, like marriages for money, or marriages for social position, and the constant

<sup>1</sup> The opinion of Mr. Phelps, based on wide legal experience, that comparatively few persons would seek divorce, if permission to re-marry were withheld, is noteworthy in this connection. It is, indeed, difficult to exaggerate the importance of his testimony against divorce *a vinculo*.

effort of a civilised society should be to discourage them by every indirect means available. But to bid us, because these relics of savagery still linger in our midst, surrender the high marriage ideals which the *Ames-d'élite* already realise, and which, with right guidance, every civilised population is capable of realising; to bid us retrogress from the monogamic standard already attained to earlier forms which the race has sloughed, merely in order to lessen the penalty attached to error (our own and others) in certain individual cases—this is to ask more than wise lovers of their kind, more than discriminating believers in progress, are able to concede. For it is to defy the inexorable natural law which has its roots, not in theological dogma, but in the system of the universe, which ordains that as we have sown so we shall reap. It is to set at nought the lessons of history, which, with unvarying voice, reiterates that facile divorce means licentiousness, disorder, the disintegration of the family, the disruption of the State. It is to undermine those elements of character which are most stable, most noble, and most virile—the power of self-control, the power to endure hardness in a good cause, the power to make heavy sacrifices of personal ease and comfort for the sake of the common weal.

Milton, one notes with amusement, slurs over the objection of the responsibility of choice. Repeatedly he meets it half-way, and then shirks it with the primitive Adamic apology that the wisest of mankind are liable to be befooled in this matter. There is really no such thing as matrimonial choice, opines Milton. There is practically no such thing as a manly, a womanly accountability for your own actions. You have somehow—no matter how—made yourself extremely uncomfortable; tied up to “a mute and spiritless mate,” whose very silence flouts you and interferes with the proper development of your intellectual and religious life; and you must somehow—no matter how—be made entirely comfortable again; the anti-divorce prejudices of your Protestant country, inherited from “the blindest and corruptest times of popedom” notwithstanding.

What room is there here for any rational theory of adult liberty and responsibility? What room for the right development of character on the lines of a just self-respect, of vagrant impulses checked by wise afterthoughts, of potent and legitimate passions curbed by a steadfast will?

Grander and truer than the Miltonic ideal of ease and comfort is the ideal of sacrifice and duty of a living writer—a woman in every respect supremely entitled to an opinion on the question—thus expressed in a letter to a friend:—

“As to facilitating divorce and easy dissolution of marriage, surely it is all in the backward direction. It is a matter in which individuals must suffer for the benefit of the whole, and in order to keep up a high standard. And as to the abuses of marriage, which have justly driven so many minds into revolt against the institution itself,



these can be remedied only by the raising of the individual. No laxer, grosser morality of selfishness will help towards that end, which, to my mind, is at the root of the whole question. Any tampering with the family seems to me distinct retrogression, and that high ideals all point the other way. We do and must stand by and suffer for our deeds for ever; it is the unvarying law of the universe; and from our cradles we are conditioned by circumstances. Why then in a foundation-question like this of marriage, should we imagine ourselves to be exempt from law, and free to follow our wildest fancies? If a particular marriage collapses, the victims must endure the penalty of wrong choice. I do not see that they have the right to rail against the institution in which they were born, and to which all their notions of morality, the restrained 'piety of the affections,' the sacredness of the family, and all the rest of our moral safeguards are owing."

It is a favourite point with the supporters of divorce that the interests of children suffer less where marriage is easily dissoluble than where the compulsory residence of alienated parents under the same roof dooms them to the sight of perpetual discontent and disagreement, and drives them to take sides in the parental quarrel. What an argument for the courageous endurance of conjugal unhappiness! What an argument for the heroic concealment of differences and disappointment and grief! The existence of children of an unhappy marriage should surely afford the strongest conceivable inducement to bear all things for their sakes, to stifle self in the interests of the dependent beings for whose existence we are responsible. It is not only in marriage that pain—that humiliation even—are borne for the sake of children—children in whom the hopes of the world are centred; whose unvexed affection and unsoiled intelligence are the one enduring charm and solace of life; whose helplessness binds us to them by golden chains of willing devotion. In the case of adopted children, "Indian" children, all children brought up by vicarious parents, what stings, what heartburnings, are not daily endured in silence for the children's sake and for love's sake! What slights overlooked! what inconsideration! what ingratitude! And if even an adoptive father or mother will suffer much at the hands of the true parents—ay, at the hands of the adopted children themselves—rather than injure the sensitive ties which bind the young lives to their own, how much heavier a burden should they be willing to bear who gave them birth! Here, too, in case of necessity, recourse can be had to the expedient of separation, but, where parental love is not a mockery, where self is not wholly in the ascendant, the last desperate remedy will be postponed as long as possible, or some modified form will be adopted which will avert outward scandal and protect, as far as may be, the happiness and the innocence of the children. We can most of us recall instances within our own experience of self-adjusted separations as

complete almost as though the judicial decree *a mensâ et thoro* had been pronounced, where the outside world suspected nothing worse than a certain indifference, and where the children, at any rate while young, suspected nothing at all.

The current political economy, it was once remarked, is doomed to failure, because it tries to make universal selfishness do the work of universal love. The modern struggle for liberty of divorce is likewise doomed to failure—to how hideous a failure if it ultimately succeeds!—because it also is based on universal selfishness, and proceeds on the assumption that ease—not endeavour, comfort—not duty, happiness—not goodness, are the highest human ideals. The supremacy of the law of sacrifice—of self-sacrifice, that is—is admitted, at least theoretically, in other departments and relations of life. How then should the marriage-relation, the most vitally important of all, be exempt? be placed in a category apart from the remainder of life, where, unless all the poets and all the prophets and all the philosophers err, sacrifice is the secret of achievement, and endurance of manhood, and self-conquest of inward peace?

This is not the place to attempt an exhaustive survey of divorce in its historical aspects, nor to prove categorically that wherever in the past divorce has been easily obtainable, there licentiousness and disintegration have immediately followed; or, on the other hand, that wherever marriage has been indissoluble, there family life has been intact, and morals have been unimpeachable. Such a survey would quickly reach the dimensions of a volume, including, as it would necessarily include, discussion of many factors in the historical problem which do not lie on the surface, yet which must be taken into account if a just conclusion is to be arrived at. Thus, the stock argument of the promoters of divorce that indissoluble marriage, as enforced by the Church of Rome, has resulted in the condition of things depicted in the modern French novel; that, so far from reverencing the marriage-tie, the Latin nations, under the sway of the Church, set it at nought as no Protestant nation does, marital infidelity and the paramour forming, as it were, a recognised part of the institution, would require to be met by a host of considerations drawn from race, education, the persistence, on the Continent, of the old Roman view of marriage as a bargain between families, the Southern seclusion of unmarried women, and so forth. It must suffice here to point out how unfaltering, upon the whole, has been the verdict of history as to the benefit of respecting and the danger of esteeming lightly the institution of marriage, and how emphatically that verdict corresponds with the conclusions of modern science all recent research pointing to strict monogamy as the ultimate human marriage-relation.

The most salient example of the evils of free divorce is of course the Rome of late Republican and early Imperial days, when marriage

could be dissolved by mere consent, or the wife put away at the husband's will, until the state of things depicted by Juvenal was reached, and the spread of a kind of general concubinage led to a strong reaction, and prepared the way for restrictive legislation by successive emperors, and for the Christian total prohibition of divorce.

In the same way Revolutionary France, spurred by a loathing of ecclesiastical tyranny as keen as Milton's, flung wide the sluice-gates of divorce in 1792, the formally expressed desire of both parties being declared sufficient to procure release *a vinculo matrimonii*. But twenty years later France rescinded this decree, and substituted judicial separation for divorce, convinced of the danger to the State of reducing marriage—a matter which must always deeply concern the State—to the level of any other contract. France has now again taken a new departure, but how far she will find her recent Divorce Act conducive to her prosperity as a nation yet remains to be seen. It is possible that had she waited a little longer to test the working of similar legislation in other countries she might have stayed her hand, and, jealously guarding her hereditary treasure of indissoluble marriage, might have sought to remedy its hurtful overgrowths by those indirect methods which are alone sanctioned by wise reformers of marriage, by the emancipation of her women, by the development of manliness in her men, by the better ethical upbringing of her children, by the discouragement of "realistic" literature and demoralising spectacles, and by the purification of her religion.

In England and America there are not wanting signs of uneasiness at the growing tendency to dissolve marriage, with all that such a tendency implies. As these words are written two anti-divorce manifestoes, one may almost say, having regard to the quarters whence they emanate, signalise the advance, more rapid than seemed possible so recently as a week or two since, of a wholesome reaction on both sides of the Atlantic. The stiff-necked remnant, within and without the churches, who could never be persuaded that the Divorce Act of 1857 could bring other than disaster to our country, find their view confirmed by the declared opinion of Mr. Gladstone, "after sixty years at the centre of British life," that that Act is in part responsible for the sensible decline in "conjugal morality" of the higher classes during the latter half of that period. Other causes, as Mr. Gladstone suggests, and as we can readily believe, have contributed to obscure the fair pre-eminence in this regard of the England of early Victorian days, and here again we must beware of rash conclusions in the presence of complicated social phenomena. But this declaration of Mr. Gladstone's, guarded and temperate as it is, as becomes such an utterance from the champion of the losing side in 1857, and indeed the whole of the short paper in the *North American Review*, with its clear pronouncement against divorce

proper, or a *vinculo*, and in favour, as a concession to the weakness of human nature, of judicial separation—a *mens et thoro*—comes most significantly and most opportunely at a time when we are threatened with further legislation in the direction of extension; not restriction, of divorce.

And simultaneously America, in the person of her late Minister to this country, Mr. Phelps, utters her first articulate protest against a system which a handful of her citizens, filled with dismay at the evils it has already wrought, and at the worse evils which they see to be impending, have recently founded a society to combat. The statistics<sup>1</sup> brought to light through the instrumentality of the National Divorce League, upon which Mr. Phelps bases his argument in favour of abolishing divorce, or any form of it which permits re-marriage, will not afford matter of surprise to any student of the subject who has taken the trouble to ascertain the condition of the law of divorce in America, or, more accurately, of the conflicting and incongruous laws of the forty States comprising the American Union. To such it must have been patent from the first that the admission of so many and such very elastic pleas for divorce—to say nothing of the inconvenience and injustice of their variation throughout the Union—could have but one issue: the bringing of marriage into contempt and the rapid spread of the habit of dissolving it. Mr. Phelps sums up the actual state of matters in language not one whit too strong. "The whole business," he says, "is a disgrace to our country; and an alarming menace to social order."

One or two critics of Mr. Phelps's paper have expressed surprise that an orthodox Protestant people like the Americans should have so far diverged from the Christian teaching as to permit divorce on grounds other than those sanctioned by the New Testament. A writer in the *Spectator* accounts for this divergence by the exaggeration of the democratic craving for personal liberty, as well as of sentimental compassion for suffering. Both these causes doubtless exist, but behind them is another and deeper cause—the logical difficulty, to wit, of admitting the principle of divorce without admitting an indefinite number of pleas for it. This logical difficulty was patent to Milton, the staunchest of Protestants, who, if Protes-

<sup>1</sup> Some of these may be repeated here. It appears that in the twenty years from 1867 to 1886 inclusive, there were granted in the United States 328,716 divorces, and that during the whole time divorce has been increasing at a rate more than twice as great as that of the increase of the population, having gained more than 150 per cent. between 1867 and 1886. The statistics for 1886, the last year covered by the report, show that 25,535 divorces were granted in the United States, exclusive of South Carolina, where no divorce law exists. This rate for twenty years, even if the steady increase that had taken place up to that year had suddenly ceased, would give 510,700 divorces, in place of the 328,716 reported for the twenty years preceding. The number of courts in the United States in which divorces are granted is about 3000; and it is likely that during the present year, at a moderate estimate, not less than 35,000 divorces will be granted almost entirely amongst the Protestant white population. The proportion of divorces to marriages varies materially in different States, and in seven runs from one in twenty to one in seven. These figures, of course, take no account of the applications for divorce which fail of success.

tantism had but realised it, effectually demolished, once and for all, the half-way house it has sought to rear on six words in one of the Gospels. He perceived, at the outset—as so trenchant a mind, wedded to so pure a soul, could not fail to perceive—that to annul the marriage contract for physical causes only was to insult marriage. And if he failed to draw from his high spiritual conception of marriage the natural inference that so momentous and so sacred an engagement was not dissoluble by law at all, at least he conclusively demonstrated that it could not long remain dissoluble only for adultery. The fact has been recognised tacitly, even in the gradual and grudging concessions made to the demand for divorce by legislation supposed to be founded on a rigid adherence to Scripture. And it was obvious from the first that the still wider departure from the text of Scripture—the indefinite multiplication of grounds of divorce other than those of Scripture—was merely a question of time. Human unwisdom and shortsightedness, human levity and laxity, would take care that the liberty claimed in the first instance from high motives to dissolve marriage for more than one cause, should go on expanding until there should practically be no limit to it. Allow one plea for divorce, and you must end by allowing six, at the very least, as in the majority of the American States.

And how is the line to be drawn at six, at twelve, at twenty? The legislators of Connecticut, Wisconsin, Washington, and Arizona have answered the question by the addition of an “omnibus clause,” placing the liberation of the parties from the marriage bond absolutely at the discretion of the Court! It is sufficient to name some of the pleas at present available in different parts of America in order to show that a return to divorce by consent, as in Imperial Rome, must be the upshot of the existing system. Here are a few only—adultery, cruelty, desertion, drunkenness, insanity, conviction for crime, vagrancy, failure of the husband to support, the joining of certain religious sects, incompatibility of temper.

That these lax laws should be administered with laxity, as we are told is the case, was only to be expected, nor can we be surprised to learn that divorces have already been obtained through such a liberal interpretation of the law as “mental anguish” caused by an inconsiderate remark! Mill’s claim, alluded to above, for liberty to divorce partners “with whom there is no peace while any will or wish is regarded but their own,” on the ground that “such persons are only fit to live alone, and no human being ought to be compelled to associate their lives with them,” becomes—the principle of the dissolubility of marriage once granted—perfectly intelligible (note by the way the Miltonic waiving of the idea of any personal responsibility in choosing the life-associate). And so does the position of a more recent advocate of divorce,<sup>1</sup> who quotes Ezra in support of the claim of Christians to-day to rid themselves of unorthodox wives who

<sup>1</sup> See *Marriage and Divorce*, by Ap. Richard, M.A. Cantab.

should endanger their "own religious principles" (again a curious echo of Milton)! Is it necessary to adduce further proof that the choice is practically between divorce for every cause supposed by the individual to be inimical to his or her interest or comfort and no divorce at all?

To point out that the practice of divorce was instituted solely in the husband's interest, that the privileges claimed by him in the matter have always been reluctantly and partially accorded to the wife—where they have been accorded at all—and that divorce, historically speaking, has been but another name for the subjugation of women, is perhaps superfluous in an age when the claims of women to equal and impartial justice are being—at last—widely and generously recognised. The enchanting *naïveté* of Milton's reply to Beza's (very "advanced") contention that divorce, if divinely permitted at all, must have been permitted in the interest of the wife:—"Is it not most likely that God in his law had more pity towards man thus wedlocked, than towards *the woman that was created for another?*" does but occasion a smile nowadays. And when Milton goes on to justify a man's "parting from that mistaken help which he justly seeks in *a person created for him*," on the ground, forsooth, that "the freedom and eminence of man's creation gives him to be *a law in this matter to himself*," practically advocating a return to the *patria potestas* in its most extreme form, and ending in the heat of his argument by upholding Henry the Eighth as an example of suitable marital prerogative! we feel—again with a kind of amused indulgence—that the Puritan democrat has damaged his own case too effectually to need refutation by any modern antagonist. The American leaning to perhaps over-tenderness for the wife, and the growing revulsion of feeling in this country against the inequality, as between the two sexes, of our own divorce law—an inequality upon which Mr. Gladstone's memorable protest was largely based—afford sufficient indication of the direction in which civilised opinion is now moving. And a rumoured Divorce Amendment Bill, of which we shall doubtless hear more next Session, if not this, and which contemplates the assimilation of the law of divorce in England and Scotland, is doubtless mainly due to a laudable desire to extend to women here the equal justice already meted out to them north of the Border. It is, of course, inevitable that any further legislation upon the subject should be on the lines of justice to women, until, that is to say, legislation takes the form of gradual restriction—ending in total abolition of divorce; though why, in the meanwhile, the Scotch law should be taken as a model, with its illogical admission of desertion or non-adherence for four years as a plea for divorce, and refusal of divorce for *cruelty* so long as there is *adherence*! it is hard to imagine.

The truth is, inconsistency, incongruity, and moral confusion are unavoidable wherever divorce *a vinculo* exists side by side with the

semblance of respect for marriage. Divorce laws, like other laws, can be made equal as between men and women, and can be administered with strict impartiality; but coherent and consistent in themselves they can never be. Born of a paradox, and nurtured by all that is least rational and least religious in human nature, they can never be other than a jumble of incompatible rules and self-contradictory principles, and their evil fruit is; necessarily, such general relaxation of moral fibre and consequent social disorder as would appear to be imminent in America, and cannot be far off in England.

Shall we allow the process of deterioration and disintegration to go on unchecked? Or shall we not rather remember our high prerogative of leading the van—not merely in material civilisation, in commerce, in discovery, in enterprise, but in morality—in the practice of that righteousness which still, as ever, exalts a nation, and join hands with America in a determined effort to rid ourselves of this growing evil? If the English-speaking peoples are indeed to hold sway in the future, could they combine in a nobler quarrel, to do battle for a worthier cause?<sup>1</sup>

Towards the close of his Prologue to the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, Milton, in a passage of sublime eloquence, exhorts the Parliament of England to lead the movement in favour of a reform which he had honestly persuaded himself was a natural corollary of Protestantism, a legitimate development of that political and religious liberty of which he was so august a champion. Borrowing his language, borrowing even his spirit whose “intense love of moral beauty” was, by his own confession, his strongest passion, may we not appeal to-day to the English Parliament to initiate a reform the opposite of that which Milton, in a moment of blindness, desired? “It would not be the first or second time since our ancient Druids, by whom this island was the cathedral of philosophy to France, left off their pagan rites, that England hath had this honour vouchsafed from Heaven to give out reformation to the world. . . .” Let not England drift dully or madly along a mistaken track, allowing those great institutions of marriage and the family which she has best understood, to be undermined, from false conceptions of liberty and mistaken ideals of charity! “Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live!”

ELIZABETH RACHEL CHAPMAN.

<sup>1</sup> The humiliating fact that we should have been compelled, under a practical threat of secession, to give the semblance of assent to the new Victorian Divorce Act, on the fallacious plea that the marriage law is a question of local concern merely, instead of being one of vital importance to the whole Empire—thus consenting to be saddled with responsibility for grave social and political error, while retaining no authority at all—is nothing short of a scandal. As a recent writer urges with irresistible cogency, we ought undoubtedly “by formal Act to abandon the right of veto except in regard to laws deemed inconsistent with treaties or perilous (in the vulgar sense) to the safety of the Empire.”

## HOME AFFAIRS.

THINGS are going ill for her Majesty's present advisers. And equally ill are they going for the advisers of those advisers. The Unionist alliance is experiencing its first serious strain. We cannot ourselves profess to regret the fact that it is not standing the pressure well. Alike inside and outside Parliament, the allies are hard hit. Their great majority in the Commons is crumbling away, and in the country they are being beaten hand over hand. We actually hear of secession. One of the Scotch Liberal Unionist members has resigned connection with his party, and we have others of the same faction who find it prudent, without actually leaving their friends, to separate themselves from them on a matter of such high consequence as the Report of the Parnell Commission. We cannot expect much from the Tory supporters of the Government; but some of these are also kicking over the traces. And meantime the press, which only lately gave the Government a thick and thin support, is becoming highly critical, not to say minatory. Especially is this the case with the leading organs of Liberal Unionism in London, the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily Telegraph*. The total of these evidences is sufficiently serious, and there is no reason to suppose that we are at the end of them. A further development of these hostile conditions seems much more likely than the reverse. The promised legislation of the Session is full of pitfalls for the Government, and it is hardly possible that they can console themselves for inevitable checks and embarrassments in Parliament by any great successes outside. At Westminster there is indeed an uneasiness and suspicion in Tory and Unionist circles which has not hitherto been present. The portents which precede disaster seem to be rapidly aggregating; and though it may be a trifle early to look for the final collapse, the signs are surely ominous. Among the Tories most likely to know what is the feeling high up the Ministerial ladder, there is no confidence that the next three months will not produce a dissolution, or at any rate bring us to the verge of one. It behoves our own friends to prepare accordingly.

The debate on the Report of the Judges engaged on the Special Commission has been highly successful for the Opposition. Nobody can deny that the Government have issued from the discussion with a great loss of reputation. For some occult reason—we may guess at it—they have deliberately chosen to throw their shield over the



*Times* newspaper, and to protect it from any sort of, censure. They have reserved all their censure for the victims of the *Times*. The line adopted by the Government might have been defensible if the Report itself had contained any strictures upon the *Times*. But for reasons, which the Judges must have discussed among themselves, there was nothing said in the Report as to the conduct of the *Times* in publishing its forgeries. More strange still, the Report, whilst full of censure for the non-production of the books and documents of the Land League, carefully refrained from any comment concerning the burning by Houston of his correspondence with Pigott. It may be that the Judges can defend themselves upon both these matters by pointing to the terms of reference under which they sat. Their commission was to examine into the truth or otherwise of the *Times*' charges, and a lawyer may argue that it was their business to confine themselves to this, and not to pass judgment upon the *Times*, which had to answer for its faults elsewhere. But this kind of pleading will not save the Government and their allies. They at least were under no sort of restraint. They had absolute freedom of action in regard to the Report. It is idle to point out what they might have done, but any number of perfectly safe courses were open to them. What they *did* do is now known of all men. With the knowledge that the *Times* had escaped all censure for a criminal negligence without parallel, they deliberately took a line to screen this criminality still further. Yet the victims were their own colleagues in Parliament—men who had been in active association with them, and who had rendered them important service. Not a spark of chivalry—not a touch of sympathy—not a pang of remorse was exhibited. It was, indeed, very much the other way. The proposal was made to thank the Judges for their just and impartial conduct, and to enter the Report on the Journals of the House. In supporting this, Mr. W. H. Smith distinctly claimed that the Government "were impartial parties in this matter." Yet when Mr. Gladstone proposed to replace the motion by an amendment reprobating "the false charges of the gravest and most odious description, based on calumny and forgery," declaring satisfaction at the exposure of these calumnies, and expressing "the regret of the House for the wrong inflicted and the suffering and loss endured through a protracted period by reason of these acts of flagrant iniquity," the whole power of the Government was used to prevent any of their followers going to the support of the amendment. We venture to think that in this case, at least the Government might have shown a decent spirit by leaving their supporters free to follow the dictates of their consciences. Many of them, misled by the *Times*, were under the deepest moral obligation to make reparation to the Parnellites—others, who had accepted help from the Nationalists and never abused them, were anxious to do

them complete justice. But the party screw was remorselessly used to "preserve discipline." We had remarkable illustration of this before the debate closed. It was reported that high social influences were invoked—the cajolery and persuasions of ladies were brought to bear, and we have heard it said that the Tory whips did not hesitate to move the local caucuses to take action against their members where these showed any signs of "jibbing." Mr. Chamberlain is credited with having put himself to enormous trouble to keep certain doubtful men of his own faction "in order." Apart from this, Ministers behaved abominably in their speeches. Without an exception they slurred over the crimes of the *Times*; where they congratulated the Nationalists they did it with an obvious reluctance and in a most grudging spirit; and (if we except Mr. Smith) there was not one of them who did not seek to go behind the findings of the Judges to make a case against his Parliamentary colleagues. The Chief Secretary's audacity in this way was amazing. He simply surpassed himself in the indecent lengths to which his frenzied hatred of the Irishmen carried him. So much, then, for Mr. Smith's "impartial parties."

It is necessary to say something in detail concerning the debate, which extended over seven Parliamentary days. Mr. Smith, in opening the ball, took a judicial tone, and was fairly successful in sticking to it. Once only, when he described the charges which had been proved as "serious," did he go out of his way to make a point. He justified the Government in not undertaking penal measures against the Parnellites by saying that a statutory commission never had such results; it was appointed only to discover the truth, and was covered by an indemnity. Then Mr. Gladstone gave the House a marvellous exhibition of his powers. He did not, he said, thank the Judges, in his amendment, for the reason that it would be hazardous to introduce the practice of rendering formal thanks for the performance of judicial functions. He ungrudgingly acknowledged their "zeal, ability, assiduity, learning, and perfect and absolute good faith." And he thought that viewing their political sentiments—he would not say prepossessions—the Judges had fulfilled the best expectations that could have been held in regard to them. The Report should have been presented to the House not wholesale, but in parts. It should have been read, in order that it might be adopted freely with a due consideration of all its parts. He did not understand how it could be seriously proposed to a deliberative body to accept all this contested matter in a lump, and at once to pledge the House to every proposition it contained. The Report embodied a number of opinions upon issues in no sense and no degree judicial. For instance, dealing with the years 1879–80, the Commissioners laid it down that evictions were not the cause of crime, or, if they were the cause of crime, still the evictions themselves were the results of agitation against the landlords. Distress and extravagant rents had,

he supposed, nothing to do with the creation of these crimes. Again, the Report declared that the rejection by the Peers of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, in 1880, had nothing to do with the increase of crime. That was an astounding assertion in defiance of all the first elements of common sense and of all probability. Again, it was alleged before the Commission that the land legislation of Parliament had been the great cause in mitigating the condition of Ireland and procuring a decrease of crime. "Nothing of the sort," said the Commissioners. And in like manner they rejected the same proposition with respect to the Arrears Act of 1882. This was entirely untrue, but the House was asked to subscribe to it, as to the other declarations just alluded to. As an example of "a disproportionate and ill-balanced judgment," Mr. Gladstone mentioned the heavy reprobation of certain extracts from the *Irishman* newspaper—not pardonable but insignificant from their obscurity—and set in contrast the fact that in respect of the "grand and capital offence of the *Times*" there was not a word in all the Report. Another objection to adopting the Report was that essential portions of the evidence were, on the statement of the Judges themselves, entirely excluded from the consideration of the Commission. This did not prevent them passing censure upon certain acts which could only be properly appreciated in the light of all the circumstances of the case. Further, the House could not separate the conclusions from the evidence on which they were founded, and they had not got the evidence. For all these reasons the House ought not to accept the motion of Mr. Smith.

Coming to the hostile findings, Mr. Gladstone dismissed with contempt that of disseminating newspapers tending to incite to crime, and that of relieving persons who were said to have been engaged in outrage. Of this last, based upon an expenditure of £6 to £12, he justly observed that "a more trumpery charge to appear in a State indictment it would be difficult to conceive." The other matters against the Nationalists were mainly three. Seven of the respondents were said to have joined the Land League with the ulterior object of separating Ireland from Great Britain. The Judges did not point out that this offence occurred ten years ago, when desperate distress prevailed in Ireland, when she was on the brink of famine, and when unjust and impossible rents largely prevailed. Then to deny the moral authority of the Act of Union was for Irishmen no moral offence whatever. To treat it as such in 1890, in a sanctimonious vote of the House of Commons, was a monstrous proceeding. The other two censures of the Judges were more to the purpose; and these summed up the assumed guilt of the Irish members. As to the first, that they incited to intimidation by speeches, with the knowledge that intimidation led to crime, Mr. Gladstone quoted from the Report to show that the Judges did not mean murder—that in fact they distinctly

declared that the charge of inciting to murder had broken down. He pointed out further that this crime happened in 1880-81, and reminded the House that Mr. Parnell had frankly told them that much was done in the early days of the League which was questionable or improper. The other great offence was that the Nationalist members never placed themselves on the side of law and of justice—that they did not assist the Administration, and did not denounce the Party of Physical Force. Leaving this without specific answer, Mr. Gladstone observed that what was done in 1880-82—and these were the fateful years—was not done in a corner; the facts were known; they were the subject of incessant discussion and denunciation in Parliament. There was nothing now affirmed against the Irish members which was not affirmed by Mr. Forster, in part by himself and by others. Why, if these things deserved condemnation, were they not so condemned at the time? He answered, because in the opinion of the Liberal party, there was not a rag of reason for a vote of condemnation. In an amusing passage the right hon. gentleman showed that the Tory idea of that time was not more severe. The Tories climbed into power upon the strong shoulders of the member for Cork; they did what the Parnellites did with the Physical Force Party—“took full advantage of their good disposition, while declining association with their criminal proceedings.”

Mr. Gladstone put forward with great earnestness what he called the counter-allegations of the Nationalist party—that the agitation of 1879-81, when it was roughest and wildest, prevented more crime than it caused; that Mr. Parnell's aim had always been to draw off agitation from violence to Parliamentary methods and the like. And he startled the Tories by declaring with vehemence that “condonation was given in the amplest, in the most solemn manner conceivable; when in 1885 the Viceroy of Ireland, with the knowledge and sanction of the head of the Government, entered into close, private and confidential communication with the leader of the Irish party for the purpose of devising a scheme and a policy for the government of Ireland.” This action ought, he said, to close the book of controversy with respect to all former acts. By a brief but brilliant review of the condition of Ireland at the beginning of the League agitation, Mr. Gladstone filled the *hiatus* in the Report of the Judges as to “whether the conduct of which the respondents are accused can be palliated by the circumstances of the time, or whether it should be condoned in consideration of the benefits alleged to have resulted from their action.” Incidentally he declared that, but for agitation, the Land Act of 1881 would never have been passed, and he contended generally that the acts with respect to which the Parnellites had been censured were not fit matter for censure, because they were so involved with other circumstances which must also be brought into view. When this was done, they found that the acts

were such as were invariably incidental to periods of natural crisis, struggle, and revolution. "In all great movements of human affairs, even the just cause is marked and spotted by much that is detestable." And here Mr. Gladstone produced certain historical parallels to excellent purpose. Finally, he touched upon the matters wherein the Nationalists had been acquitted, and overwhelmed the *Times* with a tremendous denunciation of its conduct in respect to the forged letters. In a peroration of exquisite beauty, he entreated the House to do justice to Mr. Parnell and his friends, and appealing directly to the Conservatives—not as a party, but as individual citizens—asked them to give such a judgment "as will bear the scrutiny of the heart and the conscience when a man betakes himself to his chamber and is still."

We have thought it right to put on record a speech which was, by general admission, a masterpiece and the chief feature of the whole seven days' debate. It was a magnificent statement of the Opposition case; it made a profound impression even among the Ministerialists, and there is little doubt that if the division could have been straightway taken, and members had been free to vote as they wished, the amendment might have been carried. It will be seen that the speech was singularly free from mere recrimination; it put the debate on a high moral plane; and its argumentative and logical force was such as to demand an adequate answer. It need hardly be said that the answer was not forthcoming. It may be that Ministers did not feel able to reply; certainly no reply was even so much as attempted. The Government sought to ride off under a cloud of dust, made less by dealing with the charges said to have been proved than by endless innuendo and suggestion concerning those which had collapsed. The insinuation was repeatedly heard that if the books and documents of the old Land League had been produced, the *Times* would have done better. Yet we know that if these books were missing, the *Times* had every scrap of paper concerning the National League (which has been much longer in existence) as well as Mr. Parnell's correspondence for ten whole years. Why then should it have done better? The Parnellites may with much more reason say they also would have done better if they had had Houston's letters to Pigott. Sir M. Hicks-Beach boldly denied that the Conservative party had condoned anything in 1885, and produced the well-known letter which Mr. Parnell wrote to Sir F. Milner at the time, but this of course was quite irrelevant to the point made by Mr. Gladstone—that the Tories through Lord Carnarvon went into conference with Mr. Parnell with a full knowledge of what had happened in Ireland in 1880–82. And Mr. Balfour did not improve matters later on by telling the House that he heard the Prime Minister instruct Lord Carnarvon to see Mr. Parnell, to listen to what he had to say, and to say nothing in reply. It is enough for

us to know on this unexceptionable authority that Lord Salisbury did instruct his Viceroy to go into conference with the Irish leader. Mr. Chamberlain indeed will have it that it makes all the difference in the significance and import of the doings of the Land League, that some of them have now been condemned by a judicial tribunal as illegal. We have learnt nothing new, it is true, but the mere record of the Court changes the situation, and Mr. Chamberlain, who suggested that boycotting and intimidation, being venial, need not be inquired into by the Commission, is now filled with indignation at certain language used by Mr. T. P. O'Connor and Mr. John Dillon indicating a doubtful approval of these methods. The speech of the member for West Birmingham was singularly lame and inconclusive, and it cannot be said that he or any of his friends gave any sort of strength to the Government position. Reference has been made more than once to the speech of Mr. Balfour, which was the single effective harangue from the Treasury Bench. Its effectiveness was, however, due to its flagrant injustice. Everybody knows that the Judges had acquitted Mr. Parnell and his friends of all complicity with the Phoenix Park murders, but Mr. Balfour will have it that the Land League, at any rate, was implicated because of the flight of Egan, Sheridan, Brennan, Walsh, and Byrne, and because of the language of the Dublin Nationalist press in that troublous time. This is a specimen of the style adopted by the most capable debater on the Treasury Bench, who wrought himself up into a perfect fury of passion to hurl his insults at his political opponents, and sat down pale and trembling, quite exhausted by his effort. Mr. Balfour has some claims to be a logician, and it was promptly put to him that with his views he ought to move the expulsion of the Nationalists. But upon this point he and all his colleagues were wisely dumb. So far from thinking of taking this course, this same statesman (Heaven save the mark!) is about to confer upon Ireland a Local Government Bill, which will be worked to a certainty by the persons he has lately so indecently denounced. Thus do Tory governors govern Ireland!

It was not to be supposed that the Irish party would suffer so much without endeavouring to get in a blow or two on their own account. They revived the question of the collusion of the Government with the *Times*, and gave some remarkable fresh evidence on the subject. Mr. Timothy Harrington was able to produce certain telegrams sent in cypher by Mr. Soames to his agents in America, telling them to seek the aid of the British Consul at New York, who was instructed to aid them. The *Times* was also found in negotiation for the evidence of General Millen and of P. J. Sheridan. The latter demanded a big sum—as much as £25,000—and it appeared that the money was actually lodged in the bank in London to be transferred to him by cable message. Yet, according to the *Times*, Sheridan was a murderer of the worst type. Surely this was tempting

the evil one. It does not matter that the negotiation fell through, and that Sheridan afterwards (as we are told) was anxious to come to London for £1000. Nor does it improve the case for the *Times* that this, being done long after the collapse of Pigott, had reference to the civil actions which were then still pending against the *Times*. Mr. Sexton, in his very fine speech, threw some further light on the subject. The *Times*' agent promised, it seems, the large sum demanded by Sheridan if the evidence given were "satisfactory." Being asked what he would consider "satisfactory," the agent replied, "they want evidence to the effect that Parnell was a party to the Phoenix Park murders." In this case, as in previous interviews with the convicts Nally and Delaney, the *Times*' agents made frequent profession of being able to speak for the Government as well as for the *Times*, and when this point was pressed against Ministers all they could say was that the *Times*' agents acted without authority. Mr. Sexton also set in lurid light the extent to which the Tory condonation was carried in 1885. "The Tory party," we are told, "paid some of the Irish candidates' expenses. The Tory candidates and the Irish organisers were as thick as thieves. The two parties shared each others' committee-rooms. The Tories paid for Irish placards and some of the expenses of the Irish organisers. When they talked of the money that came from Patrick Ford, let them remember that in 1885 Tory money and the money of Patrick Ford went into the same purse." There was no reply to this from the Treasury Bench, but the assertion was still made that there was no condonation in 1885 of the previous incidents of Irish agitation, and that there was no compact or alliance between the Tories and Mr. Parnell. And in the end, Mr. Gladstone's amendment to Mr. Smith's motion was rejected by 71—339 to 268.

The last night of the debate was full of interest. It has already been said that Mr. Gladstone's speech made a great impression among the Tory rank and file. There was a good deal of grumbling at the line of the Government, and there is reason to believe that private representations were made to Mr. Smith that he would do well to alter his motion so as to give some kind of satisfaction to the Nationalists. Ministers met in secret, but nothing was done. A couple of days later Mr. Jennings—one of the Conservative members for Stockport—gave notice to add to Mr. Smith's motion words reproaching the conduct of those who had "launched accusations of complicity in murder based mainly on forged letters." It may be mentioned here in passing, that the North St. Pancras election had been declared in the interval. Whether this had anything to do with the production of the amendment or not it is impossible for us to say. But the amendment was at once put down as the work of Lord R. Churchill, the friend and patron of Mr. Jennings. It created a great stir in Tory and Unionist circles. The whips were desperately concerned at the prospect of the division, and it was now that

they brought into play all those influences of which mention is made earlier in this article. Fortunately for them, what might have been a serious movement became quite harmless by a rupture between the friends of the amendment. Mr. Jennings had expected Lord Randolph Churchill to speak in support of the amendment. For reasons of his own, however, Lord Randolph chose to speak on the main question. And a remarkable speech it was. He impeached the whole proceedings of the Government in connection with the Special Commission. They were, he said, thoroughly and hopelessly tainted and vitiated by their utterly unconstitutional character. The Government, he declared, had upset the law of the land in order to harass political opponents; had deprived those whom they charged with crime or criminal offences, of the safeguard and benefit of a jury; whilst, as an executive, they had constituted a special tribunal of their own, and selected judges to try their adversaries, at the same time imposing upon these adversaries a heavy pecuniary fine. Further, these proceedings had been carried out by a ruthless use of the closure in debate; they were arbitrary and tyrannical in every sense. And the one great result of all had been—what? “Pigott—that ghastly, bloody, rotten fœtus, Pigott, Pigott, Pigott!” Lord Randolph (seeing that he might be charged with speaking too late) mentioned that these views were not newly formed; that he put them into writing and sent them to Mr. Smith when the Commission Bill was passing the House. He believed now that he ought to have spoken out at the time, but he held his tongue to save himself a storm of calumny and imputation. It was to prejudice the independence of the Judges to ask Parliament to sit as a court, of review upon the report of a judicial tribunal; the Report should be let alone. There was much more in the same vein, and Ministers had a very bad three-quarters of an hour. By-and-by Mr. Jennings got his chance and made a sorry exhibition of himself. He had not, he said, been prepared for the speech they had heard. It was so hostile to the Government that it had considerably embarrassed him. He complained of the surprise which had been sprung upon him; refused to move his amendment because, forsooth, he must dissociate himself from any attempt to “stab his party in the back,” and protested that the amendment had not been framed in any spirit of hostility to the Government. The occupants of the Treasury Bench fairly chortled in their joy at this collapse, and if Mr. Caine had not offered to father the amendment, there is no knowing how the debate would have ended. As it was, Mr. Goschen and Mr. John Morley wound up with rival speeches. The former threw his ægis over the Attorney-General until the worthy Sir Richard wept visibly on the Treasury Bench. As to Mr. Morley, he further prosecuted his personal quarrel with the *Times*, calling it a “dirty organ,” and quoting against it Pope’s line—

“Like a tall bully, lifts its head and lies.”



The division came at last, and it was then seen that the Government majority had dropped to 62—321 to 259. In the minority were Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Staveley-Hill, and Mr. Leonard Courtney—once a leader-writer for the *Times*. Mr. Caine, of course, told for his amendment. The whips' books showed more than a dozen Conservatives, and an equal number of Liberal-Unionists absent from the division and unpaired. This fact is an eloquent proof of the way in which the Government are losing control of their friends. When they took office three and a half years ago their normal majority was 115.

A good deal will be heard of this debate, which has been taken in certain quarters as marking "the beginning of the end." It is not a little remarkable that whilst it was going on the Government had two nasty blows in the country. The North St. Pancras election resulted in the return of the Gladstonian candidate and former member, Mr. Bolton, by a majority of 108—2657 to 2549. In 1885, when Mr. Bolton was first returned, his majority was 465; in 1886 he lost the seat by 261. It is admitted by our opponents, as a little examination of the returns shows, that our friends in North St. Pancras are 277 votes stronger than when the party was united in 1885. This is highly significant, and taking North St. Pancras as a type of the constituencies which slipped away from us in 1886, we ought now to recover some fifteen of the metropolitan seats. But a worse blow for the Government was the election at Stamford, caused by the elevation of Mr. Lawrence to the judicial Bench. This division of Lincolnshire was thought to be hopeless in 1886, and was not contested. The previous year Mr. Lawrence had won by 1101. Now the Tories have kept the seat, but the majority has fallen to 282. This is a sign of the times indeed. If it means anything, it means that we shall win hand over hand in the rural districts, as well as in the urban constituencies, when the general election is taken. At Stoke-on-Trent, where Mr. William Leatham Bright retired, Mr. G. Leveson-Gower, a former Liberal whip, has been returned by a slightly increased majority over that of 1886. Mr. Gower had, however, to fight the most powerful Liberal-Unionist name in the district, and may be said to have done uncommonly well. To beat the record made by a son of John Bright is of itself no little achievement. The appearance of the Tichborne claimant (Orton) in this election was prevented by the fact that he could not pay his share of the nomination fees. At the time of writing an election is pending in the Ayrshire group of burghs which we captured a couple of years ago by the narrow majority of 53. If our opponents can do anything they ought to win here, since they had a magnificent majority in 1886.

A defeat for the Government in the House of Commons on a prominent question may be mentioned here as further showing that

demoralisation has set in. On the motion to go into Committee of Supply on the Army Estimates, General Hamley moved that the deficiencies of absolutely necessary equipment for the Volunteers should be made up by the State. Mr. Chamberlain supported him, challenging the Government to say whether they really looked upon the Volunteers as a part of the national defensive forces. If so, he argued there could be but one reply to this demand. The War Office authorities, however, thought otherwise. Mr. Stanhope and his subordinate, Mr. St. John Broderick, recited all they had done in recent years for the Volunteers, talked of the inadvisableness of still further swelling the charges of the department, and wound up by suggesting again that the additional equipment might yet be found by local subscriptions from persons who did not serve in the force. General Hamley would have withdrawn his amendment, but this the House would not permit, and on a division it was carried, greatly to the chagrin of Mr. Stanhope. Thirty Tories went against the Government, partly to revenge themselves for the way in which they were forced to vote in the Special Commission debate. Finally, the Government have lost credit for the way in which they managed a certain recent criminal proceeding. The suspension of Mr. Labouchere for a week, for refusing to take the word of Lord Salisbury, drew an enormous amount of attention to the circumstances of this affair. It is clear that because the son of a Tory duke was implicated, the highest members of the Executive were consulted as to the wisdom of a prosecution—a thing we venture to say quite unheard of. Twice were the facts put before the Lord Chancellor as a criminal lawyer, and twice was it decided that there was not sufficient evidence to go upon. Next, Sir Dighton Probyn, a friend of the suspect, saw the Prime Minister, and learned from him that further evidence was possibly forthcoming—that, in fact, matters were serious. An hour or two later the suspect had fled the country, though it is said that Sir Dighton Probyn made no sort of communication to him. And then, when the criminal had disappeared, the Attorney-General, who had really got no more evidence, caused the issue of a warrant. The only comment we make on these facts is that there is much to explain. They may be capable of innocent interpretation, but we confess it is not easy for an outsider to make it. And it is to be remembered in this case that months ago, two poor men were convicted of offences in which Lord Arthur Somerset is said to have been incriminated. One naturally asks if the case of these men was put before the Lord Chancellor and the Prime Minister.

The debate on the Address in the Commons was not concluded when we last wrote. It has produced a remarkable controversy. Mr. Acland raised the question of free education, of which, spite of the Prime Minister's language at Nottingham, no

mention was made in the Queen's Speech. He was told from the Treasury Bench that the Government would deal with the subject, but that they must choose their own time. It was pretty clearly hinted, too, that when they did take it up, they would see that the Voluntary schools were not hurt by the change, and much was said of the cost of supplanting these schools by Board schools. The capital sum necessary was put at £28,000,000 sterling, whilst to abolish school pence, and to replace the present voluntary contributions, another £2,600,000 per annum must be added to the Education estimates. Mr. Chamberlain was very severe upon the waste which would be involved, and spite of his preferences, he was willing to free the schools by treating Board and Voluntary schools alike—i.e., by adding to the grant the amount of the present school pence. As to public control, that was impossible and ridiculous as put forward by the Radicals. They could not have the School Board going into a Voluntary school, but he thought they might have some authority chosen by the School Board or District Council to sit on the School Committee, and exercise some kind of supervision over the application of the increased grant, without controlling or overriding the Voluntary management. Mr. Mundella, who had spoken in the absence of Mr. Chamberlain earlier on, had thrown out an important suggestion as the Opposition compromise on this matter, and subsequently it was repeated by Mr. John Morley, and accepted by Mr. Sexton for the Catholics. Briefly, it was to adopt the Scotch system; to allow any school which has a distinctly sectarian character, to be managed by its own sectarian authority; but to give side by side with this a publicly managed school or schools, where the conscience clause if needful at all shall be in operation, in order that the parent may have a choice for his children. In putting this compromise forward, the Jews and Catholics were mentioned by way of illustration only. Mr. Chamberlain instantly fell upon the scheme in a letter to the *Times*, and, spite of explanations, he has continued to denounce it as a compact to secure Catholic votes and to ruin the Church of England and Nonconformist schools, for the benefit "of the most proselytising sect in the country." So far it may be said he has not got much sympathy. But it may be admitted that the Opposition plan promises to be an expensive luxury, and that if it is accepted by the sects a considerable time must elapse before it can be fully applied. Mr. Chamberlain's counter-scheme is the complete negation of all Mr. Chamberlain's principles, but we are not prepared to say, if his plan of control can be made effective, that it should be rejected without consideration.

The debates on Home Rule for Scotland and for Wales which came up on separate amendments to the Address, were equally unsatisfactory. Dr. Clarke claimed for Scotland a separate Legislature to deal with domestic affairs, but we failed to gather in reading his speech

whether he desired a separate administration for Scotland and a separate Exchequer. There was the utmost variance of opinion among Scotch members on the question, and though Mr. Gladstone was willing to allow that Scotland had a right to deal with its own private Bill legislation, and that the country had a grievance on the score of Parliamentary delays, he declared that the mind of Scotland was in such a state of flux that he must maintain an attitude of reserve. Dr. Clarke's amendment was defeated, and a second amendment moved by Mr. Donald Crawford, to refer Scotch domestic matters to a sort of Grand Committee of the Scotch members sitting in Scotland, "at such times and under such conditions as may be desired by the Scottish people," was also rejected in a small House by a majority of 40. As to Mr. Thomas's amendment for Welsh Home Rule, the less said about it the better. To set up a Welsh State Office in London, to be presided over by a Minister "acquainted with the national characteristics of Wales," would, in our opinion, be a gigantic piece of centralization, and in no sort Home Rule. The amendment was a grave mistake, and Mr. Thomas took a sensible course when he withdrew it. As a matter of fact, the Welsh Liberals are seriously divided upon this subject, and opinion is even less unformed than in Scotland. Yet we find the more ardent spirits of the two "nations" meeting together at the National Liberal Club, and "demanding" not only Home Rule for themselves, but Home Rule for England! This, of course, is a necessary step in any scheme of federal Home Rule, but we venture to think that it is a trifle premature. We shall see what response English Liberals make to the invitation to go into conference with the Scottish and Welsh enthusiasts.

The House of Commons has shown its anti-Irish spirit by destroying on successive Wednesdays two Irish Bills of a perfectly legitimate character. Mr. Foley had a measure for reforming the election of poor-law guardians in Ireland, but because it was proposed to limit the number of *ex-officio* members of boards to a third of the whole—surely a reasonable thing enough—Mr. Balfour opposed it, and the Bill was practically withdrawn. In the other case, Dr. Commins had prepared an elaborate Bill to give the full benefit of previous land legislation to the tenants. Legal interpretations have done much to prevent the realisation of the good intentions of Parliament. Mr. T. W. Russell supported the Bill, but the Attorney-General for Ireland somewhere scented the principle of "prairie-value" in the measure, and it was incontinently thrown out by 231 to 179 votes. Meanwhile things go on in the old way across the Channel. Now and then the Government get check, as in the Clongorey case, where they arrested seventy persons, including the parish priest, for disobeying the rescript of a magistrate issued under a statute of Edward III. The offence was one of creating "waste,"

by putting up shelters on the homestead of a Mrs. Kelly for the benefit of her neighbours who had been evicted. The Plan of Campaign had been in force on the estate, and Mrs. Kelly had been allowed to pay her rent on condition she afforded her co-tenants this accommodation. It was found that the rescript had not been duly served, that the arrests under it were consequently bad, and as the magistrates could not agree whether certain of the defendants were liable for unlawful assembly, the whole thing fell through, to the immense satisfaction of the Nationalist party, who had already begun action in Parliament on the subject. *Per contra*, the Executive has scored in getting the Superior Courts to overrule Judge Waters, of Waterford, on the now famous bail case. And evictions go on apace. Tipperary has been made a desolation by the way in which Mr. Smith-Barry is dealing with his defaulting tenantry. It is pleasant to note, in conclusion, that Mr. Parnell is continuing to bring into Parliament, as seats become vacant, a new type of representative—the Protestant Home Ruler. We have had Mr. T. A. Dickson, now we have Mr. Webb, a Quaker, and Mr. Knox, a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, will shortly take the seat vacated by the death of Mr. Biggar. This policy is an awkward fact for the good souls who will have it that the Irish Parliamentary party is nothing more than a Jesuit band working in the interests of the Pope.

The House of Lords has—to vary Mr. Gilbert's words—"done nothing in particular, and done it very well." Lord Milltown's Bill for flogging armed burglars has been re-introduced and read a second time. It should hardly get through the Commons.

At the time of writing there is just room for hope that the threatened great strike of coal-miners will be arranged, though in many districts the men have been a couple of days out of the pits. We think the masters have acted well in this matter; first by offering to submit their books to the inspection of auditors appointed by the men, and next by offering to refer the demand for 10 per cent. more wages to arbitration. The men have rejected arbitration, but have agreed to accept a 5 per cent. increase now and the rest in July. Many masters have assented to these terms, and it seems that in any case the strike cannot be general. South Wales, Northumberland, and Durham are not concerned in the quarrel. The latest colliery "accident" in South Wales has happily been less disastrous than that at the Llanerch pit a few weeks ago. But both have been terribly fatal, and unfortunately both seem to be due to the use of naked lights in the mines. This practice has actually been defended by witnesses heard by the Coroner in the Llanerch inquest. An intelligent miner said that with all the risks in a fiery seam like that of South Wales, he preferred the naked light, and for this reason—that there was infinitely more danger from the falling in of the roof (which could be better detected by the naked light) than from an outburst of gas.

*May 1870*  
**NOTABLE BUDGETS.**

A REVOLUTION in the finances of the United Kingdom has been wrought during the last half-century. Fifty years ago deficiencies were chronic, and almost every conceivable article of use or consumption was taxed; now almost an entire sweep has been made of taxable articles, and the normal condition is a substantial surplus. During the five years which preceded Sir Robert Peel's first Budget in 1842, the revenue had not once met the expenditure, the aggregate deficits being £7,587,000; and in four of the five years the deficits had arisen from failure of revenue, not from increase of expenditure. The country was disturbed; there was great scarcity of employment; the necessities of life were extravagantly dear, much of their dearness being caused by excessive taxation; the new Poor Law was very unpopular; the Chartists were increasing in numbers and influence; and serious disturbances were always imminent. The adoption of the penny post in 1839 seriously crippled the Exchequer, and was vigorously opposed by Sir Robert Peel and the Conservative party. The country was at that critical juncture at which increase of taxation diminished the revenue; the resources of the country were overtaxed; some recuperative treatment was essential. The Budget of the Liberal Government of 1841, which proposed to try the experiment of a considerable reduction of taxation, was defeated, and Sir Robert Peel came into office. Mr. Goulburn was Chancellor of the Exchequer, but Sir Robert Peel himself assumed the responsibility of the financial measures, and was impressed by two considerations: first, to restore the credit of the country; and secondly, to relieve commerce and manufactures from the burdens which were crushing them. After reviewing, in his Budget speech, every other possible proposal, and dismissing them, he boldly appealed to the owners of property to submit to the renewal of the income-tax, which had been rejected by the House of Commons at the conclusion of the great wars and never since revived. He had previously been much opposed to a property tax, and now proposed to limit its duration to three years and its rate to sevenpence in the pound.

By this means and some minor taxes, Sir Robert Peel anticipated turning the deficiency of £2,570,000 into a surplus of £1,800,000, two-thirds of which he proposed to devote to the reduction of the

abolition of the duties on about 750 articles in the tariff. Sir Robert Peel's reputation alone carried these proposals; his own supporters disliked both the reduction of the duties and the imposition of the property tax, but they rallied to his support against the vehement attacks of the Whigs. Lord Brougham, in the House of Lords, and Lord John Russell, in the Commons, fiercely assailed the proposals, the latter declaring with particularity of detail his intention to renew the attack at every possible stage of the proceedings. The results of the year's finance were disappointing; instead of the anticipated surplus of £631,000, there was a net deficiency of £2,421,776, partly arising from the estimates including a whole year's income-tax instead of six months only, and partly from the excise and customs realising £2,000,000 less than the estimates. There was, however, this great gain: it was clearly shown, first, that indirect taxation could not raise the country from its financial difficulties; and secondly, that the income-tax was an even more powerful and beneficent engine of finance than its supporters had maintained. The following year more than atoned for the defects of its predecessor, yielding a surplus of £4,165,000, thus amply vindicating Sir Robert Peel's measures; and in the third year, notwithstanding further reductions of taxation to the extent of £400,000, a surplus of nearly £5,000,000 was realised, in addition to a gain on the year of nearly a million and a half by the alteration of the time of paying dividends. In three years, so great was the success of these measures that a chronic financial deficiency had been changed into a magnificent and growing surplus, and the credit of the country had been so raised that Consols, which on the accession of the Government stood at 89, had reached 99, and in 1844 the rate of interest payable was successfully reduced from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., without any addition to the capital of the debt. The year 1845 terminated the period for which the income-tax had been imposed, and it was estimated that the surplus revenue would be almost sufficient to dispense with that inquisitorial and irksome impost. The Budget was looked forward to with great interest. Sir Robert Peel, however, boldly announced in the Queen's Speech that a renewal of the income-tax would be proposed, and in the second week of the Session himself made a statement in the House of Commons of the proposals of the Government.

The nation had been taught by the effectual process of experience that reduced duties might yield a larger revenue; notwithstanding the reductions and abolitions of the last three years the revenue was as large as ever, and was increasing. Sir Robert Peel determined to make another effort in the same direction, and, in order to obtain the necessary funds, to renew the income-tax for a further term of three years. The sugar duties were reduced by 11s. 3d. and 12s. 5d. the cwt.; all remaining export duties were removed; the duties on

cotton wool, and on about 430 other articles, were entirely abolished; the excise duties on glass and on auctions were at the same time swept away; the estimated loss by the whole of these operations was £3,308,000, and the estimated surplus £672,000: the actual result was a surplus of £2,380,000, nearly a million of which came from the growth of customs and excise beyond the estimates. In the following year, 1846, Sir Robert Peel again undertook to introduce the financial measures of his Government, and proposed a further reduction of duties to the extent of £1,000,000, including the reduction of the duties on corn to a low rate, on a sliding scale, with a provision that on the 1st February 1849 they should be entirely superseded by a charge of one shilling a quarter on grain of all kinds. After these operations a surplus of £777,000 was anticipated, the actual result was a surplus of £2,765,000. The career of the Government closed with this Budget; aided by abundant harvests, and by the impetus which railways and machinery gave to commerce, the wisdom of Sir Robert Peel had guided the country from a condition of financial distress, to one of great prosperity; he freed commerce from irritating burdens which were crushing it, by remitting taxes to the amount of £8,206,000; he increased the balances in the Exchequer by £5,000,000, so that for the first time in modern experience it became possible to dispense with the use of deficiency bills; he reduced the capital of the debt by £7,000,000, and the annual charge by £1,500,000; he bequeathed to his successors the organisation of the income-tax as a powerful instrument for use in emergency, and to the whole population of the kingdom the inestimable blessing of cheap food.

The successor of Sir Robert Peel was Mr. Gladstone. From the retirement of the former in 1846 to the introduction of his first Budget by the latter in 1853, the income-tax had been renewed for various periods, and subject to constant opposition, but was still regarded as only a temporary impost, and the method of its assessment gave rise to severe and continued criticism. Sir Charles Wood had repealed the window-tax, and substituted the house duty on houses of the annual value of £20 and upwards; Mr. Gladstone had agreed with Mr. Disraeli in opposing the form of the house duty, and the exemption of houses under £20 of annual value, as so weakening a possible source of considerable revenue as to almost make the income-tax a permanent necessity. Mr. Disraeli, in April 1852, renewed the income-tax for one year, to afford the Government time to mature their financial measures, and on the assembling of a new Parliament he introduced his Budget on December 3, proposing to renew the income-tax for three years, in order to relieve shipowners, sugar planters, the malt and tea trades of some of the burdens pressing upon them. He was defeated, the Government resigned, and Mr. Gladstone assumed office as Chancellor of the Exchequer.



Mr. Gladstone had a difficult task, less difficult doubtless than that of Sir Robert Peel, but still difficult enough to test the resources of a master of finance. One great advantage Mr. Gladstone enjoyed in common with Sir Robert Peel, his character and his abilities commanded at once the confidence of the country. It soon became clear that public opinion on matters of finance, which for seven years had wavered and oscillated from one leader to another, had found a rallying-point; the nation felt that it once more had a financier to be trusted and followed.

Mr. Gladstone's Budget speech was, in the words of Sir Stafford Northcote, one "of unusual power, which not only obtained universal applause from his audience at the time, but changed the convictions of a large part of the nation, and turned, at least for several years, a current of popular opinion which had seemed too powerful for any Minister to resist." The chief effort of the speech was to put an end to the many and various attempts which were being made to alter the structure and assessment of the income-tax. In a passage of thrilling interest, Mr. Gladstone described what the income-tax had done to save the country under Mr. Pitt, suggested that if it had been called into operation earlier the national debt would not have existed, pointed out the possibility of future use in time of emergency, and earnestly entreated Parliament not to enfeeble this powerful weapon, by constantly nibbling at it with experimental alterations and concessions in the mode of its assessment: he then showed that it would be possible to dispense with it at once by imposing some other charges; but, while denouncing any attempt to make it a permanent tax, urged its continuance for seven years more, at a declining rate, in order to effect further reforms in the customs tariff. Incomes of from £100 to £150 a year were for the first time taxed, but at a lower rate, and also for the first time the tax was extended to Ireland. In this Budget Mr. Gladstone began his efforts for the benefit of Ireland, by remitting the debt of four and a half millions which had arisen from advances made for the relief of the sufferers by the famine. The duties on 123 articles were abolished, and those on 133 more were reduced; and the amount of premium paid for life assurance was, within certain limits, exempted from the income-tax. To accomplish all these purposes some additional income was required, and Mr. Gladstone, not discouraged by the failure of others before him, made a successful attempt to raise the duties on spirits in Ireland, with the professed object of ultimately equalising them in the three kingdoms, an end which was attained five years later. This was not, however, the boldest of his efforts; reverting again to the operations of Mr. Pitt, he reminded Parliament that when Mr. Pitt imposed legacy duty on personal property, he also proposed to charge real property with succession duty, but the latter part of the scheme was rejected. Mr. Gladstone skilfully used the ob-

jections to the income-tax as bearing too heavily on skill and intelligence as compared with property, as a reason why property should bear some compensating burden, and found that compensation in a succession duty; even he, however, was not bold enough to propose to assess this on the same basis as the legacy duty. Not the capital value of the property, but the capital value of the life interest of the successor was charged; moreover the payments were extended over eight half-yearly instalments, while legacy duty on personalty was charged on the entire capital, and payment in full required at once. Although this measure could not be regarded as a settlement of the question, it was a valuable recognition of the equity of the charge, and Mr. Gladstone was entitled to the gratitude of the general body of taxpayers for the boldness and the skill with which he made a breach in so strong and hotly defended a fortress. Mr. Gladstone concluded his speech with a forecast of the next seven years, during which the income-tax was to be levied, and an estimate that it would at the conclusion of that period be possible to dispense with the tax without laying any other burden on the taxpayers; these expectations were not realised, the Russian war and bad harvests intervened, and all forecasts were falsified; but looking back over this period, with the actual results of the years in view, there is reason to believe that had peace continued Mr. Gladstone's expectations would have been realised. It is admitted by all parties that while the speech itself was a marvellous exhibition of intellectual vigour and of rhetorical skill, the measures proposed were not less remarkable for political sagacity, and their successful operation enabled this country to bear with ease the financial burdens of the Crimean war, which might otherwise have seriously disorganised its finances and imperilled its credit.

From 1853 to 1859 the Russian war, the Indian Mutiny, and the wars with Persia and China not only made large demands themselves on the public Exchequer, but fostered a spirit in favour of expenditure for war preparations, which reduced the tasks of the successive Chancellors of the Exchequer to efforts, more or less of a temporary nature, to raise the necessary sums, and forbade any important attempt to lighten the burden of taxation in any direction. The year 1860 found Mr. Gladstone again at the Exchequer; it was the year which had been looked forward to as the period at which the annual charge of the debt would be reduced by £2,146,000, and also the period fixed for the termination of the income-tax; and it was further memorable as the year of the conclusion of the commercial treaty between France and England, negotiated by Napoleon III and Mr. Cobden. In view of these important matters, Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement, about two months before the usual time, on February 10; pointing out that if the tea and sugar duties were renewed at the figures fixed in 1853, before the outbreak of war, and the income-tax was abandoned as previously arranged,

there would be, notwithstanding that six months of income-tax would be outstanding for collection, a deficiency of £9,400,000. A rapid survey showed, first, that apart from the permanent addition to expenditure resulting from the war, there would have been a balance of revenue sufficient to dispense with the income-tax; and secondly, that the wealth of the country had increased rapidly, and was fully equal to all the charges levied upon it. With so large a deficiency to face, any ordinary Chancellor of the Exchequer would have been content to pursue the humdrum policy of the last five years; but Mr. Gladstone had different ideas of the duties of his office with reference to the trade of the country, and the cultivation of its resources for future requirements; he insisted that it was "the duty of Parliament to take some onward steps in that career of commercial improvement which, perhaps more than any other cause, has contributed to confirm the prosperity of the country, and the security of its institutions, under the auspices of the Sovereign beneath whose rule it is our happiness to live."

The proposals which Mr. Gladstone brought forward, and the skill with which he manipulated a number of sources of revenue, which, without adding any appreciable burden to taxpayers, considerably increased the funds at his disposal, rivalled in boldness and sagacity the measures of 1853. Not content with the remission of customs duties to the extent of £1,737,000 involved in the French treaty, Mr. Gladstone proposed to reduce other customs duties to the extent of £1,039,000, also to repeal the excise duty on paper, and reduce certain other excise duties, to the extent in all of £990,000 within the year. The number of articles on which duty was chargeable stood in 1845 at 1163, in 1853 at 466, and he now proposed to reduce it to 48, of which 15 only were strictly for revenue purposes. To accomplish all this, the renewal of the income-tax at tenpence in the pound was necessary. With some trifling exceptions, Mr. Gladstone passed all his proposals through the House of Commons, including the measures required by the treaty of commerce with France. The House of Lords rejected the proposal to repeal the paper duties, thereby causing a serious conflict between the two Houses, and a public demonstration which ensured the passing of the measure when introduced again by Mr. Gladstone in the next Session. A bad season caused a loss of nearly two millions in the revenue from excise, and a deficiency on the year; but the general estimates of the results of the important changes were wonderfully accurate. This Budget practically closed the struggle against protective duties, and while it was the crowning triumph of Free Trade principles, it at the same time confirmed the reputation of Mr. Gladstone as the greatest living master of public finance.

During the six following years Mr. Gladstone remained at the Exchequer, and although wars and rumours of wars imposed such burdens on the country as seriously to interfere with his measures,

he succeeded during the years 1864-6 in remitting taxation to the extent of thirteen millions; and in the course of his Budget speech in 1864, referring to the panic about the possible exhaustion of our national coal-fields, very earnestly urged upon the country the duty of rigid economy in public expenditure, and raised again the question of the continuance of the income-tax, pointing out that it was the most powerful weapon for defeating attempts at public economy. The opportunity to dispense with the income-tax occurred in 1874, and Mr. Gladstone finally discharged himself of all responsibility in the matter by offering to the country that boon, and affording them the opportunity of declaring their decision at the polling booths; the decision was against him, and Sir Stafford Northcote, assuming office at the Exchequer, appropriated the surplus to other purposes. It is difficult to believe that such an opportunity will recur; the income-tax will now probably remain as a permanent source of revenue.

The names of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone stand out conspicuously as the great financiers of this century; have they a successor? Mr. Lowe introduced some brilliant Budgets, but his ill-fated match-tax will always be remembered, and his cynical temperament forbade his obtaining popular favour. Sir Stafford Northcote was a respectable and prudent administrator, but never attempted anything above mediocrity. No successor to Mr. Gladstone has yet appeared, unless Mr. Goschen can claim that rank: one feat he has accomplished which will preserve his name from oblivion—the conversion of the National Debt and reduction of the interest. Mr. Gladstone attempted this in 1853, but the approaching shadow of the Russian war prevented him carrying his proposals to a conclusion; Mr. Childers attempted it recently, but the opposition of the Conservative party defeated him; Mr. Goschen, having the support of that party, seized the opportunity, and with considerable astuteness outwitting the bankers and others who held most of the stock, successfully accomplished the task; he is entitled to the credit of having used the occasion well, for the benefit of the taxpayers. Beyond this, Mr. Goschen's financial measures have weakened the prophetic rather than established reputation which had been accorded to him. Mr. Goschen was fortunate in the time at which he assumed office; his predecessors had suffered, to use his own words, from "a period of commercial and agricultural depression"; but the tide had turned, and he has had the flowing tide continuously with him. Using another simile, he said in his first Budget speech, "the soil is in a much better condition than it has been in the commercial and industrial world, and more likely to yield a good harvest"; the revenue returns each year have handsomely supported this expectation, and the prosperity has been fully recognised by Mr. Goschen in his statements. Years of national prosperity are the occasions to grapple with great questions of finance which require equitable ad-

justment. Mr. Goschen has been in a position of especial advantage for another reason. The Conservative party, which usually opposes all reform, have not only been his supporters, but have looked to his financial abilities as one of the main supports of their claim to the confidence of the country.

There were three matters of the first importance requiring treatment—the readjustment of the relations of Imperial and local finance; the settlement of the death duties on a more equitable basis; and the ever phronic matter of the reduction of the National Debt. Mr. Goschen has attacked all of these problems; has he settled any one of them? The question of local taxation was one which Mr. Goschen had made peculiarly his own. It was by a Parliamentary inquiry made at his suggestion, and largely guided by him, twenty years ago, that the fullest information had been obtained, and the clearest principles laid down on the subject. The problem arose from the large growth of the burden of local taxation pressing chiefly on the less wealthy and the poorer classes, while the enormous growth of wealth in personalty, and in the equally enormous increased value of ground rents, escaped almost free. In seventy years the assessment of land had increased 75 per cent., while the assessment of houses increased 725 per cent. It was in the towns that the difficulty pressed—how to make owners of large floating fortunes, and owners of continually aggrandising land values, bear their fair share of the burdens falling on householders. There was also another issue—how to avoid the evil principle of “lump sum” grants from the Exchequer, which not only make the sufferers contribute to their own relief, but also encourage extravagance in expenditure, and undermine the system of local government, which has been the mainstay of our political liberties and aptitudes.

There were ready to Mr. Goschen's hands two funds which would have exactly met all the conditions—the house duty and licenses of various descriptions; and, moreover, it was notorious that these did not yield the revenue which, under proper local management, they ought to yield. Mr. Goschen declined to hand over the house duty; possibly the knowledge that under local management the country mansions of his political friends would be compelled to pay on some nearer approach to a fair assessment, was not entirely inoperative in this decision. He partially handed over licenses, and gave from the Exchequer one-half of the probate duties; this makes personalty contribute to local burdens, but it retains all the evils of the “lump sum” grants; it continues the confusion of Imperial and local funds; it fails to meet the injustice of the assessment of country houses, and it leaves entirely untouched the enormous growth of ground values. But this is not all. In the distribution of the amounts so obtained, instead of mainly relieving the overburdened householders in the towns, the largest portion was directed to the rural districts. The result is that some future Chancellor of the

Exchequer will have to readjust the matters which in every direction are confused and inequitable.

As to the death duties, the anomalies were and are so great, the favouritism to real estate so enormous, that a separate article would be required to discuss them. Mr. Goschen did not attempt any real grappling with the subject, such as might have been expected from Sir Robert Peel or Mr. Gladstone; he indulged, as is his custom on all questions, in a little tinkering, which while it enables his party to assume that the question has been dealt with, leaves all the worst features untouched. He said that giving half the probate duty to local funds, left the charge for Imperial purposes at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on lineals; he proposed to raise succession duty to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and thus equalise the two; but, until reminded by Mr. Gladstone, he ignored the fact that probate is charged on the full value, and succession only on the value of the life interest, and as most inheritors are well advanced in years the value of the life interest is small: he did not ignore another injustice, but deliberately increased and extended it; probate duty has to be paid at once, and in the event of another death paid again; succession duty was spread over four years, and in the event of death liability ceased; Mr. Goschen deliberately extended this term to eight years. The issue is that the anomalies of the death duties are worse than before, for the extension of the four years to eight is a more serious evil than the addition of half per cent. is an advantage.

The reduction of the National Debt is the third question, and it is on this that Mr. Goschen prides himself; he tells us with wearisome iteration and egoism, that he has done more than any of his predecessors to reduce the debt. During the years of industrial and agricultural depression, 1881-6, the debt was reduced by £31,000,000, notwithstanding the charge of the Egyptian war; during the last three years of increasing prosperity and absolute peace, it has been reduced £28,000,000, a slightly larger average; but the progressive effect of the terminable annuities, created by Mr. Gladstone and others, accounts for a considerable slice of this increase; the growing prosperity of the country for the remainder. The more interesting question is, What has Mr. Goschen done to assist the further reduction of the debt? His predecessors did much: Mr. Gladstone by the creation of terminable annuities, and Sir Stafford Northcote by fixing the charge for the debt at £28,000,000, provided for a continually increasing fund wherewith to reduce the debt. Mr. Goschen's first act as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a year of profound peace and prosperity, was to reduce this to £26,000,000, thereby cutting away £2,000,000 annually from the sum available for the reduction of debt; when told that he was beginning a disastrous movement which would lead to further inroads on the fund, he indignantly repudiated such a probability; but two years later, when by the conversion of the debt he saved £1,500,000 a year of interest, which might have

gone to the reduction of the capital, he further reduced the fixed charge to £25,000,000, so that on this question of reduction of debt, on which Mr. Goschen prides himself so much, his action has been to undermine and whittle away the prudent and far-seeing arrangements of his predecessors.

The other matters which have been touched in Mr. Goschen's Budgets are of minor importance; the charge that he deliberately manufactured his surpluses by under-estimating revenue is not a fair charge. It is the duty of a Chancellor to be safe, and to ensure a surplus of some kind; if it proves to be larger than was anticipated it decreases the debt by so much more. In this Mr. Goschen is on a sure foundation; he is equally entitled to credit for ingenuity in promoting the circulation of silver and making the profit pay for restoring the gold currency; his contribution towards Volunteer equipment and Police superannuation are useful acts, and the reduction of the postage to India and the Colonies deserves commendation. But there is a serious list on the other side. His appropriation of the profit of the issue of the local loans stock to Imperial purposes was a direct violation of his own Act of Parliament. The attempt to forestall an expected profit on Suez Canal shares six or seven years hence was worthy of Mr. Micawber; his pet van and wheel tax, proposing to inflict on many industrious traders a charge equal to an income-tax of from 1s. to 2s. in the pound, while leaving agriculturists quite free, will be as memorable as Mr. Lowe's match-tax; his withdrawal of hawkers' licenses was a gross injustice to rate and tax-paying traders; his attempts to deal with the stamp duties and his reduction of the duty on currants have, in the opinion of the Stock Exchange and the fruit trades, made "confusion worse confounded"; while his references to the tea trade have been resented as a slander on one of the most industrious and honourable sections of the trading community. Finally, no condemnation can be too severe for the support given to the proposal to entitle publicans to compensation from national funds; a proposal more pregnant with corruption and fraud was probably never submitted to Parliament.

One act of Mr. Goschen's remains to be noticed—his recognition of the principle of graduated taxation by the imposition of 1 per cent. duty on estates over £10,000. Although this was tainted with the vicious principle of assessing real estate only on the life value, and Mr. Goschen, afraid of the ultimate development of this recognition, has since endeavoured to minimise its importance, true Liberals will remember it and press it home to a point which will make wealth contribute fairly, and fully to national burdens.

The question remains, How does Mr. Goschen compare, as a financier, with Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone? And the only possible answer is,—An irretrievable failure.

JOSEPH ACKLAND.

## NATURAL SELECTION AND THE SPIRITUAL WORLD.

"DARWINISM," the title of the delightful book which Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace published last year, is a splendid proof of an absence of jealousy not too common, even in scientific minds; but it is also an express declaration of what Mr. Wallace understands by the evolution theory. Mr. Wallace is more "Darwinian" than Darwin himself. Darwin put forward "natural selection" as only one among the factors of organic evolution: he did not attempt to set aside the old Lamarckian theory of the hereditary transmission of the effects of use and disuse, although natural selection was his own discovery—a discovery made independently by himself, and by Mr. Wallace. It has been lately said by Professor Patrick Geddes (*Evolution of Sex*, p. 304), that there is at the present time "a growing tendency to limit the importance of natural selection." This statement will doubtless cause great satisfaction to the Duke of Argyll; but I do not know what proof can be given for its truth, except the opinion of Professor Geddes himself, of Mr. Herbert Spencer, and of a few American biologists; according to biologists such as Mr. Russel Wallace, Professor Weismann and Mr. E. B. Poulton, the tendency is now all the other way. And this is admitted by Mr. Grant Allen; in spite of his admiration for Spencerian psychology, in a very remarkable review of Professor Weismann's papers *On Heredity*, in the *Academy* of February 1. In any case, there is this difference between natural selection and the other alleged factors of organic evolution, that they are speculations, more or less metaphysical in character, whereas natural selection is a fact; it is a cause actually at work in nature, and the only question is, whether it is able or not to explain all the phenomena. On the other hand, Mr. Spencer's "differentiation and integration," Professor Geddes's "see-saw of" "anabolism and katabolism," Mr. Cope's "bathmism" or growth-force, which acts by means of retardation and acceleration (and which Mr. Darwin found himself quite unable to understand), remind us of the theories about Nature that were thrown out by the older Greek philosophers—above all, of the "love and strife" in the poetic system of Empedocles. Such general formulae may help to make the universe more intelligible to us, and may possibly suggest profitable lines of investigation to the inquirer, who is otherwise too



bewildered by details ; but they stand on a perfectly different level from the everywhere present fact of the struggle for existence, in which those organisms that happen to possess useful variations have a better chance of succeeding and transmitting these useful qualities to offspring than those less favourably equipped. The hereditary transmission of the effects of use and disuse has been very readily accepted by the popular imagination, and has indeed bulked most largely in current versions of evolution, because it has fitted in perfectly well with traditional beliefs about hereditary curses, and with the theological doctrine of "original sin." "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." People who make stale jokes about the ancestral ape wearing off his tail by sedentary habits imagine that they are putting Darwin's theory in a comic light, but have probably never taken the trouble to understand natural selection. The facts which, it has been supposed, can only be explained by the transmission of the effects of use and disuse, turn out, however, either not to be facts at all—a misfortune that often happens to "facts"—or to admit of a perfectly satisfactory explanation by the *cessation* of natural selection. Thus the various contrivances of civilisation, including spectacles, make defective vision less injurious to human beings nowadays than it was in the hunting stage ; and thus the prevalence of shortsightedness, so far as it cannot be accounted for by what takes place in the individual life-time, does not compel us to suppose that it has been produced by the hard study of past generations "poring over miserable books." At least the cautious verdict with regard to the transmission of the effects of use and disuse appears to be "not proven." Mr. Wallace even rejects Darwin's theory of sexual selection, except in so far as it consists merely in the struggle between males and can therefore be resolved into one aspect of natural selection.<sup>1</sup> So that no one could apply the theory of natural selection in a more complete and thorough going way than Mr. Wallace—until he comes to the middle of his very last chapter. He fully accepts "Mr. Darwin's conclusion as to the essential identity of man's bodily structure with that of the higher mammalia, and his descent from some ancestral form common to man and the anthropoid apes"; but, when Darwin goes on to derive the moral nature and mental faculties of man from their rudiments in the lower animals in the same manner and by the action of the same general laws as his physical structure, Mr. Wallace refuses to follow him. He holds that there is "a spiritual world," and that just as the glacial epoch supervened on the geologic causes previously in operation, so an "intellect", from this spiritual world has produced man's moral sense, his mathematical, artistic and metaphysical faculties.\* He considers himself driven to this supposition because he believes that these faculties cannot be accounted for by natural selection. Yet, after

<sup>1</sup> *Darwinism*, pp 274, 283, 296

\* *Ibid.* p. 463 ; comp p 476.

saying this, Mr. Wallace declares at the very end of his book that "the Darwinian theory, even when carried out to its extreme logical conclusion, not only does not oppose, but lends a decided support to a belief in the spiritual nature of man. It shows us how man's body may have been developed from that of a lower animal form under the law of natural selection; but, it also teaches us that we possess intellectual and moral faculties which could not have been so developed, but must have had another origin; and for this origin we can only find an adequate cause in the unseen universe of spirit." Now, however true Mr. Wallace's beliefs about the spiritual world may be, it does seem odd to say that they are a carrying out of the Darwinian theory "to its extreme logical conclusion." One has heard of the young officer who said that Aldershot was a very nice place—to get away from, and of the schoolboy (was he Irish?) who defined sugar as "what makes your tea so nasty when you don't put any in"; and so we may say that the Darwinian theory supports Mr. Wallace's views when he gets away from it, and when it is *not* applied to mental and moral evolution. This "spiritual world," which is postulated in order to account for the moral sense and the higher mathematics, is also to serve as an explanation of "the marvellously complex forces which we know as gravitation, cohesion, chemical force, radiant force and electricity, without which the material universe could not exist for a moment in its present form, and perhaps not at all, since without these forces, and perhaps others which may be termed atomic, it is doubtful whether matter itself could have any existence. And still more surely can we refer to it those progressive manifestations of Life in the vegetable, the animal and man—which we may classify as unconscious, conscious and intellectual life—and, which probably depend upon different degrees of spiritual influx." Now, if gravitation, cohesion, &c., are the spiritual world, the ordinary man may well ask "Where is the non-spiritual world?" and an idealist philosopher, where such can be found, will echo the question in a slightly different tone. Nobody denies that gravitation, chemical affinity, life, consciousness, intelligence, represent an ascending scale. But if the word "spiritual" be extended to the lowest of them, does this mean anything very different from extending the word "material" to the highest of them? There is, indeed, a difference between naming the ultimate principle of the universe from the higher end of the scale or from the lower; but it is a difference in ontological theory and not on a question of physical causation, with which alone the biologist, as such, has to deal.

Leaving this matter for the present, let us see what reasons Mr. Wallace has for rejecting natural selection as an explanation of the moral and intellectual nature of man. At first sight one is rather startled by the fact that, in order to prove that these are not derived from the rudiments of them in the lower animals, Mr. Wallace takes,

<sup>1</sup> *Darwinism*, p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 476.

not some characteristic that seems to belong to all men and all animals—a characteristic such as Professor Max Muller considers language to be—Mr. Wallace takes the mathematical, musical and artistic faculties, which, according to his own statement, are to be found only in a very small number of human beings. According to the somewhat arbitrary statistics of the schoolmasters consulted by Mr. Wallace, only about 1 per cent. of the boys in an English public school “have any special taste or capacity for mathematical studies,” and only about 1 per cent., again, “have real or decided musical talent.” The line of argument appears to be as follows: (1) These faculties, not being useful to man in the struggle for existence, could not have been developed by natural selection. (2) If they had been so developed, they would have been present among human beings with some approach to equality.

The question of the origin of the moral sense is put aside in *Darwinism*<sup>1</sup> as “far too vast and complex to be discussed” there; but some discussion of it cannot well be avoided, because it forms the best initial test of the adequacy or inadequacy of the theory of natural selection outside the merely biological domain. The late Professor Clifford’s brilliant but too brief contribution to ethics contains a more thorough-going application of the theory of natural selection to moral ideas than is to be found even in Darwin’s *Descent of Man*; for Darwin, in rather hesitating fashion, was still inclined to admit the transmission of acquired habits.<sup>2</sup> Natural selection is also the principle of explanation adopted in Mr. Leslie Stephen’s *Science of Ethics*, and, more explicitly still, in Mr. S. Alexander’s *Moral Order and Progress*.

To put the matter very briefly: Man starts with social instincts of the same kind as are to be found developed in different degrees among the lower animals—and when we say “instincts” it is as well to remember what Mr. Wallace himself has so emphatically pointed out with regard to the lower animals: “Much of the mystery of instinct arises from the persistent refusal to recognise the agency of imitation, memory, observation and reason as forming part of it.” The social instincts of man cause him to live in groups; and the struggle for existence is carried on, not merely between individual and individual, but between group and group, this second type of struggle leading to a mitigation of the fierceness of the struggle within any particular group. Thus, it is to the advantage of a tribe to have as many capable fighting members as possible: they are no longer mere rivals for food, but comrades in pursuit of a common end. Those qualities that tend to the success of the tribe in its contest with other tribes are “selected” for survival, because the

<sup>1</sup> *Darwinism*, pp. 470, 471.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 462.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.*, p. 125 (edn. 2). “We may expect that virtuous habits will grow stronger, becoming fixed perhaps by inheritance.”

<sup>4</sup> *Darwinism*, p. 442.

tribes that display opposite qualities fail and are destroyed. What promotes the 'welfare of the tribe is approved; what hinders it is condemned. "Conscience," as Clifford puts it, "is the tribal self." We must not, and need not, suppose any deliberate reflection in a primitive stage. In conduct, as in other regions of Nature, variations take place "spontaneously"—i.e., they happen to take place—how, or why, they take place is, as yet, a matter of pure speculation. The favourable variations are selected—i.e., the unfavourable variations lead to the failure and extinction of the organisms which display them. It is the same principle of natural selection which applies to variations in structure and functions, in habits, in implements: useful variations are continually being "selected," prior to any deliberate reflection about the adaptation of means to ends. Thus, in the ethical sphere, we have a selection of types of conduct; and these, the product of natural struggle and not of reflection, are the earliest moral ideals. Now all this has been put, as clearly as possible, by Mr. Wallace himself, in his earlier work, *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection* (1870), pp. 312, 313:—

"Capacity for acting in concert for protection and for the acquisition of food and shelter; sympathy, which leads all in turn to assist each other, the sense of right, which checks depredations upon our fellows; the smaller development of the combative and destructive propensities; self-restraint in present appetites; and that intelligent foresight which prepares for the future, are all qualities, that from their earliest appearance, must have been for the benefit of each community, and would, therefore, have become the subjects for natural selection. . . . Tribes in which such mental or moral qualities were predominant would, therefore, have an advantage in the struggle for existence over other tribes in which they were less developed, would live and maintain their numbers, while the others would decrease and finally succumb."

But for the evolution of morality it is not necessary that the struggle should always go so far as the extinction of all the individuals practising a hurtful custom. Successful types of custom are *imitated*, and the disappearance of injurious customs before their successful rival customs may take the place of the disappearance of the persons or tribes who practise the injurious customs. It is a further step, and a step that, more than anything else, marks the rise of civilisation out of barbarism, when deliberate reflection leads a group of human beings to change their customs in order to escape the penalties of suffering and extinction which come from a blind adherence to old customs that once promoted the well-being of the community, but in changed circumstances have now become hurtful. Natural selection does not cease to operate; but the conflict of ideas takes the place of the competition of animal organisms. *Imitation* and *reflection* impose a check on the mere physical struggle for existence; but, according to this evolutionist theory of morality, they are themselves the product of natural selection, and not of a distinct cause; and in the effects which they

produce upon customs and ideas, the principle of natural selection is not left behind, but applied in a new sphere.

The growth of morality implies, of course, an advance in brain development, by the elimination within each group of the inferior members, and, in the struggle between groups, of the inferior groups. Further, we must notice the immense acceleration of progress rendered possible by language; and Mr. Wallace does not seem to deny that the most complex of human languages differs only in degree from the sounds and gestures by which animals convey their feelings and emotions to one another. Language renders possible the transmission of experience irrespective of transmission by heredity. By means of language and of social institutions we inherit the acquired experience, not of our ancestors only, but of other races, in the same sense of "inheritance" in which we talk of people inheriting land or furniture or railway shares. Language renders possible an accumulation of experience, a storing up of achievements, which makes advance rapid and secure among human beings in a way impossible among the lower animals. Indeed, might we not define civilisation in general as the sum of those contrivances by which human beings become, to a great extent, independent of the effects of heredity? Civilisation is healthy when it works along with heredity. Mankind never becomes completely independent of the effects of heredity. And the highest civilisation falling to the inheritance of a decaying race will not prevent, and may even hasten its decay and extinction. Yet, though the race perishes, the civilisation need not be lost, but may be handed on to worthier and more capable heirs.

Consciousness, reflection, language, are all obviously advantages in the struggle for existence to the beings possessing them; and it is much the simplest hypothesis to ascribe the origin of all of them to natural selection, instead of postulating a mysterious intrusion from without. As Mr. Wallace himself says: "In a scientific inquiry a point which can be proved should not be assumed, and a totally unknown power should not be brought in to explain facts when known powers may be sufficient."<sup>1</sup> But once there, consciousness, reflection, language, carry human beings rapidly a long way from the point at which those animals were, among whom these variations first appeared. Mr. Wallace contends that the large brains of savages and the absence of hair from the greater part of the surface of the body are both inexplicable on the theory of natural selection.<sup>2</sup> Big brains and bare backs are, he thinks, no advantage to the savage, and therefore cannot be the subjects of natural selection. Is that so? The hairless *homo* with only a gorilla's brain would obviously be at a disadvantage compared with the gorilla, and would therefore disappear; but the disadvantage of a hairless skin has been more than compensated by the greater size of the brain. The

<sup>1</sup> *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection*, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 348.

hairy covering has ceased to be a necessity, and, therefore, has not been selected; and natural selection has thus offered no impediment to the probable operation of sexual selection (in Darwin's sense) in furthering its disappearance. Greater brain development has allowed the luxury of sexual selection to operate without fatal results to the race. In any case, the greater the brain power, the less the necessity of a hairy covering. Nay, the progress of a hairless race has been brought about by the very needs of clothing and shelter adapted to varying circumstances, but only where these needs could be met because of greater brain development. Thus the difficulties, raised by Mr. Wallace with regard to these two differences between man and the animals taken separately, disappear when they are taken together.

Mr. Wallace himself<sup>1</sup> argues that the power possessed by savages of travelling through trackless forests comes not from instinct but from the use of the perceptive and reasoning faculties. Does not that imply the requirement of very considerable brain power? The civilised man uses his slightly greater brain power in many different ways, and therefore fails where the savage succeeds, his observation and his memory of what he has perceived being much less exact. As to the fact that the hair has disappeared from the back of *homo*, but not completely from the chest, is not that correlated with the adoption of the erect position? and that, again, with the differentiation of hands and feet? And the advantage in both these differences between man and the lower animals is to be found in the use of missiles and tools.

Mr. Wallace, in his treatment of the moral sense, raises the usual Intuitionist objections to Utilitarianism. He holds that "there is a feeling, a sense of right and wrong in our nature, antecedent to, and independent of, experiences of utility."<sup>2</sup> Now, it is just the application of the theory of natural selection in ethics that has removed the force of the Intuitionist objections to the pre-evolutionist Utilitarianism. It was easy enough to point out that men's moral judgments were not as a rule based on calculations of consequences, but were the result of unreflecting feeling. To the Evolutionist ethics this is no objection. The theory of natural selection makes it a necessity that those societies should survive in which the promptings of the tribal self have been most felt; and the mysterious "feelings" on which the Intuitionist falls back are thus accounted for. At the same time it is perfectly easy for the Evolutionist to explain why some virtues have been earlier recognised than others, and why the same virtues have in different times and places been regarded as good or bad according to circumstances to the Intuitionist. When reflection is possible, the only form of morality becomes possible, the useful — that is, that which promotes the welfare of the social

<sup>1</sup> *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection*, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 354.

organism, is not recognised merely by the failure of those societies in which it is not pursued, but by deliberate reflection on the part of the more thoughtful members of the society. The utilitarian reformer reflects for his society, and anticipates and obviates the cruel process of natural selection by the more peaceful methods of legislative change. The theory of natural selection thus gives a new meaning to Utilitarianism. The beginnings of morality are explained, and Utilitarianism is thus saved from the reproach of being applicable only to highly developed races. And, secondly, the well-being of society, as the ethical end, is substituted for the individualist conception of a balance of pleasures and pains. "Happiness," says Professor Clifford, "is not the end of right action. My happiness is of no use to the community, except in so far as it makes me a more efficient citizen; that is to say, it is rightly desired as a means and not as an end."<sup>1</sup>

Natural selection can be likewise applied to the explanation of the origin and development of social and political institutions, provided that sufficient account be taken of imitation and reflection, as produced by natural selection and yet counteracting the merely animal struggle for existence; provided also it be recognised that an idea or institution may supplant another without the individuals concerned being necessarily killed off in the process. Natural selection operates in the highest types of human society as well as in the rest of the organic realm; but it passes into a higher form of itself, in which the conflict of ideas and institutions takes the place of the struggle for existence between individuals and races.

The mathematical, the musical and the artistic faculties, the metaphysical faculty and "the peculiar faculty of wit and humour" are considered by Mr. Wallace to supply the strongest arguments for the insufficiency of natural selection to account for mental evolution. They are, he argues, of no use to savages, and yet men must have these faculties latent in them, because they appear, though in very different degrees, among civilised races. Now, in the first place, is it true that the mathematical faculty and the musical faculty are of no use to the lower races in their struggle for existence? Undoubtedly, the primitive savage who became abstracted over a mathematical problem, like Archimedes, would die of starvation, if he did not rather help to ward off the same calamity from wild beasts or other wild men; but the savage who could count more than five would have an advantage over his rivals who never got beyond the fingers of one hand; the mother who could remember her children would succeed in rearing fewer than the mother whose domestic arithmetick was always accurate; and the people who believed that two and two made five, whether by this means or by any other feigned by John Stuart Mill, would be at a disadvantage in fighting with the people who had established the doctrine that two and two made

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures and Essays*, ii. p. 173.

four. Plato says that Agamemnon would have been a poor sort of general, if he had not been able to count his own feet; and Mr. Wallace himself admits the military advantage possessed by the Romans from their engineering skill. An Archimedes, though perhaps less useful as a heavy-armed soldier than a stupider man, was certainly of service to his fellow-citizens in the carrying on of war.

Elementary arithmetic and elementary perceptions of spatial relations would undoubtedly be useful to men living even under the rudest conditions, and the brains capable of very simple mathematical thinking may well enough be the ancestors of brains capable of more complex processes, if the capacity has been accumulated by favourable combinations of parents occurring again and again. It is not difficult to account for the fact that mathematical genius of a high order is sporadic, and rare even amongst the most civilised peoples. Mathematical genius of a high order, not being useful to the individual or the tribe under rude conditions, nor even under more advanced conditions, has not been selected as a characteristic of the species *homo* (in the way in which the capacity for language has been); nor has it become the special characteristic of any marked division of mankind, like any particular race-characteristic. Under rude conditions such high scientific capacity would even be injurious; under fairly settled conditions it ceases to be injurious, its possessor is under no great disadvantage, and thus under favourable conditions mathematics is cultivated. Senior Wranglers may not always be useful members of society; but the society that can produce mathematicians of the quality of the average Senior Wrangler is likely to have good stuff in it for success in the struggle with Nature and with other societies. We must remember also that, besides the inheritance of a brain, which by accumulated favourable combinations of ancestry is capable of high mathematical thinking, various other conditions are requisite for the proper development of this capacity. The art of writing, the Hindoo system of numerical notation, access to printed text-books, the opportunity of going to Cambridge, are all conditions for the development of latent inherited mathematical capacity. On the other hand, suppose a man born even at the present day with the brains of a Newton (and perhaps with the feeble body of a Newton also), in the backwoods of Western America, he would probably prove a failure, unless he could turn his gifts to the purposes of commercial speculation: he would be very unlikely to become an eminent mathematician.

The same arguments will apply in the case of music. It is most certainly untrue that music has not been useful to tribes in their struggle for existence. The bard has been an inconsiderable factor in stimulating the courage and inspiring the cohesion of human societies. "Let who will make the laws of a nation, let me make its ballads," said Fletcher of Saltoun; and, if for "ballads" we put the more general term "songs," the truth is still more obvious. The



*Marsellaise* and *Die Wacht am Rhein* count for a good deal in the successes of French and German armies. It was not in vain that, according to the legend (which expresses at least a general truth), the Lacedæmonians received from Athens the lame schoolmaster, who inspired their drooping courage by his songs; nor that the militant Dorians in general understood the value of music. Music having established its social utility in this way, there can be no doubt that sexual selection (in Darwin's sense) would come in to help the preservation and increase of any musical talent that appeared. The bard would be among the first kind of man admired for some other quality than fighting power or skill in hunting, and therefore preferred as a mate. Would not Mr. Wallace's arguments against the utility of music apply equally to the songs of birds, and would he not be equally justified in inferring that the lark and the nightingale manifest, as certain of our poets have said, an influx from the spiritual world?

But, of course, a highly complex music, if it could have arisen among savages, would be of no use to them. In order that the great musician may appear, not only must there be the physical inheritance of a fortunate combination of musical qualities, but there must be sufficient leisure and civilisation to save this comparatively rare "variation" from being speedily extinguished; and he must appear among a people who inherit socially a sufficient musical notation and sufficiently complex musical instruments. Mr. Wallace's objections seem plausible in great measure because he isolates the different forms of intellectual and æsthetic capacity, as if these could exist separately. The music of savages is the germ of the music of Beethoven; but the gap between them is filled by advance, not in music only, but in a vast number of other things.

As to what is quaintly called "the metaphysical faculty," it will be generally agreed that if a man in the Stone Age, instead of sending his flint arrows at something he could eat, had sat down to think how motion was possible, or how contradictory movements are united in his handling of the bow, he would, like his mathematical brother, have supplied the cave-bear with a dinner, and not *vice versa*. But what appears as metaphysics among races who have won leisure to reflect, and have developed a complex language capable of expressing abstract ideas, had appeared long before as the mythopœic tendency. This, perhaps, should be called, in Weismann's phrase, a "by-product" of the human mind. Reflection about the adaptation of means to ends for the purpose of everyday life is undoubtedly useful to the savage; but reflection on these subjects makes reflection possible on other subjects also, subjects quite unprofitable at first, such as "What makes the thunder?" "Why is the sea salt?" "Why do the flowers come up in the spring-time?" and so on. And language, being useful for the communication of practical projects, serves also to hand down even "useless" myths and

legends. Yet are they useless? They serve to cement the bond between man and man, and thus have not been crushed out in the struggle for existence till they come to be a direct hindrance to progress; and then they disappear before the growth of scientific ideas, except where they linger on as old wives' fables or children's fairy tales. Yet the crudest mythology is primitive science and primitive philosophy.

"The peculiar faculty of wit and humour," which "appears sporadically in a very small percentage of the population,"<sup>1</sup> is, we may allow, not useful, except, indeed, in so far as saying clever things keeps people from doing foolish ones; and since wit is only a bye-product of a complex brain, and not a variation useful to the species, we can easily account for its sporadic appearance and for the fact that most men "joke wi' deeficulty." Wit can only exist where there is a general high average of brain power, which is useful. When life can be taken with some amount of ease, then, and only then, do this and the other bye-products get a chance and escape destruction.

Thus natural selection, which is a true cause, seems a perfectly adequate cause to account for the appearance of all those intellectual capacities of human nature; and, if social evolution be rightly understood, there is nothing contradictory to natural selection in the occasional appearance of very high forms of them. The spiritual world need not be summoned as a mysterious counterpart to the material world, intruding itself into the latter, wherever the scientific investigator finds a difficulty at first sight, or the person who is afraid of science finds a convenient place of refuge for threatened beliefs. If a spiritual principle is recognised in the universe, it must be recognised not in the exceptional, not in holes and corners, like those intramundane spaces in which Epicurus stowed away the gods; but a spiritual principle must be recognised everywhere, as the condition of our knowing a system of nature. And Mr. Wallace is perhaps on the way to a sounder philosophy when he speaks of even gravitation as "spiritual," and sees, though dimly, that mere matter can have no existence, than when he uses intuitionist arguments about the moral sense, and treats mathematics and music as miracles due to a spiritual influx pouring in like a glacier on the world which is known to the ordinary biologist. Not in an exceptional *origin* of certain rare human qualities, but in the *nature* of human thought, however originated, is to be found the true spiritual greatness of man; and in the achievements of the human spirit in the institutions of society, in art, in religion, in science, and in philosophy is to be read, if anywhere, the little we can read about the ultimate meaning of the universe.

DAVID G. RITCHIE.

<sup>1</sup> *Darwinism*, p. 472.

## THE FRIENDS OF RUSSIAN FREEDOM.

THERE has been within the last few months quite an outburst of interest in Russian political affairs. We have heard even more of the domestic condition of Russia, and of the crimes of the Russian Government against its own subjects, than of its aggressive Eastern tendencies. And this is, indeed, not surprising when the flood of light which has been let in upon those dark places of the Russian territory, which are full of the habitations of cruelty, are considered. We rather marvel that there has been so much delay in the expression of indignation with the aggressor, and in the desire to aid the oppressed, than that now the cup of wrath should be filled to overflowing. For long years have Russian refugees of conspicuous ability lived among us, and told us in serious works, dealing with many aspects of the many questions, of the woes and wants of the Russian people, the grinding despotism of the Russian Government, and the shameful cruelties of the Russian repressive policy. For many months has Mr. George Kennan, in article after article of absorbing interest, told us in the pages of the *Century* of his long and minute investigation of the entire prison system, both in Russia and in Siberia, by which the Government of the Czar seek to purge from the hearts of the Russian people the poison of free thought and free speech. The free people of the civilised world have passed by as though these things were nothing to them. But now, in these very days, the *Times* newspaper has given room to stories of brutal wrong-doing to political prisoners at Yakutsk and Kara, which are so bad, that public attention has been fairly aroused, and even the great Russian Government has had to endeavour to explain them away. The explanation is an admirable illustration of the truth of the proverb, *qui s'excuse s'accuse*.

But the question of the good or bad treatment of the political prisoners, whether in Russia or Siberia, is by no means the only one of great importance. They have committed political crimes, or, in other words, have ventured to think for themselves, and to speak out their thoughts, and have done so with the certainty that, sooner or later, a very definite punishment would be meted out to them, or they have been so unfortunate as to be suspected of political crime, and have suffered such punishment. In either case, we ask for no proof because they condemn without trial. There is, no doubt, that which

is well calculated to arouse feelings of burning indignation in all honest minds in the pitiless civil war which is constantly waged by the Government of the Czar, not only against men of thought and refinement, but even against delicate women and young children; in the breaking up for ever of happy homes; in the slowly maddening torture of solitary confinement; in the long, weary, painful march into exile; in the enforced silence of a barren life in bare and inhospitable regions. The whole system of administrative exile is an abomination; the brutal outrages upon the powerless captives, the mere narration of which thrills the civilised world with horror, are infamous and almost incredibly base. But into these things the enlightened Russian Government will not permit the outside world to inquire. They will join with other nations to ameliorate the condition of the thief, the forger, and the murderer, but they will punish political criminals in their own way; and, for them, alike if tried and sentenced by a packed court, or if exiled without trial, the gallows, the knout, the solitude of the Siberian arctic region, the society of Siberian savage tribes, insufficiency of food, clothing, and prison accommodation, are specially reserved.

Yet, shocking as this state of things is, and revolting to all feelings of humanity as the atrocious cruelties in different districts of Siberia which have lately been revealed are, "there is some soul of goodness" even in them. It is possibly even best for the moment—(if, indeed, it were but for the moment)—probably best for the cause of freedom in Russia, that these evil things should be. In the busy crowded life which men lead it must be something which cannot be overlooked which makes them turn away from the home-objects which are the constant subjects of their thoughts and endeavours, to give time and attention to what is passing in other lands. Even in the busiest life there is opportunity, there is necessity, for both. Humanity has its claim as truly as the Family and the State have theirs. "This shouldst thou have done, and not have left the other undone," is the true doctrine in such matters, and too often those who say that we have more than sufficient difficulties in England without troubling about those in Russia, give but little attention to the real and pressing troubles at home. But it is the recital of personal suffering which produces the speediest effect. The death of Madame Sihida from a flogging upon her naked body, which would have stirred England to madness if inflicted upon the most brutal parrotter, makes a greater impression upon the distant reader than the gradual starvation of large numbers of peasants in the ordinary course of a miserable existence. Men are led to inquire what this political crime is. They learn how every aspiration for freedom is repressed, and how the men and women who refuse to submit to such treatment are treated. They remember that the *March of Freedom* has never been watered by the

blood of martyrs. They read the last words of one about to die a shameful death: 'We must never regret such a life. Do not say that your life is spent in vain because it is spent in the midst of suffering, in exile, and in prison. To suffer the suffering of one's country, to present a living reproach to the progenitors of evil and of darkness, surely this is a noble work. If this should prove your last mission, you need not complain. You have brought your mite to the altar of the struggle for the freedom of our people.' And, as they read such words, they recognise in them the spirit of those of whom in all times "the world was not worthy."

We turn from these martyrs and their martyrdom to ask, not only whence their trials, but also what we can do to help that they shall not have suffered and died in vain; and true sympathy with them leads us to understand their teaching, and to endeavour, in however humble a way, to do that which is most in consonance with their own desires. Not that we should waste valuable time and energy in petitioning the Czar and his satraps to make the lot of the exiles easier, but that we should, in what way we can, aid the work for which these exiles are suffering. That the prisons are plague houses; that the trials, when such are held, are travesties of justice; that the lot of the prisoners is as bad as refined brutality can make it; these are not the most saddening features of the case. It is that there are prisons and banishment at all for those whose only crime is the passionate desire for freedom, and the earnest, honest endeavour to obtain for the great mass of their people the greater possibilities which freedom would give. If you make the prisons clean, commodious, and comfortable, the journey into exile easy and healthful, the life in exile industrious and useful, you have indeed made smooth the outside of the cup and the platter, but nothing more.

Russia itself is suffering in the persons of its people. There is much which is intensely interesting, much which is truly lovable about the great Russian peasantry, with their child-like simplicity, their strangely misplaced loyalty, their remarkable faculty of co-operation. And it is the patient, almost inarticulate suffering of this vast multitude, their slow starvation, their unjust taxation, their brutal and violent misgovernment, their steadily approaching and certain ruin, that compel thoughtful and earnest men, who have eyes to see and hearts to feel, to raise up their voices in stern protest against a system which fosters and perpetuates such miserable and iniquitous wrong-doing. The evils wantonly inflicted on the Russian peasantry crowd the penal settlements of Arctic Siberia with the men and women whom education has taught the sublime duty of self-sacrifice.

But we hear from well-meaning people that they are sure that

\* Kohan Barnstein who was hanged upon April 20, 1880, at Yakutok.

these matters only require to be brought to the knowledge of the Czar to be immediately remedied. This is so often said that it is worth while to examine into it a little closely. In the first place, there is good reason to believe that the Czar already knows much about what is going on in connection with political criminals. No doubt there are many things which are done by bad provincial governors upon their own motion. Thus the "ghastly story" of the slaughter of political prisoners at Yakutsk seems to have its source in the ignorance and brutality of a governor who wished to show extra zeal because his own sister was a political exile in Siberia. The *Times* looked forward to his punishment, but he has actually received official promotion. But there are other instances on record in which the Czar has himself confirmed sentences, or decided in favour of the more rigorous of alternative courses. In such a case as that of Mr. Pashkoff and Count Korff, for example, which was really one of religious dissent--tortured into a political appearance--the Czar not only himself tried the parties for holding Bible readings, but he refused to permit them to reply to their accusers, and his, and his alone, was the edict for their banishment from Russia.

But we must be fair in this matter. We bring no accusation of special inhumanity against the Czar. Questions of religious or political reform can scarcely present themselves to one in his position as they do to the ordinary common-sense observer. He has been born into, and grown up with, a certain system, of which, indeed, he is himself now the chief corner-stone. He is ruler of a hundred and twenty millions of his fellow-men, absolute and unquestionable ruler, "by the will of God." He is the direct earthly representative of the Supreme, and all doubt and discontent with his expressed will savour of blasphemy, and are worthy of condign punishment. This is not his belief alone, but that of great numbers of his subjects also. And, again, his advisers are the leading reactionists, whose doctrine is to combat the desire of reform by yet severer punishment, and more complete repression. He is surrounded by a multitude of bureaucrats, who direct a vast host of officials, and in whose hands he must necessarily leave by far the greater part of the details of administration. He is truly the principal part, the head, but yet only a part of the system of government. He is said personally to be modest, gentle, and amiable. No one accuses him of wanton cruelty or peculiar barbarity. But he is Czar, and he believes in himself and in his position. It is a position which no human being is qualified to occupy, and the more conscientious the bigot the more dangerous he is. The power entrusted to such a man is too great for any man, and yet it is limited in the worst of all ways, not by any popular control, not even by the power of popular representation, but by the bad traditions and worse preju-

dices of an all but irresponsible bureaucracy. Were the Czar as absolute in arbitrary power as Peter the Great, as unconventional and far-sighted as Prince Bismarck, and as resolute, devoted, and untiring as Mazzini, he might, indeed, strike out a bold, independent, and popular course of reform of political punishment, at all events; but, even then, he would have to rise above himself, above all the manifold prejudices of custom, education, and position, and have the will and the courage to dare greatly for those who could give him nothing in return. The many men who have written upon the situation in Russia, from Russian and English standpoints of widely differing position, agree that there is one way, and one way only, in which the Czar can ensure at once the safety of his own throne and the happiness of his people, and that is by granting them the right of free and representative government. Upon the nature and extent of the representation alone there is a difference, but the weight of opinion is in favour of the doctrine that no merely deliberative assembly would be of practical avail.

But, again, we must not overlook the fact that the Czar would seem, in spite of his amiability and gentleness, to be a man of fixed ideas, and these somewhat limited in their character. We may take the ripening of the difficulties with Finland, in consequence of the Czar's Russianising policy, as a proof of this. Finland is an interesting country, peopled by some two millions of inhabitants, three-fourths of whom are of Eastern extraction, claiming kinship, amongst European peoples, with the Hungarians only. The other fourth are descended from Swedes, Sweden having ruled the land from the twelfth century until it was annexed by Russia in 1808, when Alexander I. was Emperor. He pledged himself to allow his new subjects the rights and privileges which they had enjoyed under Swedish rule, including their religion and their laws. Finland was to join Russia as a Grand Duchy, and to remain a separate and self-governing State. It still has its own constitution, its Diet or Parliament of four estates, and with legislative power; the representatives of the people must consent to the raising of troops and to the imposition of taxes; the press is free; and arbitrary imprisonment is not permitted.

There is, of course, a reason for this. The Swedes were popular in Finland at the time of the Russian annexation, and the educated Finn used Swedish as his literary language, and Swedish civilisation ruled in Finland.

Now Russia required Finland merely for strategic purposes. It was not important from any manufacturing, agricultural, or commercial point of view. It was a somewhat barren country, with small industries of its own. But it was so placed that it might be, and often had been, a source of serious annoyance, and even danger, when in the hands of an enemy. So soon then as Russia annexed

it, every encouragement was given to the Finns to assert their nationality, for as they became more Finnish so they ceased more and more to be Swedish. Now their own language is becoming that of literature, politics, and law, although Swedish is still used in polite society.

And there is little in common between Finland and Russia. They are altogether different countries, politically united, but with no other union. Finland has home rule, and remains the faithful ally of Russia. There is a considerable commerce between the two countries, but they still stand apart so far as intimate knowledge of each other is concerned. And this is exactly what Finland must desire should continue to be the case, for, with her two millions of people, she is but the earthen pipkin compared to the great brass Russian vessel with its hundred and twenty millions of subjects.

But this is just what the Czar does not mean to continue. The bureaucrats about him are ceaselessly working to bring about a change. The existence of a free people at the very gate of the despotism is a perpetual source of danger and irritation. The safety of despotism lies in enforced uniformity of submission. The freer people, too, hears what is going on, knows that its independence is threatened, and feels irritated in return. Thus there are not infrequent misunderstandings and awkward manifestations of suspicion and dislike upon one part or the other, and the relationship is constantly growing more strained. Now the Czar seems at length to have become fully aware that Finland is a free country, and fully resolved that it shall be reduced to conformity with the despotic rule of the rest of his vast dominions. There may be far-reaching consequences to autocracy in Russia if he prove as stubborn in endeavouring to crush Finland as in denying any form of freedom of speech or of press to his Russian subjects.

But again I must point out that I have no wish to speak in any way harshly or disrespectfully of the Czar from the personal point of view. He simply happens to occupy a position which no man can properly fill. He has no need to take trouble to learn about anything; no need to go through careful and laborious study; for he has attained, by the mere fact of birth, a position more exalted (as the world goes) than striving or toiling can possibly give to the most brilliant of his subjects. But we shall simply lose our time if we petition him to put crooked things straight,\* even though we use the smoothest words and most courtly phrases. The sternest and simplest men frequently seem to find it difficult to speak the plain truth to monarchs; and to point out the remedy for the evils which those who surround him declare to be good, would be vain and useless.

Can we then do nothing? In the intense indignation which has been aroused by the recital of Siberian atrocities,\* the death of



women under the lash of the executioner in order that "an example may be made"; the cruel flogging of political prisoners; the hanging of wounded men, who have been shot down because they dare to petition against arbitrary orders which are practically sentences of death; is this indignation to pass away as the days go by and leave no mark? We cannot, indeed, take any direct part in the struggle of the Russian people for political freedom. They do not ask it, and it would be wrong to offer it. But not the less are we called upon to do that which in us lies to strengthen them in their hour of bitter need. It seems, at times, a vain, a hopeless task, but it is not so in fact. The civilised peoples of the world are at one upon this question. It remains for them to say so, to convince those of their brethren in Russia who are bravely struggling for the right that they are not alone in the struggle, but that they have the strong moral support, the earnest sympathy, of all who love liberty and abhor tyranny. This may seem a small thing, but the power and influence of sympathy are boundless. Not only does sympathy strengthen those who have already declared themselves, and stimulate them to continue the strife with renewed earnestness and vigour, but it encourages those, who have as yet taken no part, to come bravely forward. If once this became general, if once the men and women who are opposed to the present *régime* were to lift up their voices, if once those who naturally dread the terrible consequences of open declaration, but who agree in spirit with the declarants, were to speak out, open declaration would cease to be followed by terrible consequences, because even the autocracy of the Czar must bow before the generally expressed will of the people. Five hundred Madame Tsebrikovas would redeem Russia.

There are signs that already the sympathetic movement in Western Europe and America is having some effect. I do not attach too much weight to the disturbances at the Universities which the newspapers are curiously anxious to assure us are quite non-political; I am quite ready to believe that their immediate origin was not a political one; but it is not easy to say what is, or what may become, a political question in Russia, where every opposition to constituted authority, however trivial, is treated with severity and rigour, and religious, educational, social, charitable movements alike are looked upon as dangerous because they *are* movements. There is constant civil war in that unhappy country. Whatever is of, or borders upon, the domain of intellect, is and must be at strife with the grinding autocracy which would compel all wills to subject themselves to its own. The fact that a brave and noble woman can be imprisoned for an hour, much more sent into life-long exile, for the crime of writing a calm, faithful, respectful letter to the Autocrat himself, has shown many a doubter in other lands how bad and bitter the despotism is beneath which all the best mind of

Russia is crushed almost out of existence. This letter, and the recent intelligence from Siberia, and the knowledge of how they have aroused the indignation of the civilised world, were certain to exercise a great influence upon the young and ardent members of that body which has, with the generous instinct of youth, always led the van in the battle for freedom, and has furnished so large a quota to the roll of political prisoners and patriots. And thus the movement among the students would seem really to have strong political tendencies, and, possibly, to be of wide significance.

There is surely a special meaning in the call which the students at the University of Moscow make at this very time upon their *confrères* at St. Petersburg: "Fellow-students, you, of course, know what lot awaits those who, refusing to bear the oppression of the authorities, fearlessly raise their voices in protest, namely, exclusion from the University and deprivation of all future social and scientific activity. Only the hypocrite can lay all the responsibility for the fearful consequences of this deed upon the Administration. Every one knows that in a country where free speech is held to be a crime, nothing else whatever can be expected from University inspection. As much, if not more, guilty are those students who, sympathising in spirit with the sufferers, hesitate to join the protesting voices out of fear for their own skins. On their heads lies the ruin of their comrades. They, with their silent support of the new statutes, are also responsible for all the injustice to which these statutes lead." This is preaching which has been heard before, which will be heard again and again, which will find a sure passage to many a heart. One Madame Tsebrikova may be imprisoned for daring to speak the truth, two hundred students may be exiled and ruined, but when the thought of an entire people makes itself felt, tyranny must tremble and bow before it.

Already the response which there has been in England to the movement of the Friends of Russian Freedom, which seeks to disseminate information upon Russian affairs, has been of the most gratifying kind. The general interest which has been evoked without any great organisation or agitation is remarkable and satisfactory. One of the proudest of England's traditions is that of hospitality to the exiled and oppressed of all the peoples of the earth. Another is that of outspoken and practical sympathy with all who suffer for the sake of freedom. Now more than ever does it behove her to be true to these high traditions, because her rulers have, in the later days, seemed to lead her, from time to time, to forget and be false to them. But what rich recompense of reward there has been to the faithful? They have seen the Hungarian patriots, beaten, and cast out from their native land, landing upon these shores as refugees, whilst their country was lying beneath the feet of the conqueror. Yet a little while, and the seed they had sown in tears bore fruit in joy, and

to-day Hungary is one of the freest of European peoples. They have seen the great Italian exiles, ridiculed and traduced, sailing small merchant-ships, teaching languages, preparing in ways little dreamed of for *l'Italia una* of to-day. For long years they strove for the abolition of slavery in the United States of America, and trusted that their children's children might see the dawn of that freedom's day, and their own children have to be taught what slavery was. And thus with this great Empire of Russia, lying now in darkness which may be felt, its night too will pass. Whether freedom shall come to it in the throes of sanguinary revolution, or by just and timely concessions of popular freedom—come it assuredly will. And it is no little privilege to be permitted, in however small a way, to aid those who, as the heralds upon the mountain-top, seeing the dawn afar off, cry, at the peril of all that is dearest to them, the glad tidings to the slumberers and the watchers in the darkness far below.

• ROBERT SPENCE WATSON.

NOTE.—Madame Tsebrikova appealed in direct, forcible, but respectful language, to the Czar himself. For reply she has been transported to the Caucasus "under every conceivable condition of hardship." This is the news which the *Times* has published since this article was penned, and it strongly confirms the conclusions to which I had already come. It is well fitting that the WESTMINSTER REVIEW should aid the movement to which I have alluded. In July 1885, in answer to an appeal from M. Stepniak for sympathy from neighbouring countries, this REVIEW said: "We hope M. Stepniak's appeal will be answered. We hope that some leading statesman will show the people of this country that, whatever just grounds there may be for looking on the Government of Russia with jealousy and alarm, there is no ground for such feelings towards the Russian people; that a free, self-determining Russia would be an element of peace in Europe; and endeavour to create in our people a sympathy with the struggles of the Russians to be free, and lead them to express it by every moral means. We give our absolute internal assent and consent to M. Stepniak's statement, 'only the destruction of Russian autocracy can constitute Russia a guarantee of peace, and free Europe from external danger;' and to his appeal to 'all who are for progress, for peace, and humanity, to unite in a moral crusade against Russian despotism.'"

# DIVORCE CONSIDERED.

## FROM A WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

PERHAPS there is no subject—certainly there are very few—affecting deeply the well-being of humanity, upon which opinions differ so widely as on that of divorce. At the extreme end of the pole we find the beliefs and opinions inculcated by the Roman Catholic Church, while at the opposite end are those of a yearly increasing number of persons who can claim to have the interests of humanity at heart equally with those who differ most wide from them.

The soundness, or, in other words, the justice, of laws established to conserve the welfare of any community can only be rightly tested by computing carefully the effect of their operation in that community. And, in seeking to apply this test, the actual objects for which they were called into existence needs to be kept well in view. It is a notable sign of the times that in many parts of the world the laws concerning the marital relation are being subjected to such tests, and that, further, there is a stronger disposition than has been hitherto manifested to escape from the bondage of tradition and convention, and to consider the subject from the broader and safer ground of experience. Yet it is none the less true that, great as is that experience, the expression of it has been, hitherto, almost wholly by men. The opinions, views, and beliefs held by women on the subject of divorce, and—though perhaps not to the same extent—on marriage, have so far proved but a small factor in the work of social progress. It is true that, in their efforts to legislate on the subject, men have exhibited a strong desire to do so in the interests of women as well as in those of themselves. But as it is impossible for men to view the question with women's eyes, or, in other words, to arrive at just conclusions respecting effects the causes of which are hidden from their view, it is by no means a matter for surprise that the conclusions reached should often be incorrect, and the consequent legislation faulty. The wonder would be if the case were otherwise. That woman should, in all ages, have been the greatest sufferer under the laws relating to her marital condition, and yet have made so few efforts to secure an alteration of those laws, is not, after all, surprising when we consider the limitations imposed on her by her training and education, as well as by customs which, to her mind,

have the force of laws as inexorable in their operation as that of gravitation. Even in her revolt against the laws which she has found to be unbearable, she rarely questions their justice. Though she sets them at defiance, she does so largely on personal grounds : her revolt is not a rebellion *per se* against laws which she considers unjust, so much as a revolt against the conditions imposed on her by them. No doubt this holds good in respect to rebellion against unjust laws generally, but it is true in a special and peculiar sense in respect to the marital laws in relation to women. But personal as this revolt may be, it is nevertheless a protest against injustice—it being in the nature of injustice to beget revolt, even where the abstract principles involved are only vaguely comprehended—and, as such, should be taken into account in arriving at conclusions on the subject.

The moral consequences of the views held by women generally on this subject should not be lost sight of ; and there is no getting away from the fact that they have been disastrous in the extreme—disastrous to women first and particularly, and through them to society generally. Only in very rare cases does a woman look upon her revolt, no matter how justifiable, against the conventional laws relating to her marital relation otherwise than as a crime. Society looks at her askance, or counts her beyond its pale, and in the main she bows to the verdict, and accounts herself guilty. The union from which she has broken away may be one that could only be maintained by the sacrifice of every instinct of honour, purity, and self-respect she possessed—a union that could be nothing less than a degradation of her womanhood—and yet, in breaking away from it, so great is the effect of conventional laws on her mind that she considers her act to be a sin for which in this world there is no forgiveness, and because of which she must walk with bowed head to the grave. Even where she faintly discerns the fact that she is the victim of a cruel injustice she has small hope of the possibility of a change for the better in the laws under the injustice of which she suffers, and has a still smaller idea how to set about attempting to secure that change. The general sentiment of society—feminine society in particular—is very well expressed by the heroine of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, Thomas Hardy's well-known novel, when she says : "It is only women with no pride in them who run away from their husbands. There is one position worse than that of being found dead in your husband's house from his ill-usage, and that is to be found alive through having gone away to the house of somebody else. A runaway wife is an encumbrance to everybody, a burden to herself, and a byword—all of which make up a heap of misery greater than any that comes by staying at home—though this may include the trifling items of insult, beating, and starvation."

By the exercise of poetic justice exactly fitted to the circumstances of the case, a way out of the difficulty is found for the heroine. But, unfortunately, in real life difficulties of that nature are not solved by the exercise of poetic justice, and though many women in a moment of despair throw pride to the winds, and cut the Gordian knot by flight, they carry with them the bitter consciousness that it were better to be dead "in their husband's house of ill-usage."

In the United States the question of divorce has of late been attracting a good deal of attention, owing largely to the fact that the want of uniformity in the different States in the laws bearing upon the subject is found to be working injuriously—so much so that fresh legislation for the purpose of securing a greater measure of uniformity is considered by many to be an absolute necessity. As a means towards furthering that object the *North American Review* has lately opened its columns to a discussion on the subject of divorce; and, in its issues of November and December, it has certainly succeeded in placing, side by side, opinions and views as diametrically opposed to each other as it is possible for opinions to be. In the November issue the opinions of a dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church, of an Anglican Churchman, and of an Agnostic are severally set forth, and may be characterised as the rigid view, the moderate view, and the broad view of the question. It is worthy of notice in connection therewith that, in regard to delicacy of treatment, earnestness of tone, and desire to subserve the best interests of humanity, the last is in no point inferior to the other two.

Taking the stand it does, and arguing from the premisses it has emphatically laid down, the Roman Catholic Church can at least lay claim to logical correctness in its deductions. With a "Thus saith the Lord" for its authority, it has proclaimed the indissolubility of the marriage tie under any and all circumstances whatsoever. Yet it has, on occasions not a few, found means and ways for setting aside the laws it had itself declared to be inviolable. It is a somewhat remarkable fact, too, that the same hierarchy, which on the one hand proclaimed the exceeding sacredness of the marriage relation, constituting the ceremony initiating it one of the sacraments of the Church, should, on the other, declare its belief in its want of sanctity by imposing celibacy on all who should take upon themselves the service of religion as a vocation. Not only has the Catholic Church taken upon itself the task of keeping men and women asunder, but it has, in times past at least, separated many already joined, on the ground that they could not serve the cause of God and at the same time fulfil the relation of husbands and fathers on the one side, and wives and mothers on the other. It would be an interesting, though far from pleasant, task to trace out, in the early history of the

Christian Church the moral results of its action and teaching in this respect.

The rigid views of the Catholic Church being well known, it can surprise no one that a prelate of that Church should in the *North American Review* express views of a similar character. But it must, I should think, have been a matter for surprise to many people to find Mr. Gladstone—who, as he himself says, has “spent sixty years at the centre of British life”—holding and giving expression to views, in the December number of the same magazine, of an equally rigid character. The fact is certainly a remarkable instance of the effect of early habits and traditions over a mind whose opportunities for becoming freed from their influence have been exceptional—a mind, too, which, in so many other respects, has shown itself capable of expansion under the teaching of experience. It would, however, be a curious subject for speculation whether Mr. Gladstone’s views on the subject would have undergone any change if his personal experience of the marriage relation, instead of being of the happiest character, had been the reverse.

In taking his stand in regard to the indissolubility of the marriage tie, Mr. Gladstone frankly admits that he is not qualified adequately to supply reasons in support of that position. He, however, indicates the heads under which he considers the needful reasoning might fall. A very slight glance at them is sufficient to show how greatly he is under the bondage of ancient tradition, and how binding he considers laws instituted under social conditions of a character entirely different from those under which we live at the present day.

Here is one of his heads, and his deduction therefrom:—“That divorce does not appear to have accompanied primitive marriage. In Scripture we hear nothing of it before Moses. Among the Homeric Achæans it clearly did not exist. *It marks degeneracy, and the increasing sway of passion.*” The italics are mine. The natural inference to be drawn from such reasoning—though I scarcely think Mr. Gladstone followed it out to its legitimate conclusion—is that passion was less dominating in its sway over primitive man than it is over the products of the most advanced civilisation of the present day; that the laws—or, rather, the lawlessness—of primitive races in regard to their marital relations, constituted a higher condition of things, in that respect, than is constituted by the laws now in existence; and that, finally, degeneracy, and not a higher order of development, is the principal mark of distinction between civilised and primitive nations. The same method of reasoning, if tenable, would prove all advancement a mistake and a failure. The statement that divorce does not appear to have accompanied primitive marriage needs, however, far more conclusive evidence than is advanced by Mr. Gladstone. That the somewhat scrappy records of history which have come down to us respecting

the Homeric Achæians do not reveal the fact of the practice of divorce is no proof that it did not exist. Doubtless there were many practices in existence among that people of which no record whatever has reached us. As for the fact that we hear nothing of it before Moses, I cannot see how that is to be accepted as proof of its non-existence among the Israelites up to that time. It is very certain that Moses did not institute divorce. He simply formulated regulations concerning a custom already in practice. And as the customs already in existence among the Israelites had, like their theology, been largely derived from the Egyptians, we are enabled to arrive by analogy at the conclusion that similar customs prevailed among a people whose antiquity is far greater than that of the Israelites.

In dealing with the subject of divorce as practised by the Israelites, we must not lose sight of the fact that they, in common with other nations then in existence, were polygamists. It should also be borne in mind that the matter was further complicated by the institution of slavery. In most cases, the inferior wives, at least, were slaves. Before the institution of definite laws—whether by Moses or some other lawgiver of great authority—the marital relation was subjected to tribal rules of a very temporary character, and not considered binding outside the tribe in which, for the time being, the custom obtained. And, in respect to those customs, the rights or wrongs—chiefly wrongs—of the weaker sex received but scant attention. In a fit of anger for a real or fancied fault, or simply because he had wearied of her, a man had power to “put away his wife,” which in some cases meant simply turning her adrift, while in others, and perhaps the majority of cases, it meant selling her. As to whether he took a fresh one in her place, that was a question which concerned no one but himself—that is, his right to do so was never called in question. This position was in no way altered by the Mosaic laws on the subject, which were simply devoted to regulating the conditions under which wives might be put away. In the case of a slave-wife, if she no longer “found favour” in the eyes of her master, who was at the same time her husband, he could put her away. But in that case he must grant her her freedom. He was not to sell her. In the event of his taking another wife, the slave-wife was still to retain her privileges—neither “her food, her raiment, nor her duty of marriage” was to be “diminished.” The same rules held good if the slave became the wife of his son, as regards putting her away, or retaining her in the event of her still continuing to find favour in her husband’s eyes.

It is certain, therefore, that, whatever other Scriptures forbid re-marriage, those containing the laws of Moses, and having for their authority a “Thus saith the Lord,” do not. No one, after an unprejudiced examination of the Mosaic laws relating to divorce, could come to any other conclusion than that they dealt only with the



conditions under which a man could repudiate his wife, and that his own right to re-marry was not questioned, provided he did not overstep the limits of consanguinity, or take back again the woman he had formerly put away in the event of her having married and become widowed or again divorced in the meantime. The absurdity of supposing that a state of celibacy was imposed by the Mosaic laws on men who put away their wives is at once seen when we consider that the same laws allowed a plurality of wives. In that case the putting away of one wife, no matter for what reason, would mean the repudiation of all, no matter what the number.

But these same laws do deal very explicitly with the right of a divorced wife to re-marry. And it is a somewhat surprising circumstance that one who bows, as Mr. Gladstone does, to Scriptural authority, should have ignored that fact. I would therefore recommend for his perusal the following verses from Deuteronomy (xxiv. 1, 27):—

*"When a man hath taken a wife, and married her, and it comes to pass that she find no favour in his eyes . . . let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it into her hand, and send her out of his house. And when she is departed out of his house, she may go and be another man's wife."*

Certainly there is no ambiguity there, and the command, thus given, has all the authority of a "Thus saith the Lord."

But Mr. Gladstone contends that even the innocent party should not be allowed to re-marry; and, in support of this contention, he says that "this is a distinction unknown to Scripture and to history." As far as history is concerned, I think it not impossible to find cases where this distinction has been made. In regard to Scripture, Mr. Gladstone is right, but his being so does not in any way support his contention that the innocent party should not re-marry. In the first place, as I have shown, according to the Mosaic laws, the man's right to re-marry was never questioned, and the woman's, even when she was presumably guilty, was, in express terms, allowed. "She may go and be another man's wife" is, surely, definite enough.

It will be seen, then, that on the points on which Mr. Gladstone felt himself to be strongest—namely, Scriptural authority and tradition—his position is by no means invulnerable. Neither is the stand he takes in regard to the question, "What is the effect of divorce on the integrity of the family?" supported in a way that so uncompromising a stand needs to be supported to render it unassailable. After the statement that, "While divorce of any kind impairs the integrity of the family, divorce with re-marriage destroys it root and branch," one naturally expects to see it supported by examples drawn from the widest and fullest experience. It is, however, entirely unsupported in that way. Mr. Gladstone speaks to small purpose of the objects contemplated by marriage if he cannot at the same time show how the preservation of the mere bond is to secure these

objects in cases where union is no longer possible. Take the case of a woman whose husband has committed a crime whereby his life becomes forfeit to the State. If the sentence of the law is carried out in its entirety, she becomes free, she may marry again. But if, at the last moment, the sentence is commuted to imprisonment for life, she must remain bound to him. The same with regard to a man whose wife has been similarly dealt with, though, in that case, the evils flowing from the injustice may not be so disastrous in their operation.

If, by the integrity of the family is meant, not some abstract principle which is preserved by a strict adherence to the letter of a contract the operation of which has been rendered null and void, but its highest state of moral and physical well-being, in what way is that state secured by the enforced celibacy of either the man or the woman in such a case? The same holds good where the marriage contract has been broken, and the union completely severed, by the wilful act of either party. In many of such cases the only means for preserving the welfare of the family may be by re-marriage. A woman may be left with a family which she is altogether unable to support unaided. A man may be totally unable to provide, except by re-marrying, the care and attention his children are absolutely in need of. How, in such cases, does enforced celibacy tend to preserve the integrity of the family? Let Mr. Gladstone answer.

But, it may be urged, even the integrity of the family must give way if the only means of preserving it is by the perpetration of a wrong. We must not do evil that good may come. But is the evil so certain? Where is the wrong? Who is wronged? Not society, if the moral health of society depends on the preservation of the moral soundness of the family. Certainly not the party who, whether wilfully or by the commission of a crime, has broken the contract. On this point nothing could be more opposite than the views expressed by Associate-Justice Bradley and Senator Dolph in the same issue of the *North American Review* as contains Mr. Gladstone's own views. The first says:—

"I know no other law on the subject but the moral law, which does not consist in arbitrary enactments and decrees, but is adapted to our condition as human beings. This is so, whether it is conceived of as the will of an All-Wise Creator, or as the voice of humanity speaking from its experience, its necessities, and its higher instincts. And that law surely does not demand that the injured party to the marriage bond should be forever tied to one who disregards and violates every obligation which it imposes; to one with whom it is impossible to cohabit; to one whose touch is contamination. Nor does it demand that such injured party, if legally free, should be forever debarred from forming other ties through which the lost hopes of happiness for life may be restored. It is not reason,

and it cannot be law, divine, or moral that unfaithfulness, or wilful and obstinate desertion, or persistent cruelty of the stronger party should afford no ground for relief."

The second is equally strong. It is as follows:—

"The marital union should continue for life. The parties to it should faithfully perform the duties and scrupulously keep the obligations of the contract, that the institution may answer the ends for which it was designed—secure the happiness and promote the welfare of the parties to it, and the proper training of the offspring of the union. But suppose that, by the misconduct of one of the parties, the legitimate ends of marriage are frustrated, the happiness of the parties wrecked, and the influence of the home upon the children perverted until it was only evil. Which is wiser—to render the contract indissoluble, require the continuance of a legal union, with the misery and evil influences it perpetuates, or to relieve the innocent party of the burden of such a union, and place the children in the custody and under the care of those who will train them under better influences? There are many cases in which it is better for all concerned that the marital union should be dissolved, and in which the moral integrity of the family and the well-being of society are better conserved by a divorce than without it."

In the case of a woman deserted by her husband, or whose husband has received a sentence of imprisonment for life, or even for a long term of years, who shall say—will Mr. Gladstone?—that it would be better that she and her family should be thrown on the State for support, or that they should be forced to drag out an existence in some crowded court or alley, reeking with moral and physical impurity rather than that she should marry a man who would take that support upon himself? In regard to the woman bound to a man who has become for life merely a number in gaol, the law says, in effect—"Not only shall you be compelled to suffer in an ordinary way because of your husband's crime—as all persons connected with criminals suffer—but you shall be made to suffer in a special and peculiar sense, by being bound to him for life by a tie which, in respect to all the objects it was intended to secure, is altogether inoperative. As the head of a household, as the support and protector of yourself and your children, as the source of any comfort or happiness to you or them, the words *husband* and *father* will have no meaning. As long as the bond, which has become one in name only, remains in force, they will remain words to be spoken with bated breath—and that will be as long as he and you both shall live."

It may, however, be contended that such instances are individual cases of rare occurrence, and that it is impossible to make laws to fit such cases. Granting the impossibility—though it is by no

means certain that it really exists—it does not follow that laws should deliberately inflict an injury on a single person where such infliction is not only an injustice, but serves no good purpose whatever.

In answering the question, “Does the absolute prohibition of divorce, where it exists, contribute to the moral purity of society?”—which to some extent he does in the affirmative—Mr. Gladstone attempts a comparison that a little reflection would surely have convinced him was altogether inadequate on which to base a definite conclusion. He attempts to show, as the result of his own personal experience and observation, that the standard of conjugal morality among the higher classes in England has perceptibly declined since the passing of the English Divorce Act of 1857, and as a direct consequence of that “great innovation” in the English marriage laws, though he admits that “other disintegrating forces have been at work.” But surely no one knows better than Mr. Gladstone how misleading a comparison between a time gone by and the present must be when based merely on personal observation!

Even records would be to some extent misleading—that is, records of a certain class—in a comparison such as Mr. Gladstone seeks to institute, because scandals consequent on the violation of the marriage tie did not come before the public prior to the passing of the Act which made divorce possible in the way and to the extent they do under the law as at present constituted. One might as well try to prove from the newspaper police reports that crime of all kinds is more rife in England now than it was at the beginning of the century. Yet, judged by the records that have come down to us, is it quite so certain that the standard of conjugal morality in English society is lower than it was when George the Fourth was king? If so, it must be very low indeed. A much fairer means of arriving at a conclusion on this point is suggested by Senator Dolph in the article before mentioned—namely, “a comparison of the condition of society in countries where divorces are permitted with that in which marriage is, or has been, held to be indissoluble.” Who, after a very slight comparison, will say that the moral tone of English society, where a limited divorce law is in operation, is lower than that of Italy, or Spain, where the marriage tie is held to be indissoluble, or lower than that of France where, until recently, divorce was not permitted? Who, on the other hand, will say that it is higher than that of the United States, where divorce is granted under conditions which are not considered sufficient grounds for divorce in England? Most people would, I think, consider the estimate in which the women of a community are held by the other half of it a pretty fair test of the moral tone of that community. The moral estimate of women, as evidenced by the honour and respect in which they are generally held, is far greater in the British Islands and Germany than it is in the three continental countries

named above, and that estimate has reached a still higher scale in the United States. The force of this estimate remains pretty much the same whether it is considered as the result of laws instituted for the purpose of reducing the evils arising from incongruous marriages, or as one of the causes which contributed to the institution of such laws. For no one will, I think, deny that women are, and have been to a still greater extent in the past, the chief sufferers under marriage laws which allow of no redress and afford no ground of relief under any circumstances whatever.

Consider the effect on the minds of men naturally coarse, cruel, and selfish, of the laws which admit of no ground of relief. Such effect differs very little in kind from that produced by conditions under which women were in law, as well as in fact, the slaves of the men whom they called husbands. Under those conditions a woman was merely a chattel, a piece of goods, to be used or abused in any way most pleasing to her husband. Among the lower classes in England to-day, and not in England only, the cruelties shown by the police reports to be regularly practised on defenceless women by the men who had sworn to protect and cherish them are the outcome of a similar belief.

On the other hand, it is a well-attested fact that, in cases amongst the poorer classes where people enter into marital relations not legally binding, the women, as a general rule, receive better treatment than is the case in a similar grade of society where the tie is a legalised one. "Ah! it's easy to see the poor thing is his lawful wife, else he wouldn't *dare* to treat her so," is an expression of an opinion not uncommon in such communities.

Under laws which render the marriage bond indissoluble, or which make relief possible only in extreme cases, and then only for people who have means to sustain an expensive action, women will, and must be, by far the greatest sufferers, physically and morally. A woman's dependence, her weakness, the disabilities maternity lays upon her, all tend to make physical suffering an inevitable consequence for her of an unfortunate marriage. But, as though her sufferings physically were not enough, she is made to suffer morally to a degree far greater than it is given to a man to suffer. He may adopt clandestine methods of relief, and still retain his position in society. She must not so much as leave the shelter (?) of her husband's roof, on pain of becoming an outcast. And saddest of all is the effect produced by the verdict of society on her own mind. By it she is very often driven to become in actual truth the outcast from purity society had wrongfully and cruelly accounted her.

The laws, therefore, that prevent cruelties of this character, by affording relief from bonds which have become a degradation, do most to preserve the moral purity of women, and, through them, the moral purity of society as a whole.

JEANNIE LOCKETT.

## POLAND AND THE "QUARTERLY REVIEW."<sup>1</sup>

THIRTY years ago, when people in England did not take so much interest in Continental affairs as now, there was at least one nation whose name was in everybody's mouth. The heroism and the sufferings of the Poles, their tragic history, their indomitable vitality, roused the sympathy and admiration of all generous hearts, and several Englishmen travelled to Poland to witness the desperate struggle for freedom which was then going on there, and to study the Polish question on the spot. Among them were such acute observers of national movements as Laurence Oliphant, Sutherland Edwards, and Bullock-Hall. The result of their investigations was a conviction that against such a power as Russia the Poles, with all their splendid valour and endurance, had no chance of success; but they did full justice to the good qualities of the nation, its high culture, its quick perception, and its passionate love of liberty. In the general voice of sympathy that rose up from the English press there was but one discordant note—that of a writer in the *Quarterly Review*. And now, when in the midst of more absorbing interests Poland is almost forgotten, another writer in the same *Review* revives the subject by making a violent onslaught on the unfortunate Poles, whom he calls political imbeciles and slaveholders, and declares to be so unfit for self-government that they will never recover their independence. I will not attempt to follow him in the dangerous path of political prophecy; but as the Russian view of the Polish question which has of late years been advocated with much skill and persistency by Madame Novikoff has now found in him an English supporter, it may be useful here to point out the errors into which he has fallen, and at the same time to give a brief view of the leading facts of the past history of the Polish nation and of its present condition.

The reviewer asserts that the Poles showed an utter want of political sagacity in refusing to join Russia against Napoleon in 1811. Political foresight may present no difficulty to a writer speculating on the destinies of nations; but there is no quality more rare in the practical work of politics, and some of the worst political blunders in history were committed by nations which are among the

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Review*, January 1890.. Article entitled "Alexander I. of Russia and the Poles."

greatest and the most powerful. No one will accuse the English nation of political imbecility because by a fatal mistake in policy England lost her American colonies, or the French because they rushed "with a light heart" into a war the result of which was the loss of two of their finest provinces. Nor is it by any means certain that the Poles were foolish and blind to the real interests of their country because they preferred to cast in their lot with Napoleon rather than with Alexander I. The former was the greatest general of modern times, with a vast army whose victorious banners had passed resistlessly over nearly the whole continent of Europe, and which numbered among its best soldiers many thousands of Poles, whom Napoleon had always treated with marked favour. Alexander, on the other hand, had the reputation of being a political visionary, with amiable theories of benevolent rule which the stronger minds of his Russian counsellors always prevented him from carrying into practice. He had made many promises to his Polish friend and minister, Adam Czartoryski, but he had never done anything for the Poles, and he was the descendant of a line of sovereigns who had betrayed Poland over and over again, and had finally seized the greater part of her territory. Both Napoleon and Alexander when they wanted the help of the Poles, strove to obtain it by offering to restore them to their former independence. Napoleon deceived them; would Alexander have been more trustworthy? Like his grandmother Catherine, though without her political genius and strong character, Alexander showed, when not amusing himself with plans for the regeneration of the human race, a very keen sense of his own interests, and his astuteness and unscrupulousness in pursuing his objects gained him the appellation of "un Grec du Bas-Empire." What would have happened if the Poles had accepted his offers may be pretty safely inferred from the result of the establishment of a kingdom of Poland, with the Emperor of Russia as its king, by the Congress of Vienna. In the first place Poland would have been devastated by Napoleon's troops, and a war between Frenchmen and Poles, though it might have saved Moscow, would have produced such bloodshed and destruction in Poland as to bring the country to the verge of ruin. After Napoleon's retreat, Poland, or rather that small portion of it which was made a kingdom in 1815, might have been given an autonomy; but it would still have been under a Russian sovereign, who would have found it impossible (as was proved by the history of the so-called kingdom from its formation in 1815 to its extinction in 1832) to govern constitutionally at Warsaw while he governed despotically at St. Petersburg.

The illustration given by the reviewer of this wholesale charge of political incapacity against the Polish nation is, therefore, not much to the point, and indeed it is difficult to understand how a nation can be politically incapable when it has governed itself for eight centuries, during two of which it was one of the greatest

powers of Europe, extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea, with a territory larger than France, and with a people famous for its statesmen and men of letters, who when they sent a deputation to Paris to offer the Polish Crown to the Duc d'Anjou, astonished the French by their wealth and their culture.<sup>1</sup> From her first establishment as a state in the tenth century Poland held a position of exceptional danger. Occupying a vast plain which left her open to incessant incursions from the North, South, and East, and surrounded by warlike and aggressive races, she had to sustain more severe and continuous attacks than any other European nation, and it was only through the valour and ardent patriotism of her people that she preserved her independence against her aggressors, and rose in the fourteenth century to a degree of prosperity and power scarcely surpassed by any of the Continental states of that time. This position she maintained for 250 years—from 1333 to 1587—during which period she was one of the freest countries in Europe. The fundamental principle of all liberty, that no man shall be imprisoned until convicted (*neminem caperebimus nisi jure victum*), became the law of Poland in 1422; there was universal toleration of all religions, while Protestants and Jews were being massacred or burnt in nearly all the other countries of the Continent, and the power of the sovereign was as strictly limited as it is in England at the present day. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the prosperity of Poland, owing mainly to internal dissensions and the growth of her neighbours, gradually declined, but Sobieski, John Zamoyski, the Czartoryskis, and the Poniatowskis showed that she could still produce great warriors and statesmen, and the famous constitution of 1791, which Burke described as a glory to humanity, would no doubt have proved an effective remedy for the defects of the system of government in Poland if Catherine and Frederick William had not poured their troops into the country, immediately after the constitution was passed by the Polish diet, in order to prevent its coming into force.<sup>2</sup> There was no doubt among the leading European Ministers who were members of the Congress of Vienna, at any rate, as to Poland being able again to play an important part in the confraternity of European States, for Lord Castlereagh had it placed upon record in the proceedings of the Congress that "the desire of his court to see an independent power, more or less considerable in extent, established in Poland under a distinct dynasty, and as an intermediate State between the three great monarchies, has uniformly been avowed," while Prince Metternich, speaking on behalf of the Emperor of Austria, stated that "not only would the re-establishment of an independent Poland, restored to a national Polish government, have completely satisfied the views of his Imperial majesty, but he would not even have regretted the greatest sacrifices in order to

<sup>1</sup> De Thou, *Historia sui temporis*, lib. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vols. v. & vi.



arrive at the salutary restoration of that ancient order of things."<sup>1</sup> Prince Talleyrand, too, said to the Emperor Alexander, "If your Majesty wishes to re-establish Poland in a complete state of independence, we are ready to support you."<sup>2</sup> There could have been no question of political incapacity here. Castlereagh, Metternich, and Talleyrand could certainly not have been in favour of the reconstruction of Poland as an independent State unless they believed there were sufficient guarantees for the permanence of such an arrangement. And they must have had at their disposal special information which is not always accessible even to reviewers—though far be it from me to suggest that reviewers are sometimes not so well informed as they should be.

To judge of a nation by a single epoch of its history, and ignore the rest, is as illogical as it is unfair. Belgium is now one of the most orderly countries of Europe, though when it was proposed to give her a separate existence at the Congress of Vienna, it was objected that at a previous period of her history she was a group of free cities constantly at war with each other, and devastated by internal rebellion. What a pitiful spectacle was presented by Germany in the old days of the Confederation, with its petty princelings always fighting with each other, its political disorganisation, its corrupt courts, its population devoid of all public spirit! And who would accept as a type of the English nation the England of Charles II., when the sovereign and members of Parliament accepted bribes from France, and English society was more dissolute and corrupt than almost any other civilised society in Europe? The same fallacy occurs in the statements which have been made as to the relations between the nobles and the peasants in Poland. To call the Polish nobles slaveholders is an absurd misuse of terms. Since the tenth century, though the old designation "slave" for a peasant continued long after that period, there have been no slaveholders in any European country except Russia and Turkey. The institution of slavery, under which the owner of a peasant had absolute power of life and death over him, and could separate him from his family and sell him like a horse or a dog,<sup>3</sup> was, as civilisation advanced, converted into that of serfdom, under which the peasant could not be removed from the estate on which he was born, and could not be forced to work for his master for more than a certain number of days in the week. This, though it led to great abuses, was evidently a much more advantageous position for the peasant than the previous one, under which he had no rights

<sup>1</sup> Correspondence relating to the negotiations of the years 1814 and 1815 respecting Poland. Presented to the House of Commons by command of Her Majesty, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> Letters to Louis XVIII., November 17, 1814.

<sup>3</sup> An ukase issued by Peter the Great in 1721 refers to the practice among landowners in Russia "of selling their peasants and domestic servants, not even in families, but one by one, like cattle." In the reign of the Empress Catherine Russian landowners used to send peasants whom they could not dispose of in any other way to the Siberian mines for life, and peasants who complained of the ill-treatment of their masters were punished with the knout.

whatever. The institution of serfdom existed for many centuries in the greater part of Europe (the last remains of it were abolished in England in the sixteenth century, in Scotland in the eighteenth,<sup>1</sup> and in Germany only after the revolutions of 1848) and it was always condemned by the more enlightened writers and preachers of all civilised countries, and notably by those of Poland, one of whose kings, Stanislas Leszczyński, called by French writers "le philosophe-bienfaisant," was especially severe on the cruelty with which some of the Polish landowners treated their serfs. But you cannot judge the acts of people in the eighteenth century by the political and social canons of the nineteenth. In Poland, as elsewhere, the abolition of serfdom was only a question of time. Article 17 of the constitution of 1791 made all Polish citizens equal in the eyes of the law, and in 1793 Count Zamoyski and other large Polish landowners abolished the *corvée* and converted their serfs into tenants. Long before the emancipation of the serfs in Russia the Polish landowners of Lithuania (which, unlike the kingdom of Poland, was under the Russian law) asked permission of the government at St. Petersburg to liberate their serfs, and this fact was recorded by the government itself in the circular which it sent to the Russian nobles before the emancipation took place.

The writer in the *Quarterly* on Poland, though he makes some very positive statements about that country, does not seem to be acquainted either with its language or its people. His amazing statement that the Poles "have never produced any one name eminent in art or letters" shows an utter ignorance not only of Polish literature, but of the chief schools of art on the Continent. He spells the well-known Polish names Czartoryski and Kosciuszko, Czartor/ski and Kosciusko; and he says that in the language of the upper classes a peasant is called a "chlop, meaning the dirt of the earth"—the fact being that the word "chlop" means peasant and nothing else, both in the language of the upper classes and in that of the peasants themselves, and that philologists derive it from "leb," head, the original meaning of the word having been "head of the family." He is equally unfortunate in his supposition that the peasants, owing to the cruelty with which they were treated by their former masters, are indifferent to the fate of their country. Peasants in all countries are not as a rule remarkable for patriotism; their hard and monotonous work leaves them no inclination to think of anything beyond the narrow circle of their daily lives. But the Polish peasant, whenever he has had an opportunity of manifesting any political opinions at all, has always shown himself a patriot. The little army of 1000 men with which Kosciuszko began his revolution in 1794 was composed

<sup>1</sup> See Act 15 Geo. III., cap. XXVIII, beginning:—"Whereas, by the Statute Law of Scotland, as explained by the Judges of the Court of Law there, many colliers and coal-bearers and salters are in a state of slavery or bondage, bound to the collieries and salt-works where they work for life, transferable with the collieries and salt-works, when their original masters have no further use for them."

entirely of peasants armed with scythes and the peasant scythe men have been a conspicuous feature of all subsequent Polish insurrections. There is no antagonism whatever between the peasants and the so-called nobles whom they elect to the German and Prussian Parliaments, notwithstanding the efforts of the Prussian officials to obtain the return of German candidates; and in all parts of Poland the peasants unite with the other classes of the population in steadily resisting the attempts of the governments under which they are placed to Russify and Germanise them. And here it may be remarked that the use in Poland of the term "noble" for that part of the population which possessed the franchise has led to much misconception as regards the ancient system of government in Poland. Practically that country was a federal republic, with local parliaments (*sejmiki*) and an Imperial parliament (*sejm*), in which the voters were called nobles and the president was called a king. The number of nobles, or voters, was one sixth of the population—a franchise much lower than that which existed in England even after the first Reform Bill. The "nobles" comprised not only the great landowners, but lawyers, doctors, merchants, small yeomen cultivating their own patch of land, and even innkeepers, and their class was constantly recruited from that of the peasants, who became "nobles" for acts of bravery in the field or for other public services. To represent the Polish nobles as a 'caste,' or as feudal lords to whom their vassals owed service, shows an utter misunderstanding of the facts of Polish history. There was no feudalism in Poland, and peasants sometimes rose to the highest positions in the state. Kromer, "the Lory of Poland, though the son of a peasant, became a bishop and a minister, and Yaucki, also a peasant, obtained such distinction by his Latin poems that he was admitted to the Polish court and crowned with a laurel wreath by Pope Clement VII.

Turning from the Poland of the past to that of the present, we see a nation of 31,500,000 people, composed, like England, of various races, but with the same literary language, the same history, and, so far as can be ascertained from the spoken and written utterances of its people when they are able freely to express their thoughts, with the same political aspirations. Such a nation, however hopeless its present position may be, is a factor that will have to be reckoned with in the European combinations of the future, and it is not only idle, but unwise, to rake up the blunders of a hundred years ago, without doing justice to the great qualities which rendered Poland for nearly seven centuries the home of freedom amid the northern despotisms and the stronghold of European civilisation against the attacks of barbarians from the East.

ADAM GIELGUD.

<sup>1</sup> The number of new Polish books published every year is 1500, of Polish newspapers and other periodicals, 300.

## THE SOCIALIST AGITATION.

It is felt by every student and every statesman, even by every one who reads the newspapers, that Socialism is "in the air." What we exactly mean by Socialism we do not perhaps clearly understand. It has, during its brief history of fifty years, run through so many phases, that the name has become almost a model of ambiguity. But that some movement, vast, if protean and momentous, though indefinite, is now passing like a great wave over the civilized world from St. Petersburg to Chicago is perfectly apparent to all. The Prime Minister of our Conservative Government has begun to feel its force, for he lately used words, which, when spoken by him, may be considered significant. "We have looming before us," he said, "political questions such as were never presented to the world to settle before . . . the relations between capital and labour." In those words Lord Salisbury went to the root of the Socialist agitation.

The upheavals of the year 1848 were at once the expression of a sharp disappointment and the beginning of a new era. By the new era is not meant changes in methods of government, but a great change in the attitude of thinking men to social and political problems. There had been previously many struggles, many experiments. Reforms which had been worked for and waited for as the harbingers of a golden age of national life ended in simply altering the balance of class distinctions. Above all, the great labouring masses of Germany, France, and Great Britain found themselves compelled to labour still, amidst the old wretchedness, as hard as ever, with no more hope of material wealth than their fathers possessed before them. Millionaires not only continued to exist, but actually increased in number. The proletariat remained by comparison poor and uneducated—thriftless, hopeless—dragging out a dull existence amidst the whirr of factory wheels and the uncertainties of the wage system. This spectacle of blighted expectations, uncured miseries roused those who, especially in Germany, faced the Social question, to enter with fresh zeal upon the old problem, in what does a nation consist? We shall not rightly understand Socialism until we see clearly that that is at least one of the great questions which it asks and tries to answer. In what does a nation and the life of a nation consist? An ancient idea was that a nation consists of all who are under one ruler, or commander, or king, ruled by him, and ready to fight for him in his

battles. His honour was their honour, and the upholding of that was at once the main object and the main function of a nation's life. In later times it came to be imagined that the very foundation of national life is the power of the people to make their own laws. The electors, or legislators, and those dependent upon them do, according to this view, constitute the nation proper. This partly explains the enthusiasm with which men cast themselves into the turmoil of reform campaigns. They believed that a man was scarcely a man, was at any rate deprived of his very deepest right, so long as he could not give his vote at the poll. But the continued misery of the masses, which remains scarce mitigated in America, France, and England by the very freest possible methods of government, made the old great questions imperative, Where is the life of a nation found? Then arose the loud answer which rings through every dogma, and inspires every hope which most Socialists possess. The workers are the nation. By this is meant, of course, the productive labourers, those who make the things we use and enjoy—our food, and clothing, and our houses. A nation has many functions, including the making of laws which shall guide and protect its labourers. The very heart of the nation—that which gives occasion and meaning to its laws, and in our day even to its army—is that all the various classes are supposed to be working together for the common weal in the production of national wealth. Laws do not create or sustain life, nor does united service of a king of itself maintain a people. That which preserves life is food, clothing, protection from the elements. In the production and consumption of these the life of the nation consists; and to produce them and to distribute them adequately the whole nation is necessary. This is the central principle of the Socialist system as it is in various ways promulgated by the various schools. Upon this its criticism of history is based; upon this its estimate of the value of the Christian religion; upon this its fierce onslaught on the present industrial condition of all civilized nations. From this its ethical ideals spring, and this gives character to the methods which, on all hands, with such intemperate profusion, are being proposed for mending and ending the present complication.

Viewing history from this standpoint, Socialists maintain that the chief feature of the nineteenth century is not its wars or its changes of governments, but its industrial triumphs and its industrial degradation. The invention of machinery and the application of steam-power have reduced nearly all forms of manufacture to one type—viz., that of a huge factory, owned by a private firm, where hundreds and thousands of men and women labour for wages. It would be quite needless to recount a tale of horror and shame by tracing the history of the Factory Agitation and the Factory Laws. That history brings out one fact, that during those decades when England held an easy supremacy in the industrial world, and when capitalists

were making enormous fortunes, the "hands" were underpaid and over-worked to a degree which would fill even large employers with indignation to-day. We are accustomed to speak of labour as a blessing and not a curse, and assert that skilled manual labour is a noble and honourable calling. It is, however, undeniable that the factory system has taken all the poetry, all the love, all the personal and intellectual interest out of manual labour, and left it not only monotonous, but impersonal, and, to say the least, unattractive. A greater evil than this, the one evil upon which some Socialists insist most, is the disparity between the wage of the worker and the profits of the owner. It was to this subject that Karl Marx, in his book on "Capital," gave special attention, and in studying it he evolved his well-known theory of "surplus-value." All value, he maintains, all essential value, in any article, comes from the labour that is expended upon it. To that labour, then, we must look. Now, if a man is able, during his day of labour, to make enough of any article simply to keep himself and family and no more, it is evident that his master can receive no return from that man's labour. If, however, the man is able to make enough for himself and also enough to pay the interest on his master's capital and the wear-and-tear of his tools and machinery, and something over and above to the master as wages for his management of the concern, it is evident that his master may be able, on this interest and this wages of management, to live comfortably, but he is not likely to make a colossal fortune. Hence, we must conclude that in those factories where colossal fortunes are made, a large part of a man's labour is spent in simply coining money and putting it gratis—not as interest, not as salary, but as clear unearned increment or profit—into the master's purse. This clear profit, which it is impossible to call interest on capital invested, or reward for self-denial and skill in management, but which the master receives from the hands of a thousand toiling men and women—this is called by Marx "surplus-value." He maintains that it is downright robbery which thus builds up a huge estate. "The restless, never-ending process of profit-making alone is what he aims at. This boundless greed after riches, this passionate chase after exchange-value is common to the capitalist and the miser, but while the miser is merely a capitalist gone mad, the capitalist is a rational miser." Now, in this matter of wage-labour, the labourer is at a great disadvantage. He is not in a position to make a free contract. Except when the law protects him he is at the mercy of the master; he must take for wages what the master decrees as his market value; he must work full time, or half time, or no time, as his master decides. He is, in fact, treated as that part of the machinery which is technically called the "hands" to distinguish it from the wheels, and upon which, as upon wheels, a very large proportion

*Marx, vol. I, p. 180*

of capital must be expended. How to reduce this proportion by the invention of new methods and the substitution of wheels for "hands" is one of the standing problems of the capitalist world.

During the last forty or fifty years a further cause of misery and degradation has entered into the industrial world. This is "uncertainty." There is such a thing as "glorious uncertainty" in a game, but in industry uncertainty is a fearful cause. To the workman it means restlessness of mind and heart, a depressing wondering whether his work will last six months, or three months, or one month. He is paid nothing when out of work; his wage is kept low when he is at work. Accordingly he must be, or he ought to be, ever saving a few pence when he can against bad times. Ought to be saving is the more accurate phrase, for few have the heart even to save. Uncertainty takes the pith out of a man and the light out of his happiest and best-paid hours. Low wages, when steady, may embitter a man against the individual master who "exploits" him, but even when wages are higher, if work comes only in gusts of intense labour, relieved by prolonged periods of idleness, uncertainty then embitters him against the world. In the days of long hours and low wages the reformer's cry was for an extended franchise and co-operation. These have come, and have done something; hours are shorter and wages are higher. But uncertainty has stalked forth, and strikes, not the labourer only, but the master. Nameless and numberless are the evils which result, both to capital and labour. Neither knows what a day or an hour may bring forth. They love each other little more than of old, but they unite to look for a common foe, and desire in common some great deliverer. Co-operation and the franchise are found less potent when possessed than they appeared when still pursued. Deliverance is not there. Protection has been experienced; endured a while and trampled under foot. Deliverance is not there. It has become evident that the curse of commercial depression is over-production. The supply exceeds the demand. This evil has been traced to the fierce competition which rages between capitalists in different parts of the world. Competition keeps down both profits and wages, and floods at the same time the markets with unsaleable goods. Competition, in its turn, has been traced to the system which now is called capitalism, under which all the capital of the world that is devoted to industry is in the possession of individual men. These, according to the Socialist doctrine, compete with one another in exploiting for their own behoof unfortunate mankind. These men, as individuals, may be estimable and worthy in character, but they are the victims of the system which has seemed to bless them with no blessing. Compete they must, or die; competing, they must over-produce and fail to sell; failing to sell, they must stop production and pay off their labourers. Their miserable choice lies ever between starving

themselves and starving their employés. What wonder, Socialists exclaim, if they prefer the second alternative! Deliverance is there—somewhere there—where the roots of the gigantic evil have been traced.

It is very important to notice that Socialism is first and above all a proposed method of solving this problem of capital and labour which the present congestion of trade is forcing on our notice. Sir Henry Maine has done valuable work by insisting that the great words, which at times become public watchwords, should be clearly and tersely defined and shorn of all false glamour. In most telling paragraphs has he expounded the real essence and some of the attributes of that which awakens the enthusiasm of so many—viz., Democracy. "Democracy," he says, "like monarchy, like aristocracy, is simply and only a form of government."<sup>1</sup> Similarly, the word Socialism will lose much of its terror for some, possibly some of its mystic attractiveness for others, when we take it, at least for a time, to be simply a proposal concerning the relations of capital and labour. No doubt Socialism is defined in this way, and that by this school and that. No doubt you will find vast schemes and ideals drawn concerning that vague future which is to follow the inauguration of Socialism, but these, for the most part, are the poetry of Socialism. No doubt, also, you will find brave, bad language shouted out against various venerable institutions and customs not directly connected with capital and labour, but this is simply the mud which some Socialists choose to throw. In the meantime, we must fix our minds on the fact that Socialism contains as its deepest foundation a proposal concerning the relations of capital and labour. It is upon that problem that the Socialism of Western Europe has arisen. On this proposal, as their immediate aim, the efforts of all Socialist agitators are concentrated, and from this, as from a very fountain of purity and eternal peace, untold blessings—physical, moral, intellectual, and æsthetic—are expected to flow. The relations of capital and labour must be entirely reconstructed. This definite proposal is as one document expresses it, "That the production of wealth is to be regulated by society in the common interest of all its members. The means of production, distribution, and exchange are to be declared and treated as collective or common property."<sup>2</sup>

One of the most judicious writers on Socialism puts the matter more cautiously when he says, "The essence of Socialism is this—It proposes that industry be carried on by associated labourers jointly owning the means of production (land and capital). Whereas, industry is at present conducted by private competing capitalists, served by wage labourers, it must in the future be carried on by asso-

<sup>1</sup> Maine's *Popular Government*, pp. 68, 69.

<sup>2</sup> *Programme of the Social Democratic Federation*. Articles 8 and 9.



ciated labour with a collective capital, and with a view to an equitable system of distribution."<sup>1</sup>

It is necessary to remark that even this attempt at definiteness which each of these writers makes is hardly successful. On only one point are we absolutely clear, that is, the merely negative one that possession of capital by private individuals must cease. How capital is henceforth to be administered is not clear. A confusion of opposing voices arises from within Socialism itself with regard to that. The great aim is—first, to abolish uncertainty from the industrial world by the possession and exercise of a perfect provision as to the demand for any article; next, to abolish competition of a bad kind by restricting production to the limits of the demand thus foreseen, and then to distribute all profits equitably amongst all who have united in production. The practical problem lies, therefore, in this, whether, in the new order of things, it will be easier to forecast the demand—say, for copper, or for ostrich feathers, than it is now, whether human nature will rise to that level of self-sacrificing diligence which the abolition of private competition would necessitate; whether it is possible for a community or society to determine what is in each case an equitable distribution of profits. We can see now why all attempts to set forth the Socialist schemes in definite language must fail. The purely negative, the destructive aim is easily described. It is to abolish certain laws, customs, and relations which are in operation before our eyes, concrete facts with which we are familiar. But the new order which is to rise where they have been, collective capital used by society simply to supply the world's demands, makes two requirements which at present we are unable clearly to grasp. It requires, first, either an indefinite extension of the powers of the human intellect or an indefinite simplification of human life to suit the present intellect; secondly, an indefinite leap to an indefinite height of ethical attainment which will make men, in the new régime, both diligent in working for the good of others, and just in never attempting to take more than society allot as their equitable portion of the good things of life. A scheme which requires such indefinite extensions of intellect and indefinite attainments of character without which the dreams of Socialism cannot be realised cannot, of course, be intelligibly defined. Although, then, as an ideal for a far-off time, the system has much to say of itself, in fact, its practical steps Socialism can only define destruction. And we can discern that the main evils of the present system, and the chief blessings of the future, arise not from mere economical and social institutions, but from the condition of the heart of man. The question is more ethical than economical. The movement of the world, the inconsiderate competition and the struggle for existence of the capitalists to ruin small capitalists, are not the result of the system with regard to righteousness,

<sup>1</sup> Kirkup's *Inquiry into Socialism* p 13

these are not economical but moral evils. Then the universal diligence and equity and unselfishness, without which Socialism must utterly fail, these are not economical, but moral qualities. The question that Socialism raises is not therefore merely concerned with the relations of capital and labour, but is nothing less than the education of the human race. Under what conditions will the heart of man be least tempted to evil and most prompted to good? That is the question truly vast and worthy to be raised; but the only practical and definite answer from these teachers is an economic one. Destroy the present relations of capital and labour, and substitute for them that vague something called collective capital and joint production of wealth to meet the world's demands. "On the basis," says Mr. Thomas Kirkup, "of a better economic order, Socialism aims at a more perfect realization of the true, the beautiful, and the good, than has been attained in any previous era of mankind."

It is very important to mark this further fact which we have now reached. While Socialism means in the commercial world an economic reorganization proceeding from the abolition of individualist capitalism, in the ethical world it means moral regeneration and the abolition of all selfishness, from all social, and especially from all commercial life. This direct and frank recognition of the fact that political and economical relations are founded on the moral law is a matter for deep thankfulness. At the same time, this close association of ethical with economical ideas which we find so remarkable in the Socialist movement is a prolific source of confusion, as well as a powerful cause of attraction to many minds. Ordinarily, indeed, we find that the various Socialist schools are divided and classified according to their views of the ultimate forms which the State ought to assume. But that method of classification is of much less importance than another which should take as its basis the views of Socialist agitators concerning the moral regeneration of man. This question has drawn a deep line of distinction and broken up the world of Socialism into two portions. Although some men and women hover from the one portion to the other, yet their hovering arises from personal confusion caused by the dazzling beauty of the ideals they have learned to cherish. In spite of these individual vagaries the two schools are profoundly distinct and antagonistic to one another. The one school consists of those who think that the economical revolution can only follow upon the moral regeneration. The other school consists of those who believe that the moral regeneration will follow upon the economical revolution.

The former school includes, besides others, all those who wish to be known specifically as Christian Socialists. They have seen, with tolerable clearness into the *malum sociale* and have grasped the fact that the condition of affairs where *survival of the fittest* is at last done

away and treated by law as impossible can only result from a prolonged period of preparation and a radical transformation of human character as a whole. They do not seek to minimize the loftiness of their ideal. Rather do they seek to use for their purpose the teachings of Christ Himself, and make bold, on the one hand, to raise their ideal to the level of that teaching, and, on the other hand, to assert that, when their ideal Socialist state is actually built upon the earth His law will be fulfilled. They make no assertions about the exact stages through which the social life of man must pass. One of themselves has wisely said, "About the future it is unwise to dogmatize."<sup>1</sup> But they are optimists concerning mankind. Pessimism they trace to ignorance of history. They, at least, hope that the Socialist theory is not too high for human nature.<sup>2</sup> Therefore do they labour with good heart diligently in season and even out of season, discreetly and even indiscreetly. They believe in laying the foundations of the Socialist state deep in the reformed heart of man. Accordingly, they decry the ordinary ideals of English life; they heap contempt and invective upon our present life of lawless and intensely selfish competition; they argue against every law and every custom which seems to exalt the material over the spiritual, or to exalt business immorality over the laws of righteousness, or to exalt the spirit of mammon to a higher throne than the spirit of Christ.

These men may have no very definite conceptions of what that transformed industrialism will be. You cannot plan out history, *a priori*. But for them it means the absence of certain very great evils which they see around them now, all too evident and all too terrible, and the presence of such purity in the human heart, and such peace in human life as only the Sermon on the Mount has portrayed. It is impossible to argue against the Socialism of such prophets. To maintain that it will mean the subversion of property, the death of freedom, the end of human progress, to maintain any definite argument based on economics against this indefinite dream, is mere folly. Of the real conditions of society and law, of human character and conduct, of the very meaning of property and freedom and progress in that Socialist, or rather Christian elysium we know as little as they do themselves. So far, however, as the Christian Socialists aim at influencing the heart of man now, using that grand ideal to lead and lure us on to nobility of aim and humility of life, so far as they agitate for the removal of definite wrongs in our political and industrial system, so far as they work for the emancipation of the modern world from its hideous adoration of dollars, so far the men of the Christian church are, we trust, with them. Nearly every word they say we can say, and with every definite advance they make or attempt to make in the improvement of our

<sup>1</sup> Kirkup, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

*England's Ideal*, by Edward Carpenter.

social life, we must try to keep at their side step for step and stroke for stroke.

It is evident that if this Socialism, sometimes calling itself Christian, could only absorb all other kinds of Socialism, it would not only be a force of immense power in destroying many evils in our present industrial and social life, but would also be the death of that other Socialism, the spread of which from year to year in Europe is bringing terror to many hearts. This other Socialism believes that the moral regeneration of man would follow upon that drastic and final economical reorganization which it proposes. It calls itself scientific, evolutionary, revolutionary—anything which will convey to the mind of the hearer an impression of great insight, great thoroughness, and irresistible earnestness. This is the Socialism of which, as has been said, we hear most, in the newspapers. Although in our country its numbers are not great, we must take account, on the one hand, of the striking work which in other countries it has already accomplished, and of the strong and well-directed endeavours it is making to extend itself in Great Britain. Its good soil is the ever-increasing discontent of those whom it calls the proletariat; its good seed is the desire for national comfort and for share in the profits of labour. The soil is being diligently worked and the seed is scattered broadcast. Its grand opportunity is the mighty wave of Democracy, which is awakening the vast industrial populations to a consciousness of their power and their wrongs. Revolutionary Socialism, as it frankly calls itself, is therefore an influence to be reckoned with. It has slain a Czar and attacked an Emperor. It has made Bismarck tremble, and filled the citizens of America with ruthless rage. It caused the Communistic horrors in Paris in 1871, and it fostered the inconsequent sputterings of passion which startled London in more recent days. In England this movement is conducted by one or two Societies which differ from each other only in unimportant matters of detail. They comprise some very able men, who work for this cause with great perseverance and at considerable self-sacrifice. They send lecturers round the country to promulgate their doctrines and establish branches of the parent societies wherever they can find a few sympathizers.

These Revolutionary Socialists are for the most part, we might almost say, altogether in their conception of humanity, Materialists. Karl Marx, the most powerful exponent of their economical doctrine, said, in 1873, "With me the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into powers of thought."<sup>1</sup> In effect, then, for these men the mind and moral nature of man are simply and solely the work of material forces produced through the labour of the ages according to the laws of evolution. Man is what his circumstances make him. Put him in circumstances

<sup>1</sup> *Capital*, p. 30.

which place a premium on selfishness and greed, and he will become flourishingly selfish and greedy. Put him in circumstances which imply, and demand, self-restraint and loving regard for the welfare of others, and lo! he will control his passions and forthwith love his neighbour as himself. The process is described by an Englishman, thus . . . "Socialism would strike a blow not at the cancer competition which is consuming the vitals of society, the iron law by which wages are reduced to starvation point, and thus the greater part of civilized mankind is condemned to perpetual slavery and the remainder degraded in other ways physically, morally, and intellectually. The craving for wealth . . . fortune making as an end in life . . . would die of inanition since it would be impossible for any being to make a fortune. Men would be driven to the cultivation of higher intellectual aims, once the lower were effectually removed from their grasp"<sup>1</sup> I am not aware that any cancer has been yet rooted out by the administration of a blow. But the confusion of the surgical analogy only illustrates the confusion of the ethical forecast. The same enormous draught upon credulity is made with even more clearness by a foreign writer. "In this way," he says, "will the whole problem of freedom be solved: natural laws will be ascertained by scientific discovery, and the knowledge of them will be universally diffused among the masses. Natural laws being thus recognized by every man for himself, he cannot but obey them, for they are the laws also of his own nature; and the need for political organization, administration, and legislation will at once disappear."<sup>2</sup> Only reconstitute Society, only take the capital away from capitalists and promise the labourers the full reward of their labour, only announce to mankind as they listen in hushed awe to the new gospel that Society demands labour "from each according to his faculty," that Society "will provide for each according to his need," and lo! human nature itself so long depraved will pass up to the purity of the new era. No man will compete for his own hand, nor aim at low ambitions; the miser and the miserable will die off at once, and only the generous and loyal and free will knit their brows and clench their fists to serve their fellows well. As a Scottish Free Church Divine said recently concerning the universality of Noah's Flood, so we may say of this, "The fact is, the thing will not bear stating." But at the same time it is easy to see that men who hold these views concerning human nature must believe that the main thing to be done is to effect a revolution as quickly as possible. Man is what his circumstances make him, and the sooner the new environment is created, the sooner will the re-adaptation of human nature take place. Accordingly, the immediate aim of all socialists is to upset the present system and

<sup>1</sup> *See a definition of Socialism*

<sup>2</sup> Fakuin quoted in article "Socialism" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* p. 216

inaugurate the Socialist era. There is no need for waiting apart from the want of the necessary power. As soon as they are strong enough in Parliament or outside, with help of the law or the sword, they will not hesitate to effect the revolution. They maintain that against them is now pitted solely and only force, the force of a majority composed of two classes, the selfish and the ignorant. The selfish must be trodden down, the ignorant, for their own sakes, must be emancipated. Force must be met with force. If the voice of Parliament could be gained then crushing customs could be met with crushing legislation, if the strength of armed numbers could be gained then the sword must meet the sword. In any case, force must be met with force, so that the new age of unselfishness may be hastened and the old age of universal greed may pass away. As a matter of fact revolutionary Socialists in England and elsewhere are fully aware that it will take long by ordinary methods of gradual enlightenment and solid preparation to win the world to Socialism. They would fain see the grand consummation in their own day, and are therefore prepared to adopt any expedient which promises to hasten its advent.

It may be well to verify this assertion by referring to the actual words of prominent Socialists in England. First, we shall take an extract from Mrs. Besant's little book on *Modern Socialism*. In discussing the methods of Socialists for securing their aims that vigorous writer advocates the use of the arm of the law. Mrs. Besant describes (in 1886) Mr. Bradlaugh's "Land Cultivation Bill" as "the first attempt to move in the right direction," and then proceeds thus: "If the Bill passed, a large area of land would be nationalized next year. Such an Act followed up by others taking over all land let on building leases as they run out, probably paying to the present landlords for life, the original ground-rents, making the Land Tax an adequate rent paid to the State, taking back without compensation all common lands that have been stolen, breaking up the big estates by crushing taxation; steps like these, if taken with sufficient rapidity, may effect a complete Land Revolution without violence [!] and establish Socialism so far as the ownership of national agents is concerned."<sup>1</sup>

Next, we shall glance at some remarks made by Socialists in direct reference to the use of what even Mrs. Besant would call violence. It is without surprise that we discover how heartily they approve the Commune of 1871, and how enthusiastically they observe the anarchists. They call the rioters who were recently executed at Chicago brothers and praise them as martyrs to the cause of humanity. One of their great gatherings in London of "fourteen or fifteen hundred representatives of the Revolutionary forces" in England, boldly said that it were necessary to shed

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Besant's *Modern Socialism*, p 40.

blood to overthrow the present system, it will be better to fight for it than to put up with the present miseries." <sup>1</sup> At the same meeting, Mr. William Morris, the poet, praised the Commune, and Mrs. Marx Aveling, daughter of Karl Marx, said, "They might perhaps hope that the battle would be gained without bloodshed. For her part, she thought that was impossible; but in order that they might avoid bloodshed as much as possible, it was necessary that they should organize and educate themselves." <sup>2</sup>

Dr. Aveling puts the case with the same fearlessness as his wife. "We preach class warfare," he says. "We hope it may not be a warfare of bullets and steel, but if it is class warfare even this, alas! is possible. It is a warfare of the labour class against the capitalist class. In the past, there has been no such battle without bloodshed. I only hope that this freedom of the labour class, that has certainly to come, may be brought about by reason and argument. But it will have to be brought about." <sup>3</sup> That is, pretty clear advocacy of bloodshed and rapine. Throughout the references which even the leading writers of this school make to the sanguinary struggles that have taken place in other lands there is the well-understood assumption that only thus can the aims of Socialists be realized. Regret they do express at the necessity, but at the same time full determination to do anything even to the shedding of blood which necessity may lay upon them. When Mr. Morris, some time ago lectured in Edinburgh, he is reported to have sketched the present condition of industrialism, and then the condition which it will assume in the Socialist age. "The transition" he passed over before his Edinburgh audience. It was well. With many men the trying time is the transition. When the old is tottering to its fall, when the new seems to be rising, with all the glory of untested promises clothing its fresh forms, then we see what moral stuff men are made of. The Revolutionary Socialists have anticipated fate and disclosed the methods they count on adopting when the possibility of using them occurs.

The fact that men of education allow themselves to believe that wrong can be the parent of right, that force can bring peace, and bloodshed usher in an age of social life is a strange phenomenon, and humbling to the human intellect. The truth is, consistently ignored that a man's doings which are really expressive of his immediate aims are more powerful in moulding his character than the more distant ideal for which he flatters himself he is working. The same thing is true of communities and nations. To put before them the hope of a Socialistic regime may act as a guiding star and a source of blessing. But all the virtue goes from the dream, all the blessing from the vision when you turn their eyes to the present and

<sup>1</sup> *Justice*, March 24, 1895, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *The Cures of Capital*, p. 176.

say, the law of life, at present, is war, a duel à l'outrance between classes and masses; fight, therefore, wrestle with flesh and blood now, and you will rule principalities and powers hereafter. Unutterable and inevitable disappointment lies before the men who imagine that in this sense the first step proposed to be taken is a step upward. If their immediate desires and guiding aims as to a revolution were ever realized they would waken one fine morning to behold themselves standing with red swords in their hands, looking with grim faces upon the ruins of all that long ages had with difficulty produced—hopeless, helpless, degraded. Then would the Socialist dream the wonderful dream of a national industrial life, wherein pure hearts and clean hands and faces radiant with love are a perpetual possession and joy, unsullied by greed, vanish and be forgotten. Swords red with the blood of Revolution can never open the gates of a human Paradise. No! methods mould men more than distant aims. And when one writer, quoting Karl Marx, without acknowledgment, says that "True Socialism recognizes that force is the midwife of progress, an essential means, though not the end," he forgets that thus force is made the immediate end upon which for years and years the mind of "true Socialists" must be concentrated. The result of making this "essential means" an immediate end of life can only be the brutalizing of the unhappy people who pursue it.

If the ethical standpoint and the political aims of Revolutionary Socialism are thus defective and evil, no less so are the ideals of life which they set before the masses to whom they preach. We must remember that these men have all given up faith in the Christian religion. For them the hope of another life is a puerile fantasy, pleasing enough when all the world was young and gods seemed to live with men, but now it must be forgotten. Earth is the only heaven we can ever enjoy. This brief life is all the chance we have to fill to the brim and drain to the dregs the sweet cup of existence. Hence their true and sincere pity for the multitudes who live and die with only a cup of bitterness in their hands from the cradle to the grave. To emancipate this crushed-down humanity, to hush with sweet promises the long, low wail which seems from all the ages to swell and fall on their listening ears, to make men happy now, to give them their due, something to eat and something to drink, something wherewithal to be merry, for to-morrow they die, that is to Socialists a veritable religion. Socialism has been described as being "in religion, Atheistic Humanism: by which is meant the recognition of Social progress as our highest end and aim."<sup>1</sup> This heaven will be attained when all men live in material comfort.

"When the material welfare of men shall be the great object of the organization of all,"<sup>2</sup>—"whose god is their belly, who mind

<sup>1</sup> Bax, p. 81

<sup>2</sup> *Contemporary Socialism*, by Rae, p. 12.



earthly things." It is here that one of the deadliest influences of our time has its rise. The idea is being steadily pressed home upon the minds of men that material comfort, sensuous enjoyment, æsthetic satisfaction constitute the highest goal of human life. Society is supposed to have its deepest foundation in labour and its loftiest goal in the consumption of the products of labour. We should find it impossible to forecast the end and effect of such teaching upon the character of the modern world. It would be a repetition, on a mighty scale, of the history of Epicureanism which may be said to have begun in a fair garden and ended in a pig-stye. Though a poet with the glowing tongue of William Morris set forth the song of the future, and free the sensuous from all that is sordid, material gratification from every trace of brutality, yet it will remain the experience of that future as it has been man's experience in the past that to aim only at physical comfort and sensuous pleasures even of the finest, to redeem them, sanctify them with nothing higher is to become their slave. Here, therefore, Revolutionary Socialism which has nothing nobler to present than a sublimated feast of the senses is doing an incalculable injury to the thought and feelings and aims of those whom it reaches and influences.

W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE.

## SOME MODERN WARS REVIEWED.

THERE are very opposite prepossessions by which an historian may be influenced in approaching the subject of a war in which his country has been engaged. On the one hand, if he prides himself on his patriotism, he may consider it his duty to contend that in every struggle the right has always been on the side of his own nation, and that her adversaries have always been the aggressors and wrong-doers. A better instance of this tendency in ancient times could hardly be found than in the work of the Roman historian Livy, who, as has been well said, would have us believe that the Romans conquered the whole world in self-defence. Among modern historians, it may be remarked that French writers are peculiarly liable to fall into this fault, and to impair the value of their narratives by a determination to prove their own country always in the right in every war. Even advanced Liberals and Republicans strangely seem to think it their duty to vindicate the most unjust aggressions of the worst and most unscrupulous despots of former times. It cannot with justice be asserted that this has been the besetting sin of English authors to anything like the same extent. There have been, of course, writers of this class among us, but hardly any historians of distinction have thought it necessary to display their patriotism in this somewhat absurd fashion. English writers, as a rule, have deemed it their duty carefully to consider all that can be said on the side opposed to that of their own country, and their fault has been rather of the opposite nature to that already mentioned as characteristic of the French.

In regard to many wars the common opinion of Englishmen of the present day often does their ancestors a great injustice. But few, even of fairly educated persons, have any idea that at least a reasonable case can be made out for Edward I. in his dealings with Scotland. The majority of Englishmen seem to think it a positive merit to take the Scotch side against their own country, and, as Mr. Freeman remarks, to "condemn almost without a hearing the part taken by the whole English nation under the greatest and noblest king that England has seen for eight hundred years."

Again, most people regard the hundred years war with France as an unscrupulous aggression on the part of England, caused by an unjust claim of Edward III. to the French crown. They are

entirely ignorant of what is nevertheless an incontestable fact, that Edward was forced into the war against his will by repeated aggressions on the part of the French king, and that his claim to the throne of France was in no sort the cause of the war, but was merely employed as a serviceable weapon after it had begun. It is true that in other cases English historians have been disposed to defend wars which have been unjust, but it cannot be charged against them that they have at all uniformly done so. The allegation, which may with much truth be alleged against the public opinion of this country is, that it is somewhat capricious in its judgment of past wars, that it both condemns and approves on insufficient grounds, and that a more thorough investigation would, in many cases, reverse its decisions. It is purposed in this paper to illustrate the truth of this assertion by some cases within the present century. The events which will be dealt with have all, more or less, been made matter of political controversy; but the subject will not be treated of from a merely party point of view. The present writer has no wish to conceal the fact that his sympathies are strongly on the Liberal side, but he does not therefore contend that his own party have always been in the right. On the contrary, it will be found that he will, in the case of one of the modern wars of which he proposes to treat, have strongly to condemn the action of a Liberal government and to vindicate the criticisms of a Conservative Opposition; while in another instance, though the conduct he defends had the support of a majority of the Liberal party of the time, it was nevertheless strongly condemned by the advanced section with whom he is generally in most agreement.

The first of the series of events which it is here proposed to treat of is the part played by England in conjunction with France in supporting Belgium against Holland in 1832. The revolt of the Belgians against the arrangement of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which had set up a United Kingdom of the Netherlands, was a direct result of the French revolution of July, 1830. It is by no means so certain, as is generally assumed, that the Belgians had sufficient grievances to justify their insurrection. The union of all the provinces under one government was the object most ardently desired by the patriots of the sixteenth century, and it was unquestionably a misfortune that when two kindred people, so long dispersed, had at length been joined in one State, they could not manage to live together. One of the most enlightened and far-seeing of the Belgian Liberals, M. de Laveleye, regards the separation of the two countries as equally disastrous to both. The government of the House of Orange, between 1815 and 1830, had undoubtedly been charged with too much regard for the interests of the northern portion of their dominions, but there is certainly no ground for charging them with gross oppression, and there is every reason to believe that the evils com-

plained of might have been removed by a less desperate remedy than that of rebellion. But be this as it may, if the wrongs of the Belgians were so great as to justify a recourse to arms, they certainly ought to have been able to secure their liberties without needing the help of foreign Powers; for the population of Belgium was then, as it is now, considerably greater than that of Holland, and there was no such striking difference of race or civilization between the two as to afford any reason why they should not have been a fair match for each other, man for man. Surely, then, the chances ought to have been decidedly in favour of the more numerous people, if they were really fighting for the liberty of their country against foreign oppressors, who could certainly not crush them by overwhelming numbers. And yet it seemed to be admitted on all hands that, if the combatants were left to themselves, the Dutch would get the best of it, a fact which gives strong reason for believing that the revolt was not, as it has been commonly regarded, the unanimous uprising of a justly aggrieved nation, but rather the work of an energetic faction. Under these circumstances a policy of non-intervention was surely the right course for foreign Powers in general, and for England in particular. If she had an interest in the matter, it was in maintaining the union of the Netherlands, which had been largely her own work, and which had been devised in 1815 as a bulwark against French aggression. There would have been no justification whatever for interfering to uphold this arrangement by force against the will of the Belgians; but no more was there any ground for assisting the latter against an enemy inferior in number to themselves. It is painful for a Liberal to have to admit that his political opponents took a much more sensible view of the question than his own party.

The Tory Ministry of the Duke of Wellington, which had been in power in the early stages of the Belgian revolution, had not interfered in the matter otherwise than by peaceful negotiations. Their own sympathies were on the Dutch side, but they had rightly rejected a request of the king of Holland for the assistance of British troops. And after they quitted office at the close of 1830, they still strongly maintained the position, that the combatants should be allowed to fight out their own quarrel without foreign interference. It is difficult to see why such a view deserves to be stigmatized as utterly atrocious, and wanting in humanity, as it is even by so impartial and enlightened an historian as Mr. Spencer Walpole. He seems to write as if the relative strength of Holland and Belgium were something like that of Russia and Poland, whereas the Power which is represented as utterly weak and defenceless was actually the superior in population. The interference of France on the Belgian side cannot be attributed to purely disinterested and unselfish motives, and if England was to step in at all, it might

with good reason have been to cry "hands off" to her ambitious neighbour. There was, however, no reason whatever why England should meddle at all in the question. If four millions of Belgians could not by their own efforts deliver themselves from the tyranny of three millions of Dutch, surely, with thirty millions of Frenchmen thrown into the scale, the poor Dutch might be considered as satisfactorily disposed of. Not so, however, thought the Whig Government of Lord Grey. They joined heartily with France in adopting measures of coercion against Holland, and, without a declaration of war, resorted in November 1832 to the monstrously unjust measure of laying an embargo on all Dutch vessels in English ports. Every true Liberal must blush to think that such a wanton outrage on the property of a friendly nation, which had done us no wrong, received the support of the whole of the reforming party of the time, and that it was left to Conservatives to denounce it as it deserved. This could hardly have been the case twenty years later, when the voice of the peace and non-intervention section of the Liberal party, led by Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, would certainly have been raised in vigorous opposition. And in our own day, if any Liberal Government could so utterly forget its principles as to imitate the Whigs of 1832, we may be sure that the caustic humour of Sir Wilfrid Lawson would be in its happiest vein in dealing with the paltry meanness of such an attack on the property of private individuals belonging to a nation with which we were nominally at peace. It is to be observed that the Conservative Opposition of the time by no means held the doctrine which has often been propounded by their party of late years, that it is the duty of patriots always to support, or at least not to actively oppose, the foreign policy of the Government in office. On the contrary, they energetically denounced the action of the Ministry in regard to Belgian affairs, and went so far as to draw up an address to the King of Holland, assuring him of their sympathy and their disapproval of the attack on the property of his subjects. They were certainly fully justified in so doing, though they were of course denounced by their adversaries as unpatriotic, just as Mr. Gladstone was for opposing Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy in 1878.

From the Dutch war of 1832 we may pass on to consider the Chinese war of 1840. Like the former, the latter was the work of a Liberal Government and opposed by Conservatives. Unlike the former, it has generally been condemned by Liberals of our own day. It has become almost an article of faith with Radicals to believe that we entered into an unjust war with China for the purpose of forcing the Chinese to receive the free-trade system. Of course if this were so, such a policy would be utterly wrong and indefensible. If, however, we consider the Chinese Government deserves all the praise it has received from many writers and speakers

in this country for the exalted wisdom and morality of its anti-opium legislation. It is very doubtful whether the attempt to exclude altogether from a country a drug desired by many of its inhabitants could under any circumstances be successful, and the futility of the endeavour has now been practically confessed by its authors. However this was no business of ours, and it would have been an outrage as great as was committed against Holland in 1832 for England to have adopted measures of coercion against China to compel her to admit the traffic. But was the English Government really guilty of such unjustifiable conduct? The charge was no doubt brought against the Melbourne Ministry by the Opposition in the House of Commons, but the general character and spirit of that Opposition were by no means such as to entitle accusations proceeding from them to implicit confidence. They were in the habit of assailing with the utmost virulence every action of the Government, good or bad, and no part of its proceedings were more furiously denounced than the just and liberal policy pursued towards Ireland. It is only fair, therefore, to look with considerable caution on charges coming from such a quarter, and to hear what the Government had to say in defence of their conduct before condemning it. Strange to say this act of common justice has been neglected by most writers of our time in treating of what they are pleased to call the Opium War. While they repeat without the least misgiving the furious denunciations of the Opposition speakers, not one of them appears to have so much as looked at the brilliant and able speech delivered in defence of the Ministry by its most gifted member, the historian Macaulay. If they had, they would see that he entirely repudiates on the part of the Government the least intention of forcing opium upon the Chinese; that he quite agrees that such a policy would be both absurd and wicked, and deserving of the severest censure, and thus expresses himself: "If the Emperor's officers seized every chest of the forbidden drug we had no right to complain." "But" he goes on to say, "we had a right to complain when they imprisoned our innocent countrymen and insulted our sovereign in the person of her representative." In truth the measures taken by the Chinese authorities on this occasion were of a character that no European Power would have put up with from another for a moment, and so far was it from being the case, as is often stated, that we unduly strained the rules of international law against them, that we actually tolerated much on their part that we would have never submitted to from our equals. Commissioner Lin, the representative of the Imperial Government at Canton, had arrested a number of respectable English merchants on suspicion of having been concerned in the contraband trade in opium, though there was no proof against any one of them, and as regards the majority of them the accusation was obviously absurd. This in itself would, by

all the laws of nations, have afforded grounds for demanding reparation, but further outrages followed. In a drunken brawl between sailors of various nationalities, in which Americans were chiefly concerned, a Chinese was killed. It was utterly impossible either to ascertain the name or the nationality of the slayer. The Chinese Commissioner insisted upon a British subject being delivered up to suffer death; and when Captain Elliot, the English representative, most justly refused to surrender an innocent man to a death of torture, fresh outrages were committed. An English gentleman was barbarously mutilated; the wells were poisoned in the vicinity of the English settlement, and Lascar seamen belonging to British vessels were murdered. Can any one, who does not condemn all war on principle, deny that England had ample grounds to justify hostilities against China? If the actual murder of the subjects of a country without redress, does not give reason for exacting reparation by means, nothing does; and surely it will not be contended that we were not equally responsible for the safety of the lives of Lascars as of Englishmen, all alike being our fellow-subjects. It must seem strange, therefore, that many who by no means profess extreme peace principles, have been in the habit of condemning the Chinese war of 1840 as especially iniquitous, and it will be evident how entirely inaccurate it is to describe it as the "Opium War." But the most conclusive answer to the charge that we made war on the Chinese to compel them to admit opium is to be found in the terms of the treaty which closed the war in 1842. Though the hostilities had been entirely in favour of England, and she had it in her power to exact what terms she pleased, no demand whatever was made for the legislation of the opium trade, and the subject was not even mentioned in the treaty. How in the face of this can the accusation, so frequently made, be repeated with common fairness? The second Chinese war, which followed the first at an interval of fifteen years, has, if possible, been more vehemently censured than the former one, and it naturally falls next under review. But before passing on to treat of it we must briefly notice a European war in which England was engaged in the interval. It would be impossible in this place to treat fully of the Crimean war, which is a subject of too great importance for a portion of an article, and it is doubtful how far it falls under the head of the wars with which this paper is specially concerned—namely, those about which opinion in general, and Liberal opinion in particular, appears to be mistaken at the present day. It is true that the war was approved by almost the whole nation at the time; but it is probable that the majority of Liberals would now agree in condemning it. It is, however, well worthy of remark, that while, in the preceding instance a war which could only be consistently condemned on ultra-peace principles, was denounced by many who by no means professed to be opposed to all

wars; in the present case a war, against which there was a strong case to be made, was only condemned by the peace party. It was admitted, even by the supporters of the war, that Russia had done us directly no wrong and had no intention of doing us any wrong. And no one questions that in the dissolution of the Turkish empire the interests of England would have been effectively safeguarded by such an arrangement as was proposed by the Emperor Nicholas to Sir G. H. Seymour. But then it was contended that it was our duty to defend Turkey against unjust aggression. There might have been some reason in this if the word "Turkey" had the same signification as England or France—that is to say, if it included all the inhabitants of the country comprised under the name. But, in fact, the interests of Turkey meant simply the interests of the dominant race of oppressors, and what was called "Russian aggression"—i.e., a demand for the protectorate of the Christians, was really in the interests of the majority of the populations inhabiting the regions named "Turkey" on the map. It was this misleading use of language which led the English people to imagine that in making war on Russia they were resisting oppression, instead of, as was the actual case, maintaining a system of the most abominable tyranny which existed on the face of the earth.

Not long after the close of the Crimean war, the Chinese war of 1856 broke out. This originated from a collision between the British and Chinese authorities at Canton, arising out of the seizure by the Chinese of a vessel, called the *Arrow*, bearing the British flag. The pretext was that one of the crew was a pirate, but even so, according to the terms of the treaty, they had no right to take him out of an English ship without communicating with the representative of the English Government. And still less had they a right to detain the whole crew, and, as appears to have been the case (though there was some conflict of evidence on this point), to haul down the British flag. There can be no doubt that Sir John Bowring, the English commissioner at Canton, was fully justified in demanding redress from the Chinese authorities for the gross outrage that had been committed. We may be quite sure that if the offenders had been Russians instead of Chinese, public opinion in England would have been unanimous in demanding a strict reparation. The Chinese, however, could not be brought to offer any proper satisfaction. It was some days before they would even release the men against whom they brought no charge, and it was only under the threat of reprisals that they consented to give back all the crew, though they offered no evidence in support of the charge of piracy, which by all the rules of English law must therefore be considered as unfounded. Even when the men were sent back, it was without the apology which Sir John Bowring had most rightly demanded. And considering that all the proceedings of the Chinese from first to last had been in flagrant vio-



lation of the treaty of 1842, the British representative deemed the occasion a proper one for demanding the fulfilment of another article of that treaty which had been systematically evaded, giving the right of direct access to the Chinese authorities at Canton. If the Chinese had really been desirous of a fair settlement they would have at once assented to this request, by the granting of which it is obvious future misunderstandings would have been rendered much less likely, leaving out of sight the fact that they were in honour bound to keep to their solemn engagements, though the very idea of expecting the most elementary good faith from the Chinese was ridiculed by those in this country who were continually praising their exalted morality on the opium question. Failing to obtain either the fulfilment of this stipulation, or any apology for the outrage committed, Sir J. Bowring determined to resort to hostilities, and the forts at the mouth of the Canton river were attacked and destroyed. Of course there was room for difference among fair-minded men as to whether the wrong which had been unquestionably done us by the Chinese furnished a sufficient ground for recourse to the extreme remedy of force.\* War is so terrible that it requires the clearest necessity to justify it, and the peace party in England, represented by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, were perfectly consistent with their principles in expressing strong disapproval of the proceedings of Sir John Bowring, though they were certainly rather unfair in the violence of their attacks on one who had been an old comrade of theirs in the battle for free trade and other reforms, and who had had considerable sympathy with their views on peace and non-intervention. They were undoubtedly too hasty in denying that he could have had any possible grounds for his action. But what can be said of the conduct of the Tory party, who had been the most enthusiastic supporters of the Crimean war, when we find them rivalling their former antagonists of the Manchester school in the vehemence of their denunciations of the proceedings at Canton? It is utterly impossible to defend the consistency of those who so spoke and acted. If the Crimean war were justifiable, the Chinese war was much more so. Russia had done us no direct wrong whatever; China unquestionably had. If we were bound to resent an attack on the barbarian tyranny of Turkey, we were surely much more bound to punish an outrage on the sanctity of our own flag. The language of Conservative writers and speakers on this subject can only be pronounced hypocritical when compared with the general opinions of their party on questions of peace and war. They adopted the very style of denunciation of war and its horrors which they had been in the habit of ridiculing when employed by Mr. Bright and his followers, and mingled with talk of this character the most absurd panegyrics on the virtues of the Chinese Government. Speaker after speaker in the House of Commons described the Emperor of China

as the patriarchal ruler of a contented people, though it was a notorious fact that this contented people were in rebellion in all quarters against their paternal government. the mildness and clemency of which had been displayed by the execution of over 100,000 persons in the neighbourhood of Canton alone. Of course this was no reason for making war on China if she had done us no wrong; but it was a fair and effective retort on the Ministerial side to the arguments of the Opposition, grounded on the iniquity of attacking so happy and peaceful a people under such an excellent government as the Chinese. And curiously enough when irresistible proof was brought forward of such amiable little eccentricities on the part of these models of virtue as poisoning bread and water, offering rewards for British heads, waylaying a postal steamer and torturing the crew to death, these paragons of perfection were excused as being savages who knew no better, an assertion which was equally false with the former praises of their superior morality as compared to ours. To represent the war of 1856-58 as a clear case of injustice on our part is utterly unfair. We certainly had by all the laws of nations a strong ground of complaint against China; as to whether there was sufficient reason for hostilities, there may perhaps be room for some difference of opinion. For to fully justify a war, it seems to be necessary for the nation which enters upon it to ask not merely whether it has a good technical case, but whether the war will or will not cure more evils than it will cause. Many a war which would satisfy the former test, could hardly stand the latter. There is no doubt that England had a very strong case against the United States in the affair of the *Trent*, and one which, by the ordinary rules of international law, would have furnished ample ground for war if satisfaction had been refused. But considering the enormous evils which would have followed the triumph of the slave-owners in the American civil war, it may well be questioned whether the wrong which England had received gave sufficient justification for an intervention which must practically have been on their behalf. Now it may with confidence be asserted that our Chinese wars, which are so often represented as peculiarly iniquitous, will stand both tests better than most other wars of modern times. In the one we are now considering, England had, as in the former one, a clear technical case, and it was certainly vindicated by its results. At the expense of very little bloodshed indeed, not amounting in all to half the number of lives squandered in a simple battle of the Crimean war, it opened a wide gate of intercourse with China for Europeans, and forced the Chinese to behave to foreigners with common decency. There can be little doubt that if England had submitted to the affront offered her in 1856, in no long time there would have been massacres

of Europeans on a large scale in every part of China, so that war could not have been avoided in the end, and many more lives would have been sacrificed than was actually the case.

A word may be added on the connection of the second Chinese war with the opium question. It will be evident from what has been said as to the cause of the war, that whether it was good or bad, it had certainly nothing to do with opium. The fact, however, that in the treaty negotiated by Lord Elgin in 1858, a provision was for the first time made for the legalization of the trade, has furnished the only plausible ground for asserting that it was forced by England upon China. Before, however, this accusation can be substantiated, it must be shown that this point was insisted upon as an essential condition of peace by the English negotiators, and conceded reluctantly and under pressure by the Chinese. Neither of these was the case. Lord Elgin did, it is true, carry with him instructions to ascertain if the Chinese Government would remove its prohibition of the opium traffic; but he was in no way ordered to press this point peremptorily if the Chinese objected to it. The condition which was insisted on as essential on the British side was the residence of an Ambassador at Peking, and while the Chinese made great difficulties about acceding to this, they raised no objection whatever to the legalization of the trade in opium, but, since they had found it impossible to stop the traffic, were willing enough to derive a revenue from the admission of the article at a high duty. It is thus evident that the charge so frequently and with such strong language brought against our action in this particular is a mere calumny, though most who are in the habit of advancing it have no doubt done so sincerely and with the best intentions. England has had sins enough to answer for in her dealings with other nations, especially those inferior in civilization to herself; but in her relations with China she has certainly been substantially in the right, if judged by the ordinary rules of international law. The scope of this paper might be extended much further; but it is to be hoped that good reasons have been given for questioning the current opinions of the day on the subject of the wars of the present century which have been passed under review.

R. SEYMOUR LONG.

## UNIONISTS AND THE CONSTITUTION.

WERE we to admit that the respective Parliaments had the moral right and legal power to pass and carry out the Act of Union between England and Ireland, it would not follow that even the principles of that measure, or the whole system of government in Ireland have since been, or are now being, carried on in accordance with the acknowledged and practised methods of Constitutionalism.

It is often asked *why* we want Home Rule, and why we are not contented with the same privileges as Englishmen; while too often it is too fallaciously assumed that in point of government we are on an equal footing with them, enjoying the same rights, advantages, and laws, under the same Constitution. In truth we enjoy *very* few of the advantages or privileges of the British Constitution, and are seldom ruled in accordance with its principles. As a matter of fact it would be infinitely more difficult to point out when we were constitutionally governed than when we were not!

Now there are two great and essential pillars upon which rest the very foundations of the British Constitution and the liberties of England. These are: the unlimited control of the national affairs by the people, through their freely elected representatives in Parliament; and their own dispensation of justice, through the popular and uncontrolled trial by jury. These have been regarded with awe and reverence, even during England's periodic convulsions of tyranny. They have weathered usurpation. They have become venerable by age, and, I may say, adamant by usage and consent. Yet in Ireland the one has completely vanished, the other has been transient, and has periodically disappeared before the wand of despotism—in spite of the most solemn and the most binding treaty stipulating its preservation. These are facts incontrovertible, as I shall prove beyond question.

Sir James Stephen in his *Commentaries* declares that all the great Acts confirming Magna Charta assert two "rights and liberties" which he describes as in the nature of "PERMANENT safeguards," provided by our political system for the preservation of all the rest, and these he specifies as: (1) The Constitution—powers and privileges of Parliament; (2) The free and uncontrolled dispensation of the law in the *ordinary* courts of justice. Hallam calls these "the two direct guarantees of civil Liberty."

Now let us take these two great safeguards of all our rights and liberties, and see how we stand in Ireland. The same great judge tells us that the true excellence of the British Government consists in the fact, that all the parts of the legislature: the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons—form a mutual check upon each other, and that the law must stand as it now does, unless all will agree to alter it. So it has been in England since the Revolution. Therefore all the rights and liberties of Englishmen asserted and claimed at that period (in the Bill of Rights) could not since have been altered without the consent of these three. But no established law can be altered without the expressed consent of a majority of the House of Commons, and owing to the preponderance of English representatives in that House, this consent can be obtained independent of either Irish or Scotch members, or of both combined. Likewise any law upon which the English people are intent, can be added to the Statute-book by their bringing sufficient pressure to bear upon their representatives. Hence a majority of English members can invariably, by their own strength alone, defeat or pass a measure affecting not only English interests, but also Irish and Scotch. But the majority existing on the suffrage and pleasure of its English constituents, to whom it is amenable, it may safely be said that no law can be altered or passed without its being agreeable to the greater portion of the English people. Thus it is we have the jurist's "source" of laws being the recognition by the State.

Moreover the now settled rule which provides that the sovereign cannot act except through the ministry, and that the ministry can only exist on the support of the majority of the Commons in reality places the control of the executive in the hands of a majority of the elected representatives of the people, who are again themselves controlled by a majority of the people. Thus, in so far as England is concerned, the conventions of the Constitution, to use the language of Professor Dicey, have one ultimate object—namely, to secure that Parliament, or the Cabinet indirectly appointed by Parliament, shall in the long run carry out the will of that power, which in England is the true political sovereign of the State—the majority of the electors; for, as he says truly, "The essential thing is that the ministry should obey the House as representing the nation."

This is unquestionably the case in England, and hence it is that the Crown and the Lords must yield to the will of the Commons whenever the latter body distinctly represent the will of the English nation. Macaulay, in a very remarkable passage in his essay on Mackintosh's *History of the Revolution*, points out that since that great event the Commons have really been the paramount power in the State, having at times appointed and removed ministers, declared war and concluded peace. No combination, he asserts, of the King and the Lords has been able to resist the Lower House backed by

its constituents. Three or four times the sovereign has been able to break the force of an Opposition by dissolving the Parliament. But if that experiment should fail, he says, and if the people should be of the same mind with their representatives the sovereign would "clearly have no course left but to yield, to abdicate, or to fight."

The Lords are also impotent in the face of a majority of the Commons backed by the people, for the Crown is constitutionally entitled to outvote the Upper House by the creation of new peers, and its submission to the will of the nation has been admitted by the Lords themselves, as for instance by Lord Derby in 1846, when opposing the Corn Importation Bill in the House of Lords. On that occasion, he said: "My lords, if I know anything of the constitutional value of this House, it is to interpose a salutary obstacle to rash and inconsiderate legislation; it is to protect the people from the consequences of their own imprudence. It *never* has been the course of this House to resist a continued and deliberately-expressed public opinion. Your lordships *always* have bowed, and *always will bow*, to the expression of such an opinion; but it is yours to check hasty legislation leading to irreparable evils" (Hansard, vol. 86, p. 1175). The submission of the Lords to the will of the nation is further laid down by such acknowledged writers on the Constitution as Bagehot, Creasy, Dicey, and Macaulay.

But, again, the majority in the Commons may be stripped of their power by the Crown if their views are contrary to those of the nation, as was done on two notable occasions, when in 1784 Pitt was called upon to take the reins of Government by George the Third, in the teeth of a large majority in the Commons, and upon a dissolution he was returned by the electorate. And, again, in 1834, when Peel and Wellington took office at the instigation of William the Fourth against the will of the Commons, but upon an appeal the people pronounced against them. These contests, as Professor Dicey points out, establish the sovereignty of the nation over that of the legislature. Thus it will be seen that the British Constitution vests the Government of the people in the people themselves, to be carried on for their own benefit and advantage, and at their own discretion.

Now, how has it been with Ireland? Why the very reverse! Not only have all our laws been altered in spite of our protestations; but I venture to say that up to the present the approval of the majority of the members has been sufficient to mar any Irish measure and insure its wreckage in the British House of Commons. For when, may I ask, was a measure proposed by the Irish members and supported by the vast majority of them passed into law? But worse than all! How many measures have been forced upon the Irish nation in the very teeth of an unrelenting opposition of both the people and their representatives. Indeed, Mr. Balfour bragged on more than

one occasion that the Jubilee Coercion Act had been carried through the House of Commons by "triumphant majorities," and that it was now unquestionably "the law of the land." But were not these majorities composed of members irresponsible inasmuch as Ireland was concerned, and were they not voting in deliberate opposition to the wishes of the vast majority of the Irish nation and the Irish members? Indeed, what has been so violently unconstitutional is that the wishes or demands of the Irish people, expressed through their representatives in Parliament have been so seldom taken into account or consideration since the Union in what is supposed to be the People's House.

Yet Burke tells us distinctly in his *Present Discontents*, that the House of Commons should be considered as "a control, issuing immediately from the people;" that it should be made to bear some stamp of their "actual disposition;" that—and these are significant words—"it would be an evil more natural and tolerable that the House of Commons should be infected with every epidemical phrensy of the people, as this would indicate some consanguinity, some sympathy of nature with their constituents, than that they should in all cases be wholly untouched by the opinions and feelings of the people out of doors. For he says, that by this want of sympathy with the bulk of the people they would cease to be the House of Commons, whose "virtue, spirit, and essence," consists in being "the express image of the feelings of the nation;" and he further holds that it is not constituted to be a control upon the people, which he described as a *most pernicious* doctrine, but as "a control for the people." He depicts it as an "unnatural" and "monstrous" state of things in the Constitution, to have the House of Commons full of confidence, and the nation plunged in despair; and when it is in the utmost harmony with ministers whom the people regard with the utmost abhorrence; or when in all disputes between the people and the administration, it presumes against the people. Yet does not every one of these symptoms represent the constant and continued attitude of the British House of Commons to the Irish people? Is it then not an "unnatural and monstrous" state of things that exists and has existed for the past eighty-eight years in the Government of Ireland.

Thus it may be seen that the first "right," asserted by Judge Stephen as a *permanent* safeguard of all our others, is denied us in Ireland, and in the first and principal of the foundations of government we are *unconstitutionally* treated; and with what result?

Now let us take the second right and permanent safeguard claimed by Sir James Stephen, *viz.*, "the free and *uncontrolled* dispensation of the law in the ordinary course of justice."

Hallam says that the open administration of justice, according to known laws, truly interpreted, and the fair construction of evidence

is "by far the most indispensable" of the direct guarantees of civil liberty; and his opinion as to its denial is ominous.

"Nor can the subjects," he writes, "of any State be reckoned to enjoy a *real freedom*, where this condition is not found both in its judicial institutions, and in their constant exercise."

The interpretation of these definitions is, of course, trial by jury, which he further describes as "the fundamental privilege" of the British nation, and which he boasted had "survived the shocks of every revolution, and in the *worst* times had been the standing record of primeval liberty." He moreover avows that, in spite of the infringements made on this right by the "pretended" jurisdiction of the Star-Chamber, it would be "impossible"—after the bold reformers of 1641 had "lopped off that unsightly excrescence" from the Constitution—to prevent a criminal charge passing through the usual legal course of investigation, first by a grand jury, and then in open Court by a petty one.

Blackstone, in his *Commentaries*, writes most emphatically on the importance—one might almost say sanctity—of this first of all privileges. In criminal cases, he says, this important right should be exercised without deviation, since in time of "difficulty and danger" more is to be feared from the violence and partiality of judges appointed by the Crown in suits between the king and the subject, than under ordinary circumstances. Therefore, he says, the law has wisely placed this strong and two-fold barrier of a presentment and trial by jury between the liberties of the subject and the prerogative of the Crown. Without this, he alleges, judges might imprison any man obnoxious to a Government, while he solemnly concludes: "The liberties of England cannot but subsist so long as this palladium remains sacred and inviolate, not only from all open attacks, which *none will be so hardy as to make*, but also from all secret machinations which may sap and undermine it."

Lord Coke's estimate of this great and old foundation of English liberty is quite as pronounced as Hallam's. He says that as the gold-finer will not let the least crumb of gold escape him, owing to the excellency of the metal, so ought the learned reader not pass "any syllable of this law in respect of the excellency of the matter." It is an institution coeval with the birth of English liberty, and dates from Henry II.'s reign, when assizes were first held. The clauses defining it in Magna Charta, Hallam describes as "the essential clauses," Cressy, as "the crowning glories" of that great Act, while Chatham declared their first three words as "worth all the classics."

Lord Erskine, during the memorable trial (already alluded to) which once and for ever settled the right of a jury to return a general verdict, referred to the administration of criminal justice being in the hands of the people as "the basis of all freedom." So



long as that system were preserved he said there could not be any tyranny, for the people would not execute tyrannical laws upon themselves. But whenever it is lost, said this great lawyer, "liberty must fall along with it, because the sword of justice falls into the hands of men who, *however independent, have no common interest with the mass of the people.*" But are not the interests of those who wield the sword of justice in Ireland diametrically opposed to the interests of the vast masses of the Irish people?

Judge Stephen, in his *Commentaries on the independence of judges*, says that it is deserving of "particular remark." For, he says, that one "main preservation of the public liberty" rests upon the fact of the judicial power being vested in a peculiar body of men. That this judicial power must have a "distinct and separate existence," and that those who wield it, though nominated by the Crown, must "not be removable at its pleasure." His opinion on a system such as is carried on in Ireland is clear and deliberate, and deserves the grave consideration of our Unionist friends. "Public liberty," he says, "*cannot subsist long in any State, unless the administration of common justice be rendered secure from the improper influence of the executive power.*"

But while in England, trial by jury has been preserved intact since Strafford lost his head, and Laud perished in like manner, how has it fared in Ireland? How often has it been entirely abolished? Yet, according to the authorities I have cited, it should be a permanent, inviolable, and inalienable right, claimed and demanded as such, in all the great bulwarks of the constitution, and sworn to be preserved by the sovereign in the coronation oath! Why is it not at the present moment in "criminal" cases of a political tinge entirely discarded, and its functions vested in the persons of hireling magistrates, dependent upon the will of the executive, and consequently, liable to intimidation, and open to corruption? Yet in the most remote periods of English history such would not be tolerated. Bracton, five centuries before Blackstone penned his *Commentaries* declared that the *curia* and *parcs* were "necessarily" the judges in all cases of life, limb, crime, &c. The king could not decide for then he would have been both prosecutor and judge; "*neither could his justices, for they represent him.*" But what are Mr. Balfour's removables in the present day, when forsooth we are told we are constitutionally governed? Have not some of the tactics of the "pretended" jurisdiction of "that unsightly excrescence," the Star chamber, been revived while trial by jury has been dispensed with?

Yet is not all this a deliberate and cowardly violation of even the Act of Union? For did not the second article of that Act provide for the succession of the crown as "limited and settled, according to the existing laws," while again, the Eighth Article declared that

"all laws" existing at the time of the Union were to remain the same in each country. Did not these clauses, moreover, guarantee us the same rights, liberties, and laws as Englishmen? That the Union was to place us on an equal footing with Englishmen, I shall show beyond all possibility of doubt.

Pitt, in his ninth resolution, laid before the English House of Commons in response to the King's message, regarding the Union, most distinctly stated that the Government entertained a firm persuasion that a complete union between the two countries would prove beneficial, if "founded on *equal* and liberal principle on the *similarity of laws* constitution and Government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections." More than one member of the English House "cheerfully" voted for this address, "wishing sincerely to grant to Ireland a full participation in all British privileges and advantages."

Again, in the Irish Parliament, Lord Cornwallis on closing the Session on June 1, 1799, used almost similar words to those of Pitt, in reference to the Act of Union, which had been rejected by the Irish Parliament. He said it was to be established by the consent of both Legislatures, "founded on equal and liberal principles, on the *similarity of laws, constitution, and government*, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections." Castlereagh, on delivering a message from the Lord-Lieutenant to the Irish Parliament on the 5th of February, 1800, regarding the passing of the Union, said it was to "give to both countries a *full and unreserved* participation in their mutual advantages of commerce and constitution"; and the address of both Houses, in reply to this message, expressed their confidence that they would by this Act, "decidedly secure the preservation of our liberties." And once more, on the passing of the Act, Lord Cornwallis, in his speech from the throne, said the two peoples would be united into one kingdom, "*protected by the same laws*."

These sentiments are remarkably perceptible in the early Irish legislation in the United Parliament for some time after the Union. For instance, in the proceedings in connection with Emmett's abortive rebellion, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (the Right Hon. Henry Addington) expressed his extreme regret at being obliged to introduce repressive measures, and nothing would induce him to do so, he said, but the fact of its being "a dangerous and traitorous insurrection intended directly against the State," which he freely admitted could be the *only* ground that "would justify a proposition for narrowing the liberty of the subject or trenching in *any degree* upon the principles of the Constitution." He further declared he did not propose to give even the Lord-Lieutenant the power of superseding by martial law, the operation of the civil code, and though intending to further propose a motion to suspend the Habeas Corpus

Act, it would enable persons arrested to be "tried by the ordinary process of the law." Yet English statesmen require no rebellion in our day to suspend trial by jury, and thereby dispense with the ordinary process of the law!

Thus we have seen so far that the two first, chief, fundamental and permanent principles of the Constitution have been incessantly violated in Ireland, and this entirely at variance with the spirit in which the Act of Union was conceived and carried. Next let us take the third great right, which is the surest guarantee of the preservation of the two first, namely, the right to carry arms.

This right is claimed and secured in Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, and is, therefore, an inalienable right under the Constitution, while its preservation is guaranteed again in the coronation oath, as one of the laws and customs of the land. We have seen how the Dean of St. Asaph regarded it, and how he advised the subject to avail of it not only in theory, but practice. Judge Stephen, under the head of "personal rights" in his *Commentaries*, avows that the subject has a "right" to carry such arms as are proper for his defence. Not only is it declared by statute, he admits, but it is a public allowance of "the natural right of resistance and self-preservation when the sanction of society and laws are insufficient to restrain the violence of oppression."

The importance of this right is far greater than we might think at first sight. For, let us for an instant suppose that the Legislature became so tyrannical that they chose to abolish the Constitution, *as was done in Ireland*, and as Judge Stephen holds they have a perfect right and power to do; and that the Commons, with about the same authority as they had when they passed the Septennial Act, appointed themselves members for life, where is the remedy for the people? The Commons, with the Crown, have complete control over the army so long as they pass the Mutiny Act. The Lords, under such circumstances, might stand by the people, but with the latter unarmed they would be powerless. Macaulay tells us, when treating on this subject, that the rulers in every form of government stand in some awe of the people, the *fear of resistance* and the sense of shame affecting even the most despotic rulers; and he adds, significantly, that *nothing but these* preserves the freedom of the most democratic communities from the encroachments of their annual and biennial delegates.

Remove this sense of fear and you leave the community at the mercy and will of their rulers, with the sure result that the encroachments upon liberty become precedents, and precedents by custom soon take the shape of laws. Has it not been so in Ireland? Why our deprivation of this very right will prove the case.

In 1807, when the Arms (Ireland) Bill was before the Imperial Parliament, its renewal was justified upon the Act passed by the Irish Parliament in 1796. This had, at all events, some semblance

to justification, though the Act was forced through the Irish Commons during an empty sitting. Yet many members in the English Commons opposed the measure as unconstitutional, and contrary to the spirit of the Union. Several of the lords entered a solemn protest on their books on the same grounds. They insisted that if such a measure were unfortunately necessary it should only be enforced for "the shortest time possible," and they inserted it as their opinion that the best way to conciliate the people of Ireland to a Union with England was by convincing them that "in all our acts we are as tender of their liberties as we are of our own, and that we will on no account suffer that to be done to them which we will not as readily, and on the same grounds, submit to ourselves."

Yet, forsooth! in 1843 the Duke of Wellington, when proposing its further renewal, based his action upon the fact that it had been the law in Ireland for half a century, and that it had originated in the Irish Parliament. It was, he said, continued from 1807 by various Acts, though in "a more extended form" than the original, and he had the temerity to assert that it "*therefore*" became necessary to adopt his Bill. One noble lord on this occasion declared that if the difference in the mode of governing England and Ireland were maintained there would be no wonder at the latter demanding the repeal of the Union. How little excuse or defence is *now* required to renew the Arms Act in the British House of Commons, and to deprive us of that "natural right of resistance" when the laws are insufficient to check oppression?

But what constitutes the oppression which a people have a natural right to resist?

Sir James Mackintosh, in his able work upon the "glorious" revolution, deals in most pathetic and eloquent language with the misfortunes of a people being obliged to resist their Government, and the causes that render this too awful step necessary. He holds that a people cannot be blamed for waging civil war when they have no other chance of vindicating the right to be exempt from imprisonment or exaction at the will of a few, and to enjoy perfect security for their persons, for the free exercise of their industry, and for the "*undisturbed enjoyment of its fruits.*" And what war, he asks, can be more necessary than that which is waged in defence of ancient laws and venerable institutions? Judge Stephen admits that all the great fundamental enactments--the venerable laws through which Parliament derive their powers, and the royal family of England their inheritance--confirm and exemplify the doctrine of resistance when the executive magistrate endeavours to subvert the Constitution. Chatham preferred to see the people resist than lose a "single iota" of the Constitution. He "rejoiced" to see the Americans resist the Stamp Act, because three millions of people "so dead to

all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would only have been fit to make slaves of all the rest."

But may I ask, have Irishmen been allowed to enjoy the fruits of their labour undisturbed? Have they been exempt from exaction or imprisonment at the will of the few people who were planted in their country to rule them? Were their venerable institutions, and their ancient laws respected? Was their Constitution ever subverted, or one iota of it lost? Were they ever enslaved by anything more arbitrary than a Stamp Act? Let history answer with impartiality, while Royal Commissions may inquire into the criminalities of the Irish nation.

I shall now take the last right I intend treating of, and that is the right of public meeting, which has been so ruthlessly infringed by the Government in Ireland. Professor Dicey tells us, that no public meeting becomes illegal in consequence of any proclamation or notice of a Secretary of State, a magistrate, or any other official; that in fact every man has a perfect right to attend any meeting, while to prohibit him doing so is illegal. Moreover, that if a meeting is in itself legal, and an opposition one is got up, which will lead to a breach of the peace, it is not lawful to suppress the former, as has been decided by a judgment of the Superior Courts in England. Yet how often has this been done in Ireland, where now any magistrate-mannikin can pop up at will, here or there, with a mechanism of a jack-in-the-box, and proclaim any meeting he chooses. In truth all he has to say, as we have seen scores of times recently, is, "I, Peter Pumpkin, do hereby prohibit such meeting," because of some vague information alluded to as received from some quarter unspecified; and then Peter Pumpkin, with all the grandiloquence at command, and any amount of appropriated self-importance does "hereby enjoin all magistrates and officers entrusted with the preservation of the public peace, and all others whom it may concern, to aid and assist in the due and proper execution of the law in preventing any such meeting *as aforesaid* and in the effectual dispersion and suppression of the same, &c., &c." These identical words I have quoted from a recent proclamation. Now what is the law referred to which is supposed to prohibit the meeting? Is it the proclamation, the execution of which the magistrates and police are ordered to carry out? If so, it is distinctly illegal, according to Professor Dicey, for the proclamation is not worth the paper it is written on. Another right is thus constantly violated in Ireland, where any Castle marionette, or any *quasi* military legal magisterial puppet can now give it "under my hand" that the people, whose servant he is, shall do his bidding.

Now for a word upon the liberty of the press, which Mr. Balfour has so often dequied having interfered with, and regarding which he

says, "No statesman of eminence or position had dared bring such an accusation seriously forward in the House of Commons."

According to Judge Stephen, the liberty of the press consists when "rightly understood, in laying no 'previous restraints' upon publications, for every free man has 'an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public, for to forbid this is to destroy the freedom of the press;'" and when he publishes anything improper, he is amenable for it before the "ordinary" tribunals. Professor Dicey is, if anything, more explicit upon this subject. Look at the matter which way you will, he says, the main feature of liberty of the press, as understood in England, is that "the press (which means, of course, the writers in it) is subject only to the law of the land. Press offences, in so far as the term can be used in English law, are tried and punished *only* by the ordinary courts of the country, that is by a judge and jury." He also alleges that the practical freedom of the English press arose in great measure by the trial of press offences by a jury.

But, now, was not a previous restraint placed upon the press in Ireland by forbidding it, under the penalties of the Coercion Act, to publish accounts of meetings of suppressed branches of the National League? Were not editors and scores of newsvendors imprisoned for publishing and circulating the papers containing these accounts? and were these people not tried by magistrates dependent upon the executive, and not before a judge and jury? If so, the liberty of the press *was violated* in Ireland, in spite of what Mr. Balfour may say.

But there is no need for argument upon the matter, for if we consult one of the latest and best authorities regarding it what do we find but the following true though astounding statement? The ninth and latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says:

"The liberty of the press has always been regarded by modern political writers as a matter of supreme importance. At the present day the liberty of the press in all English-speaking countries is (with perhaps the *single exception of Ireland*) a matter of merely historical importance. . . . Ireland is the only part of the United Kingdom, in which the press cannot be said to be free."

Do we then enjoy the same privileges and liberties as Englishmen, and are we ruled by the same laws under the same Constitution, as Unionists so often assert? Has the Treaty of Union been violated?

Finally, I have said that I would show how Mr. Gladstone and his followers had not deserted the old Whig policy by advocating Home Rule. The quotation from Burke, in which he expresses his hope that the Irish Constitution will be preserved "for ever," supports my contention; while Sheridan's attitude, and especially Fox's, towards the Act of Union are unmistakable. At a meeting of the

Whig Club in 1800. Fox, who was in the chair supported by the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Holland, referred to the proposed Union in the most pronounced terms. He described the whole scheme as founded on "a false and abominable presumption," and on "the most arrogant despotism and tyranny." There was no clearer axiom in the science of politics, he said, than that man was his own natural governor, and that the legislature of a people ought to flow "out of," and be identified with, the people themselves. "I am certainly of opinion," he said, "that the principles of Whiggism alone are the safe, true, and only ground on which a nation can be governed. The chief of these is that the sovereignty of the people is the only legitimate source of that representative system by which a nation can be secured in its rights and liberties."

But indeed it is not the great Whig party alone, but also the Conservative, that admits the right of a nation to rule themselves, as some of the following quotations will show :

Lord Palmerston, referring to the Italian question, said : "In this house a question is settled according to what a majority thinks about it. Let the people of Italy settle their own questions in the same way. All that we want is that the people should be left to judge of their own interests, to shape their future arrangements according to their own opinions of that which is most likely to contribute to their happiness and most in unison with their feelings and opinions." This policy, he said, was founded on the principle on which the throne of England rests and on the traditions of England and the principles upon which the Constitution is founded.

Lord John Russell said, in reference to the same question : "I think with regard to this matter of states and nations regulating their own government, it is not very different from that of a man regulating his own house."

Lord Grey asserted the principle that "it is the right of the people themselves to settle to what form of government they shall submit." This he called "a plain principle of justice."

Lord Derby said : "If there is one principle more recognised than another in this country, it is that every State has an undoubted right to settle its own internal affairs at its own will and pleasure."

The English press would seem equally convinced of the right and justice of Home Rule as were her leading statesmen.

The *Saturday Review* calls it "that most sacred rule of justice which requires that the civil government of each country should be answerable for its conduct to its own people, and liable to the consequences of disaffection if it fails in its duty."

The *Times* describes the "right" of a people to rule themselves as "*indestructible and inalienable*," and it "fearlessly" denounces as

<sup>1</sup> There are other opinions of equal weight, too numerous to give here, but which appeared in my pamphlet, *Justice or Coercion*, published in 1886, by M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin.

"subversive of the first principles of human society and human freedom" the acts of "*any*" government that should seek to deny a people such a right. It is further of opinion that "The destiny of a nation ought to be determined, not by the opinions of other nations, but by the opinion of the nation itself. To decide whether they are well governed or not is for those who live under that government."

The following two quotations are, however, specially deserving of notice, while the second might have been worthy of the special attention of the recent Royal Commission :

"THE FIRST STEP TO LIBERTY IS NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE."

"Liberty is a serious game to be played out, as the Greek told the Persian, *with knives and hatchets*, and not with drawled epigrams and soft petitions."—*Times*, Aug. 27, 1889.

Comment is unnecessary.

In conclusion, I think I may claim to have shown that inasmuch as Ireland and the Constitution are concerned, the latter has had a very mythical existence. While with us the Constitution has been set at naught, the whole spirit even of the Act of Union has been ruthlessly and unscrupulously violated. While in England the power and spirit of the Democracy have yearly grown apace until they have now absolutely transformed the will of the people into the sovereignty of the State, in Ireland government has been retrogressive. The old landmarks of the Constitution have entirely disappeared. The fundamental laws upon which rested the Government of both England and Ireland have been lost and almost forgotten in the latter country, ruled under the withering hand of irresponsibility and the ruthless hand of oppression. The nation, in consequence, was more than once driven to the verge of despair, when she yielded to the folly of attempting a suicidal resistance, the suppression of which again engendered the secret machinations of revenge and desperation ; all now shamelessly thrown in her face by way of reproach. Yet, surely, they were more blameable to the governing than the governed. But the name of a single English statesman—William Ewart Gladstone—now spell-binds the nation, subdues her passions, and rules supreme where British legions armed to the teeth could for centuries not make an impression. For she at last sees the silver lining of the dark, awful, impenetrable clouds fast rolling back upon the horizon, and the bright sun of balmy hope accomplishes what brute force was powerless to cope with. Right and justice will at length prevail, the cruelty and injustice of centuries will be forgotten and forgiven by a people famed for their good-nature, and England and Ireland bound together by the links of justice, goodwill and common interest, will stand side by side to defend the mightiest Empire of all times.



## CO-OPERATION IN ENGLAND IN 1889.

It may possibly surprise a considerable proportion of educated people to hear that co-operation exists in England to-day in sufficient force to require recognition. Few among the richer classes are aware of the size and strength the movement has already reached. Of Socialism we have all heard much. We have seen its apostles preaching at street-corners, and we are aware that its doctrines have attracted sufficient followers to enable them to transact among themselves a serious division and split in the party, whose separate leaders now appear to regard each other with far more ferocity than they exhibit to the individualist world. But co-operation has not of late years been preached in the highways and byways. It has lived and grown modestly, making but little noise and spreading downwards from its birthplace in the North to the South, with so little show that it has, except among its particular followers, passed almost unnoticed. Yet it is believed that were all the working people, who are in some way interested in co-operative societies (as members of either distributive or productive societies), numbered, they would be found to amount to something like a million.

For the information of those who may like to know what forms co-operation and profit-sharing are taking in England to-day, I give the following brief account of the movement.

The success of co-operative distribution may be regarded as an accomplished fact, and as yet is much greater than that of co-operative production. But let it be clearly understood that when we speak of co-operative distribution, we do not refer to those large so-called "co-operative stores," where, by payment of a small annual subscription, goods may be obtained at less cost than at most shops. These nominally "co-operative stores" are not co-operative at all in the sense of the real co-operator. They are, in fact, simply joint-stock companies, which are able through the possession of greater capital to undersell the small shopkeeper. They offer their benefits only to the richer, and have probably damaged the cause of true co-operation far more than they have helped it. The co-operative distribution that forms such an important element in the commercial world of working men of to-day began in 1844, and was, we believe,

<sup>1</sup> The older Civil Service Store in Queen Victoria Street is an exception.

chiefly due to the initiative of Mr. W. Holyoake. At this time the great co-operative mania which had taken possession of many sections of society was on the wane. It was found that co-operation did not at once bring about the millennium, and therefore its sometime enthusiasts abandoned the more attainable benefits which might accrue from its adoption. Moreover, the movement, much to its own detriment, had become curiously mixed up with various phases of Socialism, and some of its apostles appeared to believe that it might be applied as a panacea not only for the financial, but for the social, troubles of humanity. Various forms of phalansteries and co-operative households were started, of which, alas! none now survive to tell their tale. It is scarcely too much to say that in the first half of the century Socialism slew co-operation, but there was still life in it which revived with the efforts of twenty-eight men at Rochdale.<sup>1</sup> These men (now generally spoken of as the Rochdale Pioneers) succeeded in saving £1 apiece (accumulated, we believe, chiefly by twopences and threepences), and with this capital of £28 opened a store in a back lane. So well did this modest venture succeed that in their last year a profit of £34,000 was declared, which was for the most part returned to customers in the form of bonuses. This store became the model of many others, the system of co-operation adopted being extremely simple. As a first charge interest is paid to capital up to 6 per cent.<sup>2</sup> This capital, raised in £1 shares, has generally been subscribed by working people. The stores are open to the public at large, and goods are sold at market prices, but each customer receives a tin cheque with the amount of his purchases stamped upon it. When these cheques are returned and dividends declared, the customer receives a bonus upon the amount laid out; if he be a member or shareholder, this bonus being twice as if an outsider. He may, if he likes, allow the amount due to him to accumulate, and by this means become a shareholder. As will be seen, the stores thus offer to working people, through their daily marketings, a very easy method of saving without any extra deduction being made from outlay. The growth of this co-operative movement may be described as rather sporadic than continuous. Though many stores were opened after the pattern of that of the Rochdale Pioneers, it was not till 1870 that any form of federation was effected, when, as a result of a Co-operative Congress, the Co-operative Union was formed, acting under the auspices of a Central Board at Manchester.

According to the scheme of the Co-operative Union, Great Britain is divided into sections, each section being divided into districts, worked by local committees whose duty it is to promote the starting

<sup>1</sup> Although it is stated that co-operative societies, worked somewhat on the same principle, had existed in the provinces prior to this date, yet undoubtedly the present movement of co-operative distribution was begun by the men at Rochdale.

<sup>2</sup> Six per cent. on transferable, 5 per cent. on withdrawable, shares.

of distributive stores such as we have described, and which are nearly all members of this Co-operative Union and share in its benefits (chiefly legal advice, &c.), and also are members and customers of one or other of the two wholesale societies—the English begun in 1864, and the Scottish begun in 1868. The relation of the two small district stores to these wholesale societies has been described as akin to that of the individual member to the branch store. They become shareholders, and receive again a bonus on transactions.

Of the commercial success<sup>1</sup> of this system of co-operative distribution there can be no doubt, but the efforts of the co-operators are not confined to successful commerce. They aim also at an educational co-operatist propaganda, which is carried on with a proportion of their profits set aside before dividends for bonuses are declared. Attached to each store is generally to be found a hall, in which lectures are given, social evenings held, &c. Co-operators have always been sociable, and they endeavour to educate their members as well as to enrich them.

Nearly every society has its educational and recreative committee,<sup>2</sup> and no doubt in point of advertisement alone these are of considerable value to commercial as well as to intellectual prosperity.

The Woman's Guild, founded in 1884, exists chiefly for purposes of propaganda. It is organised according to the scheme of the Co-operative Union into sections, districts, and branches, the object of the former being the founding of the latter. The objects of the Guild are described as propaganda, the bringing of new members to the stores, promoting co-operative workrooms, and the arranging of meetings, classes, conferences, recreational meetings, &c.

The members of each branch hold their meetings weekly or fortnightly, and these meetings are mainly of a social or educational character. Sometimes a paper is read, or music given. Sometimes the women meet together, bringing their work simply for social intercourse. Co-operation in England began in the North, and it is there that it has flourished most successfully, but it is in the South that the Woman's Guild has found its chief success. It now numbers over fifty branches, and it is a particularly healthy sign of its life that it is chiefly managed by working women themselves.<sup>3</sup> A Children's Guild, working upon the lines of the Woman's Guild, has been started, its object being to give to the rising generation simple lessons in the principles of co-operation, with which are incorporated social and recreative meetings.

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Wholesale Annual*, the accredited publication of the two wholesale societies, in 1888 the sales of the English wholesale amounted to over 6,000,000, and those of the Scottish to nearly 2,000,000.

<sup>2</sup> I find that in the year 1887 as much as £21,380 was devoted to education, by the various Co-operative Societies of the United Kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> Help from ladies in lecturing, or in the arranging of musical and recreative evenings, will be welcomed by the hon. sec., Miss Jewellyn Davis, the Rectory, Kirby Lonsdale.

When a system has worked so well, and such results have been obtained, it seems ungrateful to cavil at part, but serious flaws do exist which may, if not repaired, bring the present organisation to ruin. These defects are in the management of the English wholesale societies, which, although professing to have faith in the application of co-operation and profit-sharing to all industries, yet fail to conduct the internal management of their own businesses on co-operative principles.

No bonuses or shares in sales are given to the mediate workers in the English wholesale society's houses, neither are the factories worked by them carried on on profit-sharing principles; indeed, so far have they deserted their principles that in one or two instances distinct complaints have been raised by Trades Unions of the wages given in the factories of the wholesale society.

Their plea of defence, put shortly, is that they are bound to do the best possible with the money of their shareholders, who are for the most part working men, not themselves paid on a profit-sharing basis, and that it is quite open to their employes to become members of the stores, and share through them in the benefits of the wholesale society. That their position is a weak one will at once be recognised. If in co-operation is to be found the true remedy for the conflicts of labour and capital, as co-operators profess to believe, it will work as successfully in production as in distribution, and its adoption should not be regarded as a risk, but as a stepping-stone to commercial success.

One lesser point might well deserve the attention of the Co-operative Union, and that is a possible reform in their nomenclature. The small stores which are started under their auspices all over the United Kingdom bear no sufficient mark by which they may at once be recognised as belonging to the Union. Over the door of these shops may generally be found the words "Co-operative Society," with the name of the district prefixed, but these words taken singly are freely used by many tradesmen for their own benefit, and among working people great confusion is often found to exist between the *bonâ fide* store of the Co-operative Union and the so-called stores of the tradesman a few doors lower down, who offers a pound of tea or a gaudy vase in return for a sufficient number of purchases. What is needed is some name which should be registered, and used in common by all the branch stores of the Union, so that it would be impossible for custom to be diverted from them to their spurious imitators, and which would prove a safeguard for working people.

Turning from co-operative distribution to production (a far more important and difficult question), what has co-operation done here towards solving the problem of the conflict between capital and labour? Two celebrated instances of success exist in France, in the house decorating firm of M. Leclair and the iron foundry of M. Godin at Guises, but, strictly speaking, these works neither of them sprang

from co-operation. They are great examples of the success of profit-sharing, but in neither case had they their inception in combination among workmen, but in the individual efforts of two remarkable men. With both firms the business was created by their heads before they were placed upon a co-operative basis, and, in the case of M. Godin, had the great advantage of the many valuable patents invented by himself. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to know that M. Leclair, who left a fortune of £48,000, maintained that the increased vigour and energy with which, through having a distinct interest in the result, the workers applied themselves to their work, more than compensated himself commercially for the share returned to them. So far in England, co-operative production has not yet met with the distinct success of co-operative distribution, but there already exist in London various associations, whose object is chiefly the promotion of productive co-operation. Such are the Labour Association, 1 Norfolk Street, Strand; the Co-operative Aid Association, 99 Leaman Street, E.; the Co-operative Guild, 35 Russell Street, W.C., &c.; and it was chiefly through the efforts of the first named that an exhibition of the productions of co-operative societies was held in August of last year at the Crystal Palace, at which thirty societies exhibited. From information received, I should estimate the productive societies now at work in Great Britain at about sixty.

Among the most successful of these may be placed the Leicester Boot and Shoe Factory, and the Hebden Bridge Fustian Cutters. The trade of the former amounted in 1889 to something over £3000 a quarter, and allowed a return of 1s. 6d. in the pound to labour, 3½ to custom, besides a payment to a reserve fund. In both these factories the original capital was provided by the men themselves, and I give below an interesting account of the origin of the Hebden Bridge Fustian Cutters as quoted in the catalogue of the Crystal Palace Exhibition, and taken from Mr. J. C. Gray's *Co-operative Production in Great Britain*:—

"The Hebden Bridge Fustian Manufacturing Co-operative Society came into existence in 1870. It commenced by the payment of weekly subscriptions of 3d. each amongst a few fustian cutters, who hoped by this means to provide something in the shape of a mutual benefit fund, upon which they might draw in case of need. Their attention was, however, directed to association as a means of self-employment, and they formed themselves into a society for the manufacture of fustian cloth in the latter part of 1870. At first they confined their operation to fustian cutting, which was done in the homes of the workmen after their ordinary day's work was over, and the sums so earned were credited to the workers in the books of the society as share capital. Thus, without leaving their previous employment, they were enabled gradually to work themselves into capitalists on a small scale, and were by slow degrees building up a society destined in after years to find employment for all its members if they so desired. The pieces of fustian so cut were sent out to be dyed and finished, and then sold to co-operative stores and others. The next step was to take a room and commence to make up the pieces, when finished, into clothing, thus finding employment for more workpeople. This was continued until the year

1874, when a department for dyeing and finishing was added, a factory and estate costing £7000 being purchased for this purpose. During all this period the sales to co-operative societies was steadily increasing, and the demands upon the resources of the society became greater, until in the present year (1886) it commenced to weave its own cloth, and is thus in a position to take the cotton from the spinner and deliver it to its customers made up into clothing ready for wear. Commencing in 1870 with no regular workers, but simply employing its members in their leisure time at home, this society now has 200 workpeople in its employ, and these workpeople are all shareholders to a greater or less extent. On last quarter 9d. in the pound on wages was given."<sup>1</sup>

These societies, and many of the others at work, exist entirely through the efforts of the workers themselves, but, though this is the most satisfactory, it is not, as is shown by the works of MM. Leclair and Godin, the only way in which profit-sharing may be advantageously conducted. Where a business has been created by special enterprise, the creation should be regarded as so much capital invested, and assigned specially to the origination.

Like co-operative distribution, co-operative production has met with greater success in the North than in the South, and in London is only a recent movement, but in the last few years it has spread considerably. Among the most promising of the societies now at work in the metropolis are, the London Productive Cocoa Works at Thames Ditton; the Co-operative Builders at Brixton, who at the end of their first year have a balance of £110, the property of their workers; the Co-operative Printers, Salisbury Court, E.C.; the Bookbinders in Bury Street, W.C.; the Woman's Printing Society in Westminster; the Cigarette Makers in Houndsditch; and a recent but very successful experiment at the East End, the Co-operative Bass-dressers, who in their first quarter have returned to their workers a dividend in the pound as well as giving 3d. in the pound to custom. Certain differences exist in the methods of distribution of profits adopted by these societies, but the principle is analogous in all. Interest to capital, at a rate settled by the rules of the society, is a first charge, and after payment to a reserve fund, &c., the net profits are divided among the workers, according to their rate of wages, or allotted for their benefit in shares in the undertaking.

In an age so permeated with a spirit of philanthropy as the present, it is a curious anomaly that many co-operative productive societies are delayed in their growth from want of capital.<sup>2</sup> We have to-day learned the lesson that direct almsgiving is harmful, and likely to produce more evil than it allays, but no one has preached that the use of wealth for the benefit of humanity is wrongdoing.

<sup>1</sup> This refers to quarter ending Midsummer 1889.

<sup>2</sup> This is, we believe, the case with the London Productive Cocoa Works, the Cigarette Makers in Houndsditch, and many others.

It is true that "morality" and "business" are generally kept sedulously apart, as though an admixture of the two were impossible. The same man who will willingly give £1000 to a hospital, may have drawn that £1000 from investments in mines or works, where his poorer brethren labour under conditions so bad that it seems almost a certainty that they will in turn become recipients of the charity to which their labour has contributed; but gradually; it may be, that even shareholders are waking up to a feeling of responsibility as to the human as well as the financial result of the use of their money. To those who desire speculations in whose success they may rejoice as a moral as well as a monetary triumph co-operative societies may be commended as good investments. And surely among securities offered, the determination and strength of purpose which has been shown by the workmen, who have themselves embarked all their savings in the undertaking, they are trying to forward, should be counted for something. If "help those who would help themselves" be our motto, no better form of true philanthropy can be found than the encouraging of co-operative societies by investment of money therein.

The fact that so far co-operation has not been applied with success to the lower forms of women's labour, particularly to the ill-paid drudgery of the lower branches of needlework and "slopwork," arises simply from the fact that the present rate of payment given for such work does not allow of profits being realised, if the work is executed under reasonably sanitary and decent conditions. The sweater very often only scrapes together his living out of the degradation in which the work is carried on. To any one acquainted with the conditions in which the slopworkers and poorer needleworkers of London labour, it will be palpable that for any women to extract enough from their earnings to co-operate and create for themselves a business according to the example of the Hebden Bridge Rustian Cutters, is almost an impossibility. The low rate of payment given to the workers does not altogether arise from the reduplication of middlemen, though undoubtedly this is an evil; the sweater is not always a wicked parasite fattening on the poverty of his neighbours, as often he is a man as poor as they, who barely contrives to gain a livelihood by taking a commission for getting work executed, and in many cases is the only medium between the original worker and the "shop," from whom the former would have no chance of securing the work herself at first hand. The real evil to be met is the almost unlimited competition in the market, a competition greater than any which exists in any other form of labour. It does not arise in England alone. Italy, North Germany, and Ireland are all the enemies of the London sempstress, and under cheaper conditions of life, even with the additional charge for transport, white work can be more cheaply executed than in the metropolis. Convents prove

serious foes to the London needlewoman, for the nuns, working only to supplement funds, will take payment at a rate which would mean starvation to a worker living by her trade. Moreover, it is almost impossible to consider the commoner forms of needlework as skilled labour. Sewing is learned alike by all women in their youth, and the slight additional skill needed to turn the early training to account can be gained in a few weeks' work. Also the market is flooded by out-workers, who work in their spare time for "pocket wages" only, or perhaps to "help along" the men's often insufficient earnings. The only possibility of helping the sweated women workers is by helping the men also; and raising the whole condition of life among the poor. It is cheering to note that in many of the productive societies which I have named, women work with the men at those branches of the work generally undertaken by them, and receive their full benefits according to the rules of the society.

One of the first efforts to enable needlewomen to share in the profits of their earnings in London was begun by two ladies, Miss Mary Hamilton and Miss Edith Simcox, who, in 1870, started a Co-operative Shirt Makers' Association, and here a great difficulty was found in making the women appreciate the advantages of co-operation, and inducing them to work on terms which would have given them a permanent interest in the undertaking. They would not acquiesce in foregoing the few pence from their weekly wage which would have qualified them as shareholders. This scheme had, therefore to be abandoned, and Hamilton & Co. was put under a company, and the nature of the business changed from shirtmaking to dressmaking. It now prospers as a West End dressmakers at Regent Street, and is worked on profit-sharing principles, the profits (after interest is paid to capital) being divided in bonuses among the workers. The wages given are good, the workrooms healthy and commodious, and there is every reason to hope that it may become an extensive and permanent co-operative business; but it does not employ the lower class of sempstresses, and though a certain amount of shirt work is done, it is of the better kind.

Another valuable experiment in the possibilities of co-operation among needlewomen is the Needlework Registry Office, at 4 Carteret Street, Westminster. These rooms were opened at the instance of some philanthropists, for the benefit of shirt-workers and workers in linen and calico; but they cannot be described as a commercial success, as no profits for division have been earned, though a considerable number of women of the poorest class are steadily employed. Here (as with many other co-operative undertakings) it is likely that an additional investment of capital might lead to permanent success. What is required is a shop, where the underclothes made could be kept on sale, and some of the really beautiful work done might be



exhibited ; but it is an impossibility that this capital can be subscribed from the wages of the workers. At the East End, at Walden Street, Bethnal Green, another co-operative undertaking is now being carried on in what was formerly the workroom of a small contractor, whom, in this case, it would be hard to style a "sweater." A year or two since some gentlemen interested in co-operation induced him to transfer to them his business, to be carried on, on profit-sharing lines, under the name of the Workwoman's Co-operative Association, the original owner being retained as manager. The work of the factory was tailoring, but after the change a department for cheap shirt work was added ; and here lies the real difficulty, as in the first year the profits realised in the tailoring department were lost in the shirt work. It is hoped that in the second year this loss may be wiped out. This society will soon have the great advantage of immediate connection with a shop, at a co-operative store (University Club Co-operative Society) in Bethnal Green. This direct communication with the public must be of immense importance to any factory of cheap clothing, being practically the elimination of the middleman.

So far, then, co-operation offers no solution of the problem of slop-work, but the future is full of surprises. The movement in favour of profit-sharing is gaining ground in England, and growing with extraordinary rapidity. The work of the Women's Guild of the Co-operative Union may imbue working women with a fuller knowledge of the real power of co-operation in work. If this ever be so, it is probable that the workers themselves, even the badly paid slop-workers, may discover some means of applying the principle to their own labour, which shall prove more effectual than the efforts I have recorded, the value of which, as pioneers, should not, however, be underrated.

MARY DE MORGAN.

## INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW is occasionally set apart for the reception of able Articles, which, though harmonising with the general spirit and aims of the Review, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates. The object of the Editors in introducing this department is to facilitate the expression of opinion by writers of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely, on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.]

### THE NEW ROUND TABLE:

#### LAND NATIONALISATION.

*Communications from*

ALFRED R. WALLACE.  
F. W. NEWMAN.  
WILLIAM VOLCKMAN.  
CHARLES WICKSTEED.  
WILLIAM JAMESON.

H. HUTCHINSON.  
JOSEPH HYDER.  
CLEMENT M. BAILLACHE.  
A. J. OGILVY.  
E. D. GIRDLESTONE.

#### *The Instability of Peasant-Proprietorship— The Necessity of Rent.*

POLITICIANS of to-day, no longer able to withstand the ever-growing public opinion in favour of the radical reform of our land system, profess themselves willing to favour in every possible way the creation of peasant-proprietors; and even the present Tory Government has introduced a Bill, which, if carried, must logically be extended so as to transfer the fee-simple of the entire agricultural land of Ireland to existing occupiers. And the principle of this measure is accepted by both parties, the only difference of opinion being as to *how*, and *when*, and by *whom* it ought to be carried into effect. But not a single voice has yet been raised, in Parliament or out, to proclaim the utter futility of such a proceeding on account of the absence of the equalising agency of rent, an absence which must certainly lead to the failure of some of these new landowners and the aggrandisement of others, till, in a comparatively short period, we shall again have a body of wealthy landlords and rack-rented tenants all over the country.

In order more clearly to see how this result must be produced,

let us suppose we have arrived at the period, about half a century hence, when all the land of Ireland has become the property of the tenants and nobody pays any rent. We shall then have a compact body of peasant proprietors holding small farms of very different values, some holding land worth but five or ten shillings an acre, while that of others is worth three or four pounds. Now, it is quite clear that the man with good land and no rent to pay can afford to sell his produce lower than the man who has poor land equally rent-free, and wherever there is competition between them he will do so. When seasons are bad or prices low, the latter will be ruined by this competition, will have to borrow money on his land from his richer neighbour, and will inevitably, sooner or later, have to sell his land, which will be added to the richer land adjoining and be worked together with it. It is to avoid this inevitable result that, almost everywhere on the Continent, the land has been divided up into small detached plots so that each holding consists of a similar proportion of all the different qualities of land in the parish or commune—heavy or light soil, pasture meadow or coppice—a farm of ten or fifteen acres often consisting of twenty or thirty separate patches, all completely isolated and unfenced, and often scattered over a square mile of ground. This, of course, is a dreadfully inconvenient and wasteful mode of cultivation, but it serves rudely to equalise the different holdings; and it is this equalisation which has caused it to be upheld so tenaciously by the peasant proprietors of many different countries.

To understand how peasant-proprietorship would work with us, we may suppose that one half of the cotton manufacturers of England used the old-fashioned machines of thirty or forty years ago, whilst the other half used the very newest and most improved machinery. Is it not absolutely certain that the former would soon be undersold by the latter and would become bankrupt, unless all were taxed exactly in proportion to the benefit derived by the various qualities of the machinery employed? But the land itself is to the cultivator what machinery is to the manufacturer, and it is permanently and necessarily as different in value as would be the machinery of various periods during the last hundred years if brought into competition to-day. In order to equalise this difference in land value there are the two methods in use—the wasteful and imperfect continental method of each cultivator having small detached plots of the different qualities of land, and the far more economical and complete method of *Rent*, by which the advantages of various soils and situations are equalised, and every occupier is able to compete on fair terms with all other occupiers.

*Rent*, then, is a necessary factor in successful agriculture by small farmers, the only question being as to who shall receive the rent and what shall be the conditions of the occupation. The present method of

private landlords and rack-rents we nationalisers hold to be the very worst method possible. That of permanent and secure occupation under the State, with the payment of an economic rent, revisable at long intervals and only on changes of value produced by general causes—that is, by the growth or advancement of the whole community—with perfect freedom of action by the cultivator who will be the owner of all improvements of whatsoever kind, to be the very best.

It may indeed be urged that, if by ownership of the land food can be produced and sold cheaper than by tenancy, it must be better for the whole community who are the consumers of food. But this cheapness would be only temporary, because so soon as the land became again the property of the few, owing to the failure of the owners of the poorer lands, it would be let out in farms as now, rent would be paid to equalise the various values of the land, and we should return again to the existent system of landlord and tenant. Under State ownership, however, the rent paid would ultimately take the place of all other taxes, and thus the whole community would benefit far more than by a temporary cheapness of food accompanied by the ruin of a considerable portion of the poorer cultivators.

Rent, therefore, is essential to the stability of any system of the occupation of land. Rent paid to the community, through State or municipal authorities, is the only system which is beneficial to the whole community.

ALFRED R. WALLACE.

*“May Nationalisation of the Land lead to State Jobbery?”*

“Surely it *may*. Who can deny it who knows the history of our Crown estates, even without European experience? Further, what tale does America attest, so long as the English Crown disposed of its land? What also has happened in Australia? Whenever the central executive, even if nominally responsible to a central parliament, has control over large areas of land, it never uses that control wisely, indeed hardly honestly. Thus, not only State jobbery *may* ensue, but probably *will*, if the central executive is allowed such control.

But that from MAY we ought not to infer MUST, is simply deduced from the American Union, from Canada, from Australasia. The land jobbing by the English executive received a sharp check from the date of the American Declaration of Independence. When the local authority assumed power over the land, each separate State claimed and received its separate portion. No justice to natives

was pretended, but no community of whites could complain of wrong. The vastly wider extent of land which fell to the Republic after the purchase of Louisiana, was in the Federal grasp, but not liable to the despotism of a central executive. If, in zeal to promote railways, Congress has given away land too freely, some unwisdom may be imputed. Central power easily misjudges, but State jobbery is here far too harsh an accusation.

And when did the management of Canadian land improve? From the day that our Colonial Office yielded its power to local bodies.

Much the same reply may be given concerning the land in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. The new Parliaments inherited many mischiefs from previous errors of the English executive, but it will probably be admitted, that things have mended, and are likely to mend, ever since local bodies have displaced central power.

Our first inference is, that nationalisation must not imply centralisation, and that the Queen's Ministry must have no control. Our next may be, to decline advice in the matter from those whose policy is, not to remove present wrongs, but to uphold, as nearly as may be, whatever exists and is of long standing.

If nationalisation of the land become the law of the three kingdoms, we are warned by more than one recent law how flagrantly it may be made a dead letter by existing Cabinets.

It may be better to withdraw a Bill than to accept one spoiled by "amendments." But, at the worst, if by connivance of a Cabinet and cunning use of Parliamentary routine, the new law were spoiled, and favouritism and other abuse followed, there would be nothing to discourage us. It is certain that the country would feel profound indignation, and in a very few years would arm land reform with a vast increase of strength, and by an irresistible wave sweep away inveterate tricksters. The nation will not consent to lose its own rights at the bidding of those who rule by the routine of the past.

F. W. NEWMAN.

### *The Land as a Trusteeship-in-Common.*

The economic awakening provoked by the Land Nationalisation controversy has probably done more in this country towards a due comprehension of the poverty problem, and for the ultimate advancement of well-being, than any other political agitation of recent times. In respect to this discussion I am among those who, in the abstract, maintain that the land cannot be held as property nor be made amenable to proprietary treatment, either by individuals or by the State—the representative expression of the people. Econo-

mically regarded, the world is first the parent of all its inhabitants and next the only source of their well-being. So viewed the world is, and may yet more become, a continuous promise to men of physical, mental, and moral sustenance, according to their several and varied needs. The world—or as more generally stated the land—thus belongs to all the generations of mankind, present and coming; not as absolute property, but simply as a life-successorship, devolving with its improvements upon humanity, by and through the equal title of birthright. Briefly, the land naturally is an heritage in common, from which none can be rightfully alienated; and as it is the only source of sustenance men, both by right and duty, are bound to safeguard for themselves their life-interest in it. But in what does a true safeguard consist? Upon this point it is the well-grounded belief of many land nationalists that an all-powerful, an abiding, and *natural* guarantee of well-being is contained in the holding of the land by the people for the people, to the exclusion of every form of private, or rather freehold, possession. The true relation of men to each other in reference to the land, these reformers assert, is that of tenants-in-common, endowed with a life-trusteeship in common, operating through democratic representation over a strictly indivisible estate—an estate to which birth is a sufficient, an indefeasible, and indeed the only recognisable title. Would men preserve to themselves and their ever-arriving successors the fullest possibilities of welfare; if they would protect their liberties unimpaired and make secure their opportunities of progress; then they must *in common* administer this valuable trust, must *jointly* exercise a wise control over their inheritance, and *collectively* guard their life-interests from every form of depreciation or surrender. Any deviations from this severely associative control, it is urged, are shown by experience to be fraught with danger, and can only be regarded as breaches of trust; as infringements of that inherent birthright endowment which ties every one in common to the land and to each other by wholesome co-partnership interests, of which no one can safely divest himself, nor legitimately deprive another.

For illustration of this position, both the landlords and landless can be brought into evidence; for nearly all the phenomena concerning their cases are in proof of the fact that a permanent assurance of well-being, either for the people or individuals, is impossible apart from sharing in the mastership over the land. Landlordism, on the one hand, is made trebly secure in its well-being through its land monopolies, but, on the other, it is a stupendous breach of trust against mankind. Naturally it was entitled to no more interest in the soil than was common to all men, and the advantages gained to itself, through its arrogation of an almost exclusive interest, have operated most prejudicially to the masses. The people having been

made landless, having thus been stripped of their birthright, and dispossessed of their administrative control over the common inheritance, suffered deprivation of the most extreme kind. They became a prey to want; they were stultified by ignorance; and in consequence gradually lost every liberty worth the name. Made voiceless in the councils of the State, their part in the land trusteeship was denied, and henceforth they lived but a hand-to-mouth life, and even that only through the sufferance or at the caprice of their landlord enslavers. Landlordism, however, does not stand condemned merely through the cruel disabilities it inflicts upon those who, by force, fraud, or economic ignorance, it has made landless, and who thus no longer share in the government, except by favour or patronage. Its history is largely one of the welfare abused; of a superabundance tending too frequently to a shocking voluptuousness; of a power exerted only to make secure by every tyrannous device continued misappropriations of the trusteeship assets.

The principle of State-Trusteeship, however, although for ages in fringed, constantly reasserts itself; and is endorsed, though often unconsciously, far more widely than is generally recognised. In this fact there is further evidence that trusteeship in common of the land as a guarantee of well-being, is a law which must be regarded as natural. Not even to the State, much less to individuals, has a lasting sanction to the freeholding of land ever been accorded. Modern land legislation—vast in amount, complicated in character, and burdensome in expense—is a proof of the public sensitiveness upon land questions, and of the jealous opposition extended to any treatment of the land on a proprietary basis. The people instinctively revert at every opportunity to their true position as life-trustees, and so far as a landlord governance permits them, they seek to enforce arrangements which only tenants-in-common can rightfully dictate. And for further proof of this lack of sanction mention may fairly be made of the fond delusion, recently much advertised, that the land-owning classes will by-and-by voluntarily administer their enormous gains, as trustees for the good of the people at large. Apart from the fact that mere patronage may never pain itself off as justice, no tendency of this kind (individual cases excepted) is revealed in the annals of landlordism; an institution which has not aggrandisement for its object, and has ever proved itself the safeguarding of its oftences, degrading to the people, and to the nation as a whole. It is not without its value. It is a fact, and a fact of the most interesting character, that the land-owning classes, who are the most interested in the preservation of the land, have never been able to secure the preservation of the land, and that the land-owning classes, who are the most interested in the preservation of the land, have never been able to secure the preservation of the land. It is a fact, and a fact of the most interesting character, that the land-owning classes, who are the most interested in the preservation of the land, have never been able to secure the preservation of the land, and that the land-owning classes, who are the most interested in the preservation of the land, have never been able to secure the preservation of the land.

terms of surrender, it is at least offering bribes to some of those it has oppressed?

If landlordism be, as many contend, the confiscation of rights belonging to all for the preferential advantage of the few, and if the substitution of a State-trusteeship over the land will broaden the pathway of progress and enlarge the general welfare, then it is incumbent upon Radicals not only to resist most strenuously all landlord-creating measures, but to continue without ceasing their inquiry after the ~~best~~ <sup>true</sup> modes of replacing landlord-holding by a nationalised system of land tenure, in order that the application of such methods may become a question for settlement too burning to be longer delayed.

WILLIAM VOLCKMAN.

### *A Scheme for the Abolition of Landlordism.*

Inasmuch as both Conservative and Liberal Governments have by their proposals now admitted the practicability and expediency of purchasing a portion of the land for the benefit of a portion of the people, I trust the time has now arrived when those who advocated the acquisition of the whole of the land for the benefit of the whole of the people may be considered by orthodox politicians as a little better than visionary monomaniacs.

There are, I am aware, many powerful and influential advocates of confiscation pure and simple; and the method of doing this by means of a gradually increasing land tax is advocated by no less a man than Henry George.

I cannot help thinking, however, that bearing in mind the temper of the English public, and the methods they have adopted for carrying out their greatest reforms so far, that there is nothing more certain than that, if we are to regain the land by constitutional methods, the landlords will be compensated.

In case of a violent revolution no doubt the land might be confiscated, but in a country like ours, with its constitutional means for the redress of grievances, and with its destinies in its own hands, this would not only be a disgrace, but a sure sign of a wide-spread demoralisation which would be ill for the future.

As an earnest politician and an earnest believer in Land Nationalisation, I have felt for some time that the question should be brought forward in a more definite manner, but also follow the line of least resistance, and have therefore gathered into focus the various friends of the cause, and have endeavoured to unite.

Here is one which I venture to think may conform to these conditions.



I. Reimpose the 4s. in the pound land tax as a part of a comprehensive scheme for land nationalisation. This would depreciate land values 20 per cent.

II. Use the money thus obtained in purchasing land, and not in relieving rates and taxes, the benefit of which would, according to many able thinkers, ultimately filter back to the landowners in the form of increased rents.

III. The rent accruing from the land purchased to be used, at first at any rate, for the purchase of more land.

IV. To avoid the enormous expenses of valuation by arbitration and the excessive values so often given, the landowners should be obliged to assess their own land in detail. Thus, if the assessment were too low, they would be bought out at their own valuations; if too high, their taxes would be proportionately heavy. They would be in the position of the boy who is allowed to divide the apple, but obliged to give his playfellows the first choice. They would be obliged to assess fairly.

It may be urged, as an objection to the perfect working of this plan, that although at twenty years' purchase there would only be 100 part of the land bought every year at first; nevertheless, the landlords might be aware that certain land was more particularly required, and would, therefore, be willing to pay the extra tax on a high valuation for the prospect of sale. This objection is quite valid, but could be fairly met by some such provisions as the following:

I. The purchase value should be calculated from the last five years' assessment.

II. The purchasing authority should have the power of appeal against any assessment to a commission.

III. As the State gradually resumed ownership, and confidence in this new system became thoroughly established, the whole process might be summarily cut short by purchasing all the remaining land at one stroke by means of State bonds redeemable at par.

CHARLES WICKSTEED.

### *Free Land.*

It is urged by some people that the existing scarcity of land is mainly due to the complexity of our system of tenure. The remedy, we are told, is to make a clean sweep of our existing land, and treat land, in respect both of sale and inheritance, like any other commodity. As a consequence, land will become easily accessible for use to those who need it.

Now, they who urge this view seem to overlook the fact that Lord Cairn's Settled Estates Act has already given landlords nearly every facility for disposing of land short of making them absolute owners. Then, since landlords so rarely avail themselves of this Act, one of two conclusions seems inevitable: either that simpler laws affecting land have *per se* no tendency whatever to restrict monopoly: or, that until landlords are made *absolute owners* they will not sell. If we may judge by the experience of America, and of our Australasian Colonies, the former conclusion appears the correct one. For free trade in land prevails over those wide regions of the world. So does land monopoly.

But let us blot these awkward facts out of memory for a moment, and assume that the second conclusion is right; that existing land monopolists need the stimulus of absolute ownership to induce them to destroy themselves *qua* monopolists. Then it follows that, with the ultimate object of establishing "free land," a comparative fraction of the community, who are at present chiefly life tenants of the huge estates under their control, are to be given a new and valuable property in these estates! Not to speak of the confiscation of collateral or subsidiary interests involved in such a vast and, one may truly say, unconstitutional change—the *national* interest in the soil is clearly weakened rather than strengthened by it. What have existing landlords done that they should be so handsomely endowed? The mildest of land reformers will admit as one reason for attempting reform that landowners have abused their present privileges. Yet the advocates of free trade in land seek to make *addition to these privileges* as a preliminary step to benefitting the whole community. How ingenious!

Now, under a system of Land Nationalisation it is possible to obtain free land without the trouble of altering the land laws to any material degree. The State has already the right of re-entry to all the land in the three kingdoms. It has merely to exercise this right *locally*, as occasion may arise, to make the land free for popular use. The amount of compensation (for disturbance) that landlords should receive is a point that I do not propose to discuss. In any case, however, compensation from the State could take the form of an assignment of Consols, or land bonds. And this security, with title-deeds, or proof of mortgages, &c., attached, could be placed in judicial custody—say in the charge of the County Court—instead of being handed over to the immediate holder of the land taken by the State. He, this immediate holder, would then receive interest in lieu of rent, but so long as the capital sum was judicially safeguarded, due respect might be paid to all *incumbrances* *than his own* that were previously associated with the land.

But an even simpler method of *compensating* dispossessed landholders, and avoiding *any* *question* in real property law suggests itself. Whenever any land was taken over, a document could be issued by the State bearing some such title as "Land Value

Annuity." The person who had received rent from that land might be described as the "registered annuitant." If he wished to capitalise this annuity, he need only take the trouble to replace his own name as registered annuitant by the name of the party to whom he sold it. But *assuming that all existing laws relating to land were made applicable to these annuities*—the latter of course being duly identified with the land for which they were substituted—then nobody would buy them without being satisfied about the title of the registered annuitant. If the land represented by an annuity had been entailed, so would be the annuity. If it were mortgaged, mortgagees could, if necessary, foreclose on the annuity, just as if it were land. Supposing there were settlements in connection with the land, these could attach to the land value annuities. Supposing an annuitant died intestate, the annuity would go to the same person who would have inherited land. An encumbered estate would involve an encumbered annuity. Finally (and this surely will please the lawyers), all legal issues whatever affecting land could be fought out upon these annuities. For their payment could be stopped by a court of law, pending investigation, just as easily as payment of a cheque can be stopped by a private individual. Of course it would be to the interest of holders of these annuities to make them as negotiable as possible. Mr. Arthur Arnold and his friends might be induced to assist in this business, and by simplifying the laws relating to land value annuities, ultimately bring about "free trade" in them. But Land Nationalisers would not feel greatly interested in this matter. For, the moment any given landlord became a registered annuitant, the land he had previously controlled would, in the true sense of the term, be Free land, accessible for use to those members of the community who needed it.

WILLIAM JAMESON.

### *State Sovereignty.*

In the fiction that persists up to the present hour in treatises on the English law of real property we have the fossil-remains of the feudality which ascribed to the monarch all ownership of land. The land-holders were each and all *tenants*, direct or indirect, of the Crown, holding by specific payments and services—to be rendered or performed in the public interest—nominally to the king but practically to the commonwealth placed in his charge. The direct tenants were Royal-Prefects holding land but as administrators and office as our judges hold theirs—viz., during good behaviour. Any act indicative of disloyalty to the king and the commonwealth was ground for removal and substitution of a more trustworthy official. The estate of the disloyal chief-tenant fell, by escheat, to the royal

grantor and the untrustworthy steward, if his treason were conspicuously dangerous to the State, might expect the personal doom of an intolerable traitor.

Only a strong-willed and respectable Sovereign could be expected to exercise constant and effective control over his strong men. A cowardly monarch—i.e., one of feeble and narrow mind—could not reckon on the needful support to suppress treasonous conduct like his own in his great deputies. Inheritance failed (as usual) to transmit royal qualities, and the result was that the great Lawwards (Lords) aspired to independent authority over the lands they held only in trust, and civil wars arose which ended in an effectual extermination of the competitive would-be kings. In the accession of the Tudor family the English kingship was reconstituted. The Seventh and Eighth Henrys were real kings, in power if not in wisdom or virtue. The lesson of the past centuries however was lost on them, and especially on the last one when, instead of organising a State or local control of the land by the people and for the people, he granted away the lands, not his, to parasites and flatterers. These last, under the feeble Stuarts, brought about another collapse of the English Monarchy in the "blessed martyrdom" of the first Charles, and its finale in the infamy of the second saint of that name.

The installation of the Dutch-William and his Stuart-Mary was no rehabilitation of the English monarchy. The ignobility of English parasitism, squirearchy, and landlordism in general had ousted the Stuart monarchs and was itself in power. That power they contrived to establish thenceforth in their "constitutional" fashion. That is, they constituted a kingship which was and is a pure fudge. One that, nominally enacting our laws, could enact nothing but what landlordism bade it. Up to 1832 all our legislation was purely landlordial. Since that date the public is being, in very gingerly fashion, admitted into the legislative partnership. The present epoch is that of Democracy, whose advancing strides no power can stay in England or elsewhere. Our Constitutionalism will presently be *anti-* instead of *pro-*landlordial. In the establishment of Justice and of the Christianity of the Nazarene Jesus, Landlordism is fated to fall, as our English Kingship fell before it and became the empty fiction it is.

We may fairly hope that our rising republic—not founded, as that plutocratic one of our French neighbours is, in blood and peasant-proprietorship, but on the principle that "the earth is the Lord's," and this English portion of it is *lent* by Him to all His English-Children, in this as in all generations, for their necessary use and sustenance—will be the prelude to the "kingdom of heaven at our hand."

H. HUTCHINSON.

*Practical Land Nationalisation.*

Assuming, as I believe we may with justice, that public opinion is prepared to grant the essential distinction between the right of property in a natural agent and in a product of labour, it becomes important and imperative to further point out how the present system of private property in land may be changed for one that will fulfil every requirement of justice. For many who accept the first principles of land nationalisation cannot at once see their way to a method for their application. There seems to be a widespread impression that the remedy must be worse than the disease. "Land nationalisation," say they, "will entail corruption and mismanagement. Moreover, with compensation to landlords it will spell national bankruptcy, and, without compensation, it is shameful spoliation. And in any case it is utterly impracticable and unworthy of serious discussion."

The bogeys thus conjured up lose their terror as is usual when approached and examined, and the feeling is growing that the reform we strive for is neither so visionary nor so dangerous as it seemed when men were too timid or too prejudiced to carefully consider it.

In the first place we seek the nationalisation of land *apart from improvements*. These latter rightly belong to those who have effected them, and State-tenants will enjoy the utmost security in reaping all the benefit of the work of their hands, without the sinking of capital in the purchase of the freehold. Thus the duty of the State will be greatly simplified.

Bare land needs no "management," in the ordinary sense of the term. Of corruption, favouritism and Lord Bramwell's "army of officials" we have no fear. Corruption and favouritism can be avoided with a thoroughly popular and decentralised authority, and with a vigilant and enlightened electorate; and the ground-rent can be assessed and collected with a much less complicated machinery than is needed to collect our present rates and taxes, so numerous and so diverse. For it should not be forgotten that the rents will eventually render all other taxation unnecessary.

Of course, the ideal method of nationalisation is for the whole land to be brought under national control at the same time in one Act of Parliament. This is what we seek. But, failing the ideal, we can accept the immediately possible, and meanwhile, more than one mode of attacking the land monopoly presents itself for our adoption.

1. *Compulsory, gradual, and equitable expropriation of landlords.*---

In theory, the State is still the landowner, and, in particular cases, constantly exercises its right to expropriate present landholders.

Thus, every mile of railway that has ever been laid down has had at its back Parliamentary authority to force unwilling landlords to give place. Again, the Allotments Act of 1887, passed by a Conservative Government, admits what Mr. Gladstone, at Manchester, called "the good principle that, where in the judgment of a competent public authority land is necessary, then it shall be taken whether the owner desire it or not." "The landlord would be entitled to receive fair compensation, but he would have no right to object." This good principle is the very heart of land nationalisation, and we strive for its practical recognition by an Act of Parliament so amending the Allotments Act as to bring within the reach of *every* man in town and country as much land as he can personally use, at a strictly reasonable (and hence revisable) rent, and with liberty and encouragement to make his *home* upon his holding.

Such a scheme should commend itself to those persons who, through a misapprehension of our real purpose, profess a preference for municipalisation as opposed to nationalisation. Of course the land must be made *national* property, although it will most probably be administered municipally under central supervision.

2. *Equitably Progressive Taxation of Land Values.*—This method, which is a fiscal reform rather than a land tenure reform, is nevertheless good, as calculated to force land into use, to destroy speculative values, to relieve industry, and to tax a class which has too long been exempt. By itself it is *totally inadequate* as a means of restoring the land to the people, but, when supplementing the actual expropriation of landlords is very useful in helping to break the back of landlordism, and in reducing the compensation which might otherwise prove inordinate.

While, however, all measures which practically assert State sovereignty over the land will be welcomed by nationalists, nothing less than the complete nationalisation of the land will be satisfactory or final, nothing less than the thorough emancipation of labour by the provision for all men of an alternative to wage-service, without which the wage-worker is, and ever must be, a bondsman and wage-slave.

JOSEPH HYDER.

A giant at play is always an interesting spectacle to ordinary mortals. He seems nearer our level when we find that to him and us alike *dulce est desipere in loco*. It is for this reason that I feel profoundly grateful to Professor Huxley for his article, "Capital the Mother of Labour," in last month's *Nineteenth Century*. There we see the unbendings of a great mind—Capital, says the professor, is the mother of labour. The proof is very simple: Can a man be born before his mother? No. Must not the mother eat while the child is maturing? Yes. Then capital is the mother of labour.

*Q.E.D.* It is an exciting operation for a pigmy merely to watch the gambols of a giant. For my part I have just breath enough left to inquire whether the mother must not work before she can eat. Whether labour must not be an essential ingredient in all capital, and whether therefore if capital is the mother of labour the child must not be born before the mother. Not at all, says the giant. By capital I mean something entirely different from what is ordinarily meant by that word. By capital I mean land. There is, you know, no difference between land and capital. The giant remains master of the field.

Excellent fooling if faith; tho', perhaps, a little hard on "those devoted followers of 'Professor Huxley who, like Lord Bramwell, mistaking the jest for sober earnest, repeat the same proposition in other forms. Even the heathen Chinese did not play it off upon his friends.

If, however, one may accept Professor Huxley's jokes, and Lord Bramwell's serious statements as authoritative, the fundamental difference between the upholders of the system of private ownership of land and the advocates of Land Nationalisation is this: The former contend that land is as properly the subject of private ownership as any other property—a watch for example; while the latter contend that land has characteristics peculiar to itself, rendering it unfit for private ownership.

With great deference to the doughty champions of *laissez-faire*, I venture to think that their contention cannot be supported.

Is it not true of land to say that

It is necessary to life; is limited in quantity; contains no element of human labour; nothing else can be substituted for it?

Can the same combination of qualities be found in any other kind of property? I think not; certainly not in a watch.

If this combination of qualities is peculiar to land, there should be no difficulty, in spite of Lord Bramwell's avowed inability, in understanding the possibility of treating land on a different footing to other property.

The demand for such treatment may be right or wrong; but at least it is intelligible.

The test of the righteousness of this demand is, according to Lord Bramwell, the common weal.

That test I gladly accept. It would need a bolder man than I to incur the contempt of Professor Huxley and his followers by suggesting that man has any natural rights—has even a right to live. I will, however, summon up courage to submit two or three reasons why private ownership of land is irreconcilable with the common weal.

Lord Bramwell, at any rate, must admit that the common weal requires that in the various relationships of social and business life,

such as landlord and tenant, master and servant, there should be freedom of contract. Perfect freedom of contract imports equality of alternatives. Freedom of contract cannot be said to exist even imperfectly unless reasonable alternatives are open to both contracting parties. What reasonable alternatives has a landless man bargaining with a landowner? Is not the former practically as much at the mercy of the latter as the lonely traveller at that of the armed highwayman? Are not all the landless man's promises made under duress?

Again, does not the common weal require that the people should be self-governing? If so, then, in this respect too, private ownership of land is harmful. History and experience alike teach us that the landowners are the lawmakers.

Let one more reason suffice. Is it not right, does not the common weal require that the labourer should reap the fruits of his labour, and should not be compelled to share such fruits with those who have contributed nothing towards their production? But private ownership of land compels the landless to share the product of their labour with the landowners, although these latter have in no way assisted in the production.

They do not assist by work. Nor do they contribute towards the result in any other way. If they claim to provide the land, the claim is preposterous. How can any man provide what no man has had any share in producing?

Carlyle has long since described the power of landowning as an alchemy, whereby he that hath land can extract from the landless all the produce of his labour above barest subsistence. The alchemy is not only powerful, but is so subtle withal that it has long rendered landed and landless alike blind to the true nature of the transaction.

The landless, at any rate, are beginning to open their eyes; to see that the landlord is the labourer's enemy. Nor has all the dust that Professor Huxley can raise so much magic in it as to enable the landlord to assume the character of a harmless villager.

CLEMENT M. BAILLIAGE.

### *What is the Use of a Landlord?*

Our aim is to abolish Landlordism. By a landlord we mean a person who has got possession of more land than he can use by his own personal labour, and who prevents other people from using it by their labour, except at his will and pleasure, and then only as his tenants or hired servants, that is for his profit. •



It is said that a landlord fulfils several useful functions. What are they?

First, it is said, by making improvements. As a matter of fact many landlords (notoriously so in Ireland) make no improvements, but only stand ready to appropriate the improvements made by other people.

The mere ownership of land, however (which is alone what constitutes a landlord), does not enable any one to make improvements. To do this, he must own capital as well as land; and we have no objection to capitalists. If his capital comes to him as a landlord, that is from rent, it is only the tenants' earnings transferred; and they might just as well be invested in improvements by the man who wants them and who will have to use them, without first going into the landlord's pocket. These earnings are not increased in efficiency, but only very much diminished in volume, by passing through the landlord's hands.

But supposing his capital comes not from rent, but from other sources. Then, if he makes improvements, he does so from one or other of two motives: as a profitable investment (the interest on them being added to the rent), or from benevolence or public spirit. But it needs not to be a landlord to make a man glad of a profitable investment or to make him benevolent or public-spirited.

As to making improvements as a matter of business, any capitalist, whether he owned land or not, would jump at the chance. There are building societies in plenty whose sole business is to make improvements, and who are cutting each other's throats in their eagerness to do it.

But the tenant, in most cases, would be only too glad to make the improvements himself if only he were guaranteed the full fruits and undisturbed enjoyment of them, which he can rarely get. Many such improvements require no capital at all but only labour, which the poorest tenant would gladly supply, but for the uncertainty of enjoyment. For the more costly ones he could save, or borrow on the security of his crops and stock, if the landlord did not as usual stand in the way; and so progress is paralysed. The landlord does immeasurably more to hinder improvements by refusing to grant that security of possession and enjoyment without which there is no inducement to make them than he does by his occasional outlay; and when he does make them he renders no real service, because he makes them with other people's earnings, not his own, and only does what these other people would much have preferred to do for themselves.

A landlord, in short, is like a person who forbids you to procure a knife and fork for yourself, but who takes five shillings out of your pocket, spends four shillings on himself, and with the balance buys a knife and fork for you, saying at the time, "Since I supply you

with the instruments of eating I reserve the power to dictate what and how you shall eat. You shall not eat what you would like best, but what I think proper for you to eat; and this four shillings which I keep, I keep as a proper remuneration to myself for the trouble and expense in providing you with a knife and fork and regulating your diet.

But the landlord, it is supposed, has a special and personal inducement to make improvements in the consciousness that his tenants and labourers are dependent on him. But this dependence is one of the chief evils we complain of. Why should one man be made artificially dependent on another? Why, above all, should the useful man who does the work be made dependent on the useless man who does really nothing? We want to see men free, not dependent.

Personally, of course, a landlord may be everything that is good; we are not speaking about that. But *as a landlord*, as a lord and controller of the land, he is simply a person licensed to obstruct and to extort; licensed to place what arbitrary restrictions he may please on the use of the land, or to forbid its use altogether; and to demand payment for the mere permission to occupy a certain portion of the earth's surface. He is a parasite and an obstructionist, and nothing else. As a parasite, he lives on the earnings of others without producing anything himself, and the amount that he so takes is measured by the whole ground-rents of the British Islands. But he is far more injurious as an obstructionist than he is as a parasite. He withholds building sites around all the growing cities, causing overcrowding at the centres, scarcity of accommodation, and high house-rents. He keeps farms vacant (declaring he can't let them), because he requires a rent which, though often greatly reduced, is still excessive in view of changed conditions. He prevents the development of minerals by demanding exorbitant royalties. He refuses allotments to the labourer by either asking three or four times as much rent from him as he gets from the farmer, or by imposing arbitrary restrictions and unsecured tenure. He prevents improvements in all directions by refusing that security of possession and enjoyment without which there is no inducement to make them. He depopulates whole counties in Scotland to turn the land into a wilderness for sport. He keeps Ireland in a state of chronic smouldering insurrection by his exactions and evictions. He is a glaring immeasurable evil without a single redeeming feature.

We can understand the position of those of our opponents who recognise, however dimly and adequately, that he is an evil, but who don't see how he is to be got rid of without injustice. But we find it difficult to understand the position of those who think that in some mysterious way he is a blessing, and who wish to establish him on a firmer basis, to multiply his numbers, and to intensify him in every way.

I think it is Mr. Goschen that has said that "the living hand

should grasp the land." I don't know whether any one understands this highflown and mystical remark; but if it has any meaning at all, one would suppose it to mean, that the man who was actually using the land should have full and undisturbed possession of it so long as he chose to use it. That is exactly what our proposals would secure. That is exactly what landlordism effectually prevents. \*

A. J. OGILVY.

Private property in land has for centuries been an English institution. The appropriation equally of its prime value, and of the unearned increment, and of the extra value accruing from individual expenditure of skill and labour, has for many centuries enjoyed the sanction not only of our laws (in their practice if not wholly in their theory), but also of our national moral sense; while even our religious teachers have assented to the system.

*Per contra*, both the injustice and the impolicy of such appropriation, after being suggested by philosophers like H. Spencer and J. S. Mill, and then demonstrated, both *a priori* and experientially, by H. George and A. R. Wallace, have been publicly denounced throughout the land, in treatise and in tract, by lecture and by speech, through the agency of two societies, which, differing in minor points and methods, have for their common object the liberation of the national land from bondage to the individual, and the restoration of the benefit accruing from it from the few to all.

At present, no publicist or politician, though but moderately informed, and no M.P. of either house, can fail to be aware that to a great extent the sense of the nation, both its common and its moral sense, revolt and openly protest against monopoly of land by individuals, and further that this conviction is daily widening and deepening. In fact, just men, if also well-informed, are of opinion generally that private possessions in land, so far as their value is either a gratuity of nature, or an unearned increment, are in the truth of things, but so much "stolen goods" as "stolen" as a matter of strict objective fact, though "stolen" under circumstances which entirely excuse their "receiver" of any particle of guilt.

The position is therefore this:

On the one hand, we have the great mass of our countrymen deprived, because of their possession of no real estate, of one of their birthrights, and of an important part of the nation's gifts of nature, and of the unearned increment of the value of the land withheld from them by a minority, who have no claim to it, and benefit owing to the fact that the land is not used to its full capacity; these rightful owners of the land are, however, so much at large, and so wide awake to the wrong which has been done to them, and are demanding restitution of their treasure.

On the other hand, the actual holders of the goods in question are subjectively quite innocent and honest men, their action and position having had up to this time the complete sanction of society.

Looking now at these two opposing facts and factors, a humane and sympathetic man can hardly help concluding that to do perfect justice to either of these parties would involve grave practical injustice to the other—that the just claims of *both* cannot be fully satisfied—and that, therefore, a compromise between them must be made. Thus, while the deprived masses must ultimately be permitted to recover the full value (arrears excepted) of which they have been stripped, the spoliation of the present holders must be gradual to prevent its being cruel!

It has therefore been suggested—*c. q.*, that the needful restoration should not be made, in the case of any property, in the lifetime of its *living* heir or owner, but should be deferred until his death in every case.

But, of course, a concession of this sort and magnitude would be made upon the sole ground, and with proviso in every case, that the property had been acquired with the full sanction of the will and conscience of the nation, and when no one offered any protest on the score of either policy or justice! If a suspicion was entertained, and if a warning had been given to the would-be purchaser, of any flaw of this sort in the title to the property, then—*caveat emptor*! the new acquirer must run the risk, and, should the existence of the flaw be established upon trial, then he must suffer, unreprieved, the whole loss! So justice would suggest!

Now, it may fairly be maintained, I think, that precisely such a warning of a flaw in the title has been given, and is being constantly repeated in the public ear—in regard to private property in land. The counsel for the plaintiff has already completely demonstrated the existence of a fatal flaw, and yet, before the trial is completed and the judgment has been pronounced, it is proposed to enter on a course of fresh land-transfer! “It is ill swapping horses in the middle of the river!” is a remark which it were well to take to heart in the present crisis of the land question. For, now that the wrongness and impolicy of private property in land have been affirmed and proved, whoever subsequently promotes a new and general system of the kind, with the truth ringing in his ears, and in the face of earnest protest, must take the consequences! The nation, which is so certain to nationalise the land some day as London is to supply itself with water, will not forget, when that day comes, that the new purchasers were affected in the teeth of a rapidly growing public opinion, and have consequently forfeited all moral claim for compensation.

H. D. GIRDLESTONE.

## HOME AFFAIRS.

THE Carlton Club meeting, which assembled shortly after we last wrote, was described as an ordinary gathering of the Tory party. It synchronised somewhat strangely with certain signs very disturbing to the Ministerialists, and there were people who would have it that Lord Salisbury had a special purpose in holding it. Of course this was a blunder. At least, so it was said. The Prime Minister was in the most cheerful mood possible; he thought that recent bye-elections (we have had since the results at Ayr and at Windsor) were distinctly more hopeful, since the Radical majorities were falling off, and that, if things went on in the same way, there would shortly be an end of the Radical successes. Having such views, it was not surprising to read further that Lord Salisbury pooh-poohed the rumour of dissolution, saying that it was all a weak invention of the enemy. For himself, he had no such intention. Such was the language of the official report, which was the only account permitted to issue from the meeting. We may have our own views of the purpose for which this report was issued, and of its trustworthiness. We know something of what Tory "managers" are capable, when there is anything to be gained by concealment. But if it is really the fact that the Prime Minister was satisfied with the circumstances in which he found himself a month ago, he has certainly had some cause for rejoicing since. A couple of elections have, in a way, gone in his favour, and, up to the time of writing, the trial of strength which was predicted for him in Parliament has not arrived. Meantime, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has produced that Budget which is to put the coping-stone on his own reputation and to be the salvation of his party. Writing immediately upon hearing Mr. Goschen's speech, it is not possible to say whether it will fulfil the expectations formed in regard to it. But Lord Salisbury's sanguine temperament is no doubt satisfied. Equally he will see in the Carnarvonshire election, with its small Radical majority, matter for congratulation; and of course such smaller things as may issue from the forthcoming debates on the Land Purchase Bill and the Tithes Bill cannot for a moment disturb his equanimity. It is quite a revelation to find the Prime Minister in an optimist mood. His natural disposition, as we have always understood it, has been rather in the

other direction. But what will you have? The spirits of the party must be maintained. And so the man of gloom puts off his pessimistic airs and wears for once the miscalculated hopefulness of Mr. Smith. The mask is ill-assumed, and will no doubt soon be laid aside. It deceives nobody—not even “the party.” As a matter of fact, “the party” is seriously down on its luck, or was until a few hours ago, and it will take all Mr. Goschen’s “wonderful” Budget can do to give it anything like a fresh supply of courage proportionate to its needs.

The prospects outside and inside Parliament remain alike unsatisfactory to the Unionist factions. We have now seen the great legislative projects of the session, and—have found them out. The Land Purchase Bill satisfies nobody—save, of course, the Liberal Unionists. These gentlemen have, of necessity, to be satisfied with anything which the Government may offer. They are dragged at the wheel of the chariot. Hence we have the spectacle—it is unfortunately not new—of Mr. Chamberlain publicly blessing a scheme which is in every point the absolute contrast of the famous Birmingham plan for settling the Irish agrarian question. Mr. Balfour’s Bill is not compulsory; it does not rest upon Irish credit at all; it does not provide the necessary “buffer” of competent local authorities in Ireland to stand between the purchasing tenantry and the Treasury; it says not a word about a Land Bank. To put the matter affirmatively, it ignores Mr. Chamberlain in every line. Mr. Courtney, too, is ignored, since he also has spoken of the saving virtues of a local authority in dealing with the transfer of Irish land. But Mr. Courtney claims all our suffrages for the Bill as essential for the welfare of Ireland, and especially as facilitating the schemes of such of us as desire to make organic changes in Ireland. Unfortunately for these Liberal-Unionist gentlemen, the Government find the Bill opposed by their own particular friends, the Irish landlords. The Earl of Erne (a Tory whip when in the House of Commons) has openly denounced the Bill as one for the expatriation of the Irish gentry, and a meeting of the landlords of county Fermanagh has dealt some heavy blows at the measure. The plenary Convention of Irish Landlords has not assembled at the time we write, but the organ of the association, the *Dublin Express*, has been fulminating against the scheme daily for a fortnight past, attributing to it all manner of offence. And the Executive Committee of the Convention, whilst recognising the Bill as “an honest attempt” to continue and develop the policy of increasing the number of occupying owners of land in Ireland (this is so much padding), declares that “the Bill in its present form would be most injurious to Irish landowners, and fail to give the full measure of its advantages to the best class of Irish tenants.” As they put it, it is good neither for landlord nor for tenant, and “requires to be amended in many important respects.” But

this condemnation is as nothing compared with that with which Lord Randolph Churchill has overwhelmed both the Bill and its authors. Lord Randolph tells the Government, in language of unexampled plainness, that they are guilty of a treason to the Union. They are putting the safety of the State into the hands of their enemies. In making the British Treasury the direct creditor of thousands of Irish farmers the Government are putting into the hands of those farmers a mighty engine of offence, which may be used with terrible effect against Great Britain. Lord Randolph points out that the Irish leaders are hostile to the Bill; that their influence in Ireland is paramount, and likely so to remain; and nothing would be easier for them than to create a condition of things which would be absolutely disastrous. Wholesale repudiation by the tenants buying under this Bill is not only possible, but probable, and this would be followed by a strike of tenants sitting under judicial or ordinary rents, with the result that the Government would be reduced to a position of humiliating impotence. The noble lord says of Mr. Parnell that "he possesses the fortunate, but dangerous, power of fulfilling his own prophecies by his own actions," and, quoting the language of Mr. Dillon in relation to another matter, describes the security taken for repayment under the Bill as "a rotten security." Of course Lord Randolph is pooh-poohed and denounced by his own friends, but he has given them a scare, and they are none the keener for the Bill since Mr. Parnell came forward with a notice that he would move the rejection of the measure when Mr. Balfour asked the House to read it a second time. As to the regular Opposition, Mr. Gladstone has made it clear that, the country having decided at the last election against his own Land Bill, there is no moral obligation on his part to repeat the offer he then made to the Irish landlords. And the Government, he truly says, have no sort of mandate for their Bill. Moreover, he regards the measure with suspicion, and suggests that to push it forward in face of the adverse opinion of the Irish leaders would be a grave blunder. His language—used at Tring to the Hertfordshire Liberals—is worth quoting. He said: "There is one thing which ought always to be remembered when you lend your money, and that is, that the debtor becomes a party to the transaction. 'It is a very awkward thing if, after you have advanced your money, the debtor says—and not only says, but proves—'Yes, but I never borrowed it.' Unfortunately, that is exactly what the Irish people interested in the Irish public funds will, I am afraid, be able to say, because the Irish representatives protest against the whole proceeding. I want to know what sort of security there would be for this thirty-three millions of money if the Irish are in a condition to say, 'Yes, you choose to send the money over here, but we by our representatives protest against the whole proceeding, and therefore it is impossible

that either with justice or with decency you can pretend to extract it from us.' A very stiff, awkward, indigestible point there." This language has been reprobated by the enemy as a distinct incitement to repudiation, but it does not go any further than Lord R. Churchill goes, if so far. Attempt has also been made to fasten down Mr. Gladstone to his speech in introducing his own Purchase Bill in 1886, in which it was said that the Government regarded it as an obligation of honour to deal with the landlords and the general agrarian question simultaneously with the question of Home Rule. It is of course convenient to ignore that other speech in which Mr. Gladstone solemnly warned the landlords that "the sands in the hour-glass are running out"—that the time in which his offer was open to them was about to close. The right hon. gentleman will have no sort of difficulty in making good his present position. As much can hardly be said for the Tory leaders, who opposed Mr. Gladstone's Bill tooth and nail mainly because (as they alleged) it expelled the Irish landlords, who should be kept in Ireland for the benefit of the country. At that time they held very much the views of Mr. John Bright, that a big scheme of land purchase was unnecessary. It may well be asked, "Who is expelling the Irish landlords to-day?"

But it is time to say something of the Bill itself. It was introduced by Mr. Balfour as Chief Secretary, but it seems to be largely the work of Mr. Goschen, who, as we know, spent a large part of last autumn with the Irish landlords who are his friends. It proposes to advance a sum of thirty-three millions sterling, representing the capitalised value of the yearly contributions from the Imperial exchequer to Irish local objects, *plus* the local revenues, for the purpose of increasing the number of tenant proprietors. Already the Government have appropriated ten millions to the Ashbourne scheme, and, as they propose to keep the thirty-three millions in permanent circulation, advancing it afresh as the instalments come in from the earlier purchasers, there is not much to allege against Mr. Gladstone's 1886 proposal, which was to advance fifty millions sterling. But the scheme is quite voluntary, and depends entirely on the willingness of the landlord to sell. The terms offered the landlord are better than those given under the Ashbourne Act. True, the Treasury declines to advance more than twenty years' purchase, but then the year's purchase is taken, not on the net value to the landlord, but upon the yearly letting value after half the rates only have been deducted. In other words, the landlord's bad debts (if he makes any), his necessary legal charges, and the cost of management are thrown in—possibly also the separate interest of the tenant in the holding—to swell the price to the selling owner. And, beyond this, the Treasury waives, in certain circumstances, the deposit of one-fifth of the advance required under the Ashbourne Act as security for repayment. On his side, the pur-



chaser is put in a less favourable position than the Ashbourne tenant. For five years the annuity repayable is only 20 per cent. less than his rent; then he gets a reduction of about 32 per cent. for forty-four years, until at the end of that time the mere payment of the annuity will have secured him in the fee simple of his holding. It is of course admitted that these advantages could not be given if the Imperial credit were not used for borrowing at the lowest rate of interest. But it is contended that the security is so ample that no possible risk can fall upon the British taxpayer. A vast amount of ingenuity has been given to the arrangement of the security, and a very complicated scheme has been produced. Various sums from as many sources are hypothetically mortgaged for the benefit of the Treasury, including the money reserved in the earlier years after purchase, but the main guarantees taken are two—first, a rate to be levied by the grand juries purposely to cover any default in repayment; and next, the annual contributions from the Imperial funds for poor law purposes, education, and the like, which can be withheld if necessary. It has been observed that there is no fresh local government machinery set up to deal with the tenants. The nominated grand juries—consisting of landlords to a man—are to have the power of striking a rate, which the honest purchaser must pay to make good the default of his less scrupulous neighbour, whilst the latter will also be penalised for his own neglect of duty. As to withholding the Imperial contributions, Lord R. Churchill declares it to be impossible, since it would throw everything into disorganisation; but Mr. Chamberlain thinks it would not only be possible, but the bounden duty of the Treasury, to seize the contributions until every penny of loss had been recouped. Much will be heard as to the soundness of the guarantees taken under the Bill. In the Bill of 1886 Mr. Gladstone secured his scheme upon the whole of the revenues of Ireland, amounting to over eight millions sterling per annum, and he had—what the Government cannot hope to have—the goodwill of the Irish leaders. It will be observed that Mr. Balfour does not risk any of the contributions which go to the maintenance of the power of the Government in Ireland. There are suspicion and distrust in every line of the Bill which deals with the securities for repayment, and it is clear that the Cabinet have had fully in mind the contingency described by Lord R. Churchill. Unfortunately, it is beyond the wit of man to take guarantees which shall be sufficient against this if he is determined to flout the Irish representatives. On the Irish benches the opinion is general that the Bill is intended to inflate the value of land in Ireland for the benefit of the landlords. The Nationalists look at the way in which Mr. Balfour gets at the annual value, and find that not only does he not deduct the ordinary outgoings of the landlord, as already mentioned, but that he takes no cognizance whatever of the separate interest of the tenant. His “net rental”

is, as before explained, "gross value" less the landlord's moiety of the rates. Naturally, the chosen friends of the Irish tenants must oppose—and hotly oppose—a Bill of this character.

It is a pity that, in the clash of arms which has already begun upon the main provisions of this measure, the more purely philanthropic part of the measure has been wholly ignored. Mr. Balfour's attempt to deal with the "congested districts" of the Western seaboard of Ireland is, to our mind, peculiarly attractive. Here he sets up a separate Board, to be called the Congested Districts Board, and invests it with large powers. And he varies his securities so as not to risk the interests of education. The amount of the education vote is, as we are told, to be replaced by a million and a half from the very doubtful Irish Church surplus. A contribution from this same surplus and the Irish Reproductive and Sea-coast Fishery Fund are to be placed at the command of the Board, subject to certain restrictions as regards the latter. The duties of the Board are to be twofold—first, to deal with the "special and characteristic disease" of the congested districts, and, next, to promote certain industrial projects. Under the first head they will have power to amalgamate holdings which, taken separately, are not large enough to provide proper support to the cultivators; to give special aid to tenants who are prepared either to migrate or emigrate, as well as generally to aid any schemes of migration or emigration. Under the second head the Board will be empowered to sell, for ready money, seed potatoes at cost price; to investigate the fishing banks on the Irish coast, so as to develop the fishing resources of the country; whilst the Board may, if it thinks fit, undertake to teach the art of fish-curing. We cannot help saying that we should like to see this part of the Bill put into experimental operation at the earliest possible moment. It may be that it falls short of the necessities of the case. So far as we have mastered Mr. Balfour's speech, we do not clearly gather that even here the tenants themselves, apart from the Board, can compel the landlord to sell to them. And we are aware that the advantage, if it exists, is rather of the doubtful kind, since purchase in these districts might only still further root upon an unproductive soil those whose best interests would be served by going away. Some cases, however, there must be where the transfer of ownership to the cultivator would be beneficial, and we can conceive that in various ways the Chief Secretary's scheme might be usefully widened and developed. Whilst, therefore, we would unhesitatingly vote against his more general proposals of land purchase, we would keep his congested districts provisions, extend them if necessary, and pass them into law. Unfortunately, there is not a ghost of a chance that we can obtain the one without the other. As to the prospects of the Bill as a whole, they are more than doubtful. The text is portentously long; we have not (at the time of writing) reached the stage of second

reading ; and it is understood that the committee stage is not to begin until the Tithes Bill has passed the Commons. This means that the committee stage will in all probability be postponed until after Whitsuntide. And those who know what this means at Westminster can have only one opinion—that the passing of the Bill is being gravely compromised.

In the Tithes Bill the Government have also a particularly stiff job on hand. Nothing but the necessity of securing the means of living to the Welsh parsons could have influenced them to add this to the burden of the Irish Land Bill. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, in introducing the measure, frankly confessed that the Government were under compulsion to push on the Bill. It cannot be said that they were under compulsion to recast the Bill. But they have made another change of front. Sir William Harcourt's criticisms on the measure of last year have frightened them. Sir William found in the then Bill as amended by the Attorney-General "the constitution for the first time of a universal land court for this country." It will be remembered that the Bill gave power to the County Court Judge to remit part of the tithe, so as to prevent the total sum paid for tithe exceeding the annual net profit of the land. Putting his own interpretation upon this, Sir William Harcourt contended that the inquiry by the county court into the relation of tithe to rent would soon develop into the fixing of rent itself, and he was so delighted at the prospect that he there and then offered to help the Government to push on their Bill. But the end of the session was approaching, and if Sir William was complaisant, the Welsh members generally were not, so that the Bill had to be dropped. Its successor does not possess the features which so pleased Sir William Harcourt. The rateable value of the land, as specially fixed by the Assessment Committee of the Poor Law Union, is taken as the guide in any claim by the landlord for the reduction of tithe, and the County Court Judge has merely to act ministerially in settling the abatement. The danger of setting up a land court is thus avoided. Naturally, Sir William Harcourt does not feel himself bound to keep his pledge to support the Government, and it is a trifle cool on the part of his opponents to claim his help, as they do. In other respects the Bill is under suspicion. Like the measure of last year, it professes to put the onus of paying tithe upon the landlord. But where the tenant is under contract to pay tithe the amount is simply added to his rent. The result is thus described by Sir William Harcourt :—  
 "As a consequence, the tenant becomes personally liable for the amount of the tithe, which is, by the Bill, transformed into rent, and this sum may, under the Bill, be levied, not only by distress, but also personally by judgment and by ejectment and all the other remedies which a landlord possesses against the occupier under the contract of tenancy. The landlord is, in fact, constituted by statute

the tithe collector for the parson, with all the additional remedies against the occupier for the exaction of the tithe which the landlord possesses." It hardly needs to be said that under the Tithes Act of 1836. the tenant cannot be made personally liable. The Welsh members have pointed out, on their part, that the Bill affords no relief whatever to the large number of small farmers in Wales who are also owners of their farms. They now pay tithe as tenants; they will have to pay it as owners. Other weighty objections are taken to the measure from various quarters, and the inadequate scheme for the redemption of tithe which is part of the Bill is attacked from all sides, not least, furiously from the benches behind Ministers. The fact that the Government obtained the second reading by a large majority is not of much significance. It is notorious that the Opposition are divided on the wisdom of transferring the burden of payment from the tenant to the landlord. The Welsh members regard the proposal as one made exclusively in the interests of the Established Church in Wales, and oppose it for that reason. On the other hand, they have not been able to get complete acceptance for their scheme of applying the tithe in Wales to national purposes. The scheme wants development, and of course in such a matter the details are all-important. But the Government measure is, for one reason or another, repugnant to all the Opposition, and in committee, when the Tories begin the work of "amending" it; as they surely will, there will be a general rally against the Government, with results which it is hoped will lead to the withdrawal or defeat of the Bill. The Welsh members may be trusted to fight the scheme clause by clause, since they believe that, if it should pass, the opportunity of dealing with the tithe in the special interests of Wales may not return for a very long period.

The House of Lords thought it necessary to deal with the Report of the Special Commission, and adopted a resolution drawn in identical terms with that which had been previously passed by the Commons. Lord Salisbury's speech on this occasion has been greatly condemned, and, as we think, not without reason. He declined to make any sort of reparation to the Parnellites in the resolution, and mockingly appealed to the judges on the benches near him to say whether, "after condemning a defendant to penal servitude or capital punishment on the counts on which he was found guilty, they ever added an elaborate apology for the counts on which he was found not guilty?" But we must be thankful. Lord Salisbury actually admitted that the *fac-simile* letter was forged. When we remember his Watford speech, this is really worthy of note. It was of course his cue on the present occasion to minimise the importance of the letters. We were asked to believe that he had never been able to regard them as possessing any very special significance, and that, in fact, they were not particularly in the mind of either Mr. Smith or himself when they introduced the Commission Bill. Lord Salisbury went a trifle

far in this contention. If the letters were not a leading object of investigation, it is pretty clear that the Commission itself was a mere party manœuvre designed to achieve certain political ends which should serve the future of the Unionist factions. The avowal could hardly have been more plainly made, and it will not be forgotten. In dealing with the Report of the Commission, the Prime Minister was about as reckless as his nephew. The following extract from his speech affords a fine example of the judicial method :

"We know that many thousands of pounds passed into the treasury of the League ; but the records of the expenditure have been destroyed, and, except one fragment which has survived, and from which, just as you can construct the fauna of a bygone palæozoic age from a scale, a bone, or a footprint, so we are able to conceive from that one bit of correspondence as to a man who was wounded in the commission of crime, and compensated for his wounds, what were the objects for which large sums were paid. I have no doubt the Parliamentary party never contrived murder, and were never implicated in individual murder ; but they did that which they knew by experience produced murder, and they continued to do it, and yet you say they were entirely free from the responsibility of the murder that went on. There are many persons who purchase spoons from footmen, and jewellery from ladies' maids, but nothing would insult them more than the suspicion that they were capable of stealing either trinkets or plate. They know perfectly well what the result of their action is, and they hope to profit by that action ; but they are much too wise ever to involve themselves in any direct connection with crime and plunder."

But it is hardly worth while pursuing the subject. It was matter of remark during the subsequent course of the debate that the Tories left all the speaking to the Liberal Unionist peers, who willingly rushed into the breach and delivered themselves with great unction. Lord Granville did not divide the House, but he and twenty-four other peers have since put a formal protest on the journals.

The elections decided during the month since we last wrote have brought great consolation to the Unionist faction. True, it is not much they have to boast of, but with them a very small success goes a long way. They recovered the seat for the Ayrshire group of boroughs, as we expected they would. The local Tory, Mr. Somervell—formerly, if not now, a rabid Protectionist, and the subject of one of John Bright's most crushing letters—was elected by 2610 votes, against 2480 given to Mr. Routledge, a stranger. The Liberal majority of '63 has thus been converted into a Tory majority of 130. Still this is a long way off the 1100 majority by which the Unionist, Mr. Campbell, was elected in 1886. Unfortunately, whilst we did not do at all badly, we lost the seat, and we must consequently permit our opponents to enjoy their triumph. They have, however, only recovered something they had lost, so that Doncaster is still their one "win" since the general election. And already we have recovered our position since we have carried the seat for the Carnarvonshire boroughs, which was held by the late Mr.

Swetenham, Q.C., a Tory. In the interval there was the election at Windsor, consequent on the retirement of Mr. Richardson-Gardner. Mr. W. H. Grenfell, formerly member for Salisbury, gallantly championed the cause of Home Rule in the royal borough. And it is not a little remarkable that in such a constituency he was able to poll just six more votes than were given to the Liberal candidate in 1885, when the party was still undivided. Of course the contest was hopeless from the first, but it cannot be said that Windsor affords much solid comfort to the Unionists, though they do not fail to talk of it as a vast encouragement. When they come to the poll in the Carnarvonshire boroughs we hear a different note. They look at the Liberal majority, and affect to find the whole thing insignificant, because Mr. Lloyd-George only won by eighteen votes. That we should have won at all is amazing. The Liberal poll in 1886 was only 1684; on the present occasion the Tory candidate (Mr. Ellis Nanny) polled 1945, so that the Liberals had "to fetch up" nearly 300 votes. When the party was united in 1885 they could only muster 1923. Somehow or other Mr. Lloyd-George added 40 to this total, and so wrested the seat from our opponents. It was a great triumph, achieved under circumstances of no little difficulty. Mr. Ellis Nanny has fought more than one battle in Carnarvonshire; he was consequently well known, and he has a wide and justly deserved popularity. No stronger candidate could have been put into the field. Mr. Lloyd-George, on the other hand, is a young man, just coming into notice as a successful solicitor; but hardly known save in the extreme west of the county. He is a Dissenter, and he had to contend with the combined forces of the Church and the landed interest, who seem to have hesitated at nothing which was within the actual letter of the law, if they did not cross the legal limits. Hence we may very well set the Carnarvonshire election against that in the Ayr Burghs. Upon Lord Salisbury's theory that the numbers of the majority are the true guide, it may of course be said that the result is only a further proof of the decadence of the cause of Home Rule, and as, on this basis, the month has been fairly satisfactory to the Tories, they ought to be encouraged to dissolve. We devoutly hope they may.

They have a rare chance now. They can claim that they really have a positive policy for Ireland, as witness their Land Purchase Bill, and their *intentions* in regard to local government. Then there is Mr. Goschen's Budget. We write too close upon the delivery of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech to say much concerning it, but it looks as if it were deliberately framed to serve the purposes of a general election. In no sense can it be called a Tory Budget. The reduction of the tea duty and the remission in respect of the house-tax, which account for more than a couple of millions of a surplus estimated to reach three and a half millions sterling, are distinctly a bid for

the goodwill of the voter. And it cannot be said that the increase of the spirit duties, with the variation of the beer-tax, ought to have come from a Tory Minister. Much less ought the same Tory Minister to have penalised the brewers and the distillers in order to create a fund for the reduction of public-house licenses. But here we can cordially congratulate Mr. Goschen upon initiating a scheme which promises great things in the way of social improvement. Combined with the promise of a Suspensory Bill, it ought to set the Tory party on a course of temperance reform which may bring them trouble from a certain section of their supporters, but which can only earn them sympathy and support from all right-thinking people. It has been matter of comment that Mr. Goschen throws away his surplus without making any provision for assisted education next year, to which the Government stand pledged. The right honourable gentleman, however, replies that he can already see half a million which will be available, and for the rest he is content to trust to fortune. We may make what we like of this, as also of Mr. Goschen's interjected remark that the Government do not intend to dissolve in the interval. The intention is probably subject to change if it should be thought later on that the outlook is more promising; at any rate, those who are supposed to be in the secrets of the Tory wire-pullers insist that the date of the general election has latterly become a mere question of tactics. One other matter should be put to the account of the Government. The New Education Code is a distinctly sagacious measure. We have it on the authority of the Education Minister that it strikes a death-blow at payment by results by substituting for the present system of grants a grant payable on the general efficiency of the school as a whole. Then it positively establishes manual training in the elementary schools, just as the Technical Instruction Act of last year established it in the secondary schools, and it adds the teaching of agricultural science to the curriculum. The concession of freedom of classification is not absolute, but it is a substantial advantage to the teacher, and if we add to all these things, which are distinctly good, the very beneficial proposals concerning evening schools, we find so many more reasons why, if the Government find it convenient, they should risk a general election this year. Postponement for another twelve months can hardly help them, though it may add to their record the general establishment in Great Britain of free education. But we can well conceive that other circumstances may be infinitely less favourable for the Government. Much of course depends upon the course of Parliamentary business, but altogether there is still a considerable chance of an appeal to the constituencies this year.

The House of Commons has for the moment accepted the Bill of the London County Council, containing what is known as the Betterment Tax. It is proposed to carry out certain important improvements

in the Strand,\* and to levy a special rate upon the owners whose property is thereby improved. The principle is in successful operation in the United States, and is not unknown, in part at any rate, in our own legislation concerning artisans' dwellings. Mr. Ritchie, for the Government, wants the subject threshed out by a Select Committee before finally accepting the Bill, and this is to be done.

We were happy enough to escape the threatened great strike of miners by a timely concession on the part of the employers, who consented to give 5 per cent. advance on wages at once, and another 5 per cent. in August instead of in July, as demanded by the men. It must have been an immense relief to the men's delegates to be able to recommend the acceptance of this compromise. Already over 100,000 had withdrawn their tools from the pits, and numerous mills and factories had stopped for want of coal, which in London had gone up to nearly 30s. a ton. In a few days all our great industries must have been seriously embarrassed, and there was the possibility of the great bulk of our working people being thrown out of employment. Such, at any rate, was the prospect held out to us, and though South Wales, Durham, and Northumberland, which were not concerned in the dispute, would have been able to supply coal, the outlook was sufficiently serious. Just now an immense amount of activity is being given to the organisation of labour. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach welcomes the sign, and tells the Bristol Chamber of Commerce that what is wanted is more of this organisation. We quite agree, though it is clear to us that if the coal-miners of the country were all of one mind they would have at their mercy the whole of our industrial enterprise, which means the lives and fortunes of more than half of our people. For the moment the miners are pressing on the question of a statutory eight hours' day, and it is remarkable to notice how they are attracting or influencing the support of our public men. Whether we like it or not—and we candidly confess we do not like it—the passing of an Eight Hours' Bill is fast coming within measurable distance. It is to help this and other “working-class measures” that fresh efforts are being made to put labour in the seat of authority. A British Labour League just launched at Cardiff is to work on much the same lines as the Labour Electoral League—to secure the election of more *bona fide* working men to Parliament, and to the various representative local bodies throughout the country. The Electoral League, at a recent conference at Hanley, repudiated Mr. Bradlaugh for his persistent opposition to the amendment of the Employers' Liability Act, declaring that it refused to recognise him as a labour representative.

The one incident of note in Ireland during the month has been the “opening” of New Tipperary. A “town” of brick and timber houses has been erected to accommodate the persons evicted from their homes in old Tipperary by Mr. Smith-Barry, and the other



day it was formally inaugurated by Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P., surrounded by Mr. Davitt, more than half of the Irish Parliamentary party, and numerous influential English visitors, including members of the House of Commons. It is impossible not to recognise the noble spirit of sacrifice which has been so conspicuous at Tipperary. Rightly or wrongly—we are not concerned to say which—the inhabitants of the new town have practically given up all that made life valuable to them for the sake of helping their fellows in trouble at Youghal. It is to be regretted that this sacrifice, without parallel in the history of Irish agitation, has not served to prevent the hardest measure falling upon the Ponsonby tenantry. At the time of writing they are being evicted at the rate of a dozen or so a day, and we are told that the whole 150 or more families are to be put out of their homes. We wish Mr. Smith-Barry and his congeners joy in the contemplation of their handiwork. It is well for them that the National League has been able to provide in advance for the housing of the evicted families.

The Home Secretary has grossly outraged public feeling by sending to the gallows the eldest of the brothers Davies, recently sentenced to death for the murder of their father at Crewe. The boy was not nineteen, and his younger brother, who was almost seventeen, was spared. The Home Secretary excuses himself by saying that the elder planned the murder, and that the younger acted under his influence. Not only is there an entire absence of evidence to support this contention, but there is strong testimony that the reverse was the case, and we have the solemn asseveration of the elder brother, "in my last hour," that he did not strike his father at all on the fatal night. Mr. Matthews has again done the Government a very ill turn.

*June 1890*

## HOME RULE ALL ROUND.<sup>1</sup>

IN 1886, when Mr. Gladstone submitted his Home Rule Bill, and it was apparent that the exclusion of the representatives of Ireland from the Imperial Parliament was not generally approved, I ventured to suggest to the right hon. gentleman that "a settlement of the Home Rule question should be proposed on lines equally applicable to each division of the Kingdom, and likely to commend themselves to the good sense of all reasonable citizens." My suggestions simply were:—

(1) That the Members for each division of the Kingdom shall constitute an Assembly of Representatives, Council, or House of Parliament, for dealing with the specific and exclusive affairs of that country.

(2) To hand over to the Representative Parliament of each part of the Kingdom as nearly as possible the same legislative and executive powers that are committed to the State Legislatures of the United States.

(3) To reserve to the Imperial Parliament all the powers now reserved to the Congress of the United States.

(4) That the National Parliaments should meet in the months of October and November (if necessary) in each year to transact the business of each country.

(5) That the same M.P.'s should meet collectively as the Imperial Parliament in the month of February each year, for the discussion and transaction of Imperial business.

I referred in parenthesis, as for consideration, whether there should be an elective Second Chamber to which the Peers connected with each country should be eligible; but said I did not favour any property qualification, and would rather have some system of election by County Boards—if they had been in existence at the time I should have said County Councils. This plan, I pointed out, embodied Mr. Bright's suggestion of a Grand Committee of Members for each country, which would have the advantage of meeting in the country whose affairs are committed to it, directly under the eyes and supervision of the people represented. To this plan I still adhere, and it was because Mr. Donald Crawford's addendum to Dr. Clark's Home Rule motion in the House of Commons on 19th

<sup>1</sup> The substance of a Paper read at the National Liberal Club, May 6th, 1890.

February gave expression to the idea that to "the members of Parliament for Scotland sitting in Scotland" should be referred 'the consideration of the domestic affairs of that country' that I supported it.

While there are doubtless sound political reasons why our great Liberal leader should not at present disclose his views with respect to the ultimate application of the principle of Home Rule, there are many reasons why those of his followers who have carefully considered the question and formed definite opinions should declare them. It is right that Mr. Gladstone himself should know what the views of different sections of his loyal supporters are. It is right that the National Liberal party should be instructed in the cardinal principles of Home Rule. An error, it is now obvious, was committed in 1886 in attempting to rush the settlement of Home Rule for Ireland before not only some of the ablest, most loyal, and most trusted friends of Mr. Gladstone, but before the Liberal party generally, were educated to understand the reasonableness of Home Rule. That education has been in progress since 1886. A Tory Government—as is the manner of Tory Governments—has been giving homœopathic doses of Home Rule to England and Scotland disguised—like sugar-coated medicine—under the name of County Government. From the readiness of Tory Governments to run away with the proposals of Liberal reformers and present them in different garbs, it is quite conceivable that under the artful guidance of Mr. Goschen and skilful prompting of Mr. Chamberlain the slow coaches on the Liberal side—as was the case with Household Suffrage—may find themselves out-distanced by the Tories giving to the several parts of the United Kingdom what they now decry as Revolution under the very innocent name of Devolution.

Mankind unfortunately is misled by phrases. All the force—political, intellectual, or ignorant—of the Unionists for the last four years has been directed to making Home Rule odious in the eyes and ears of the people. But the thing itself is being quietly conceded. Not only have we got County Councils, but the Private Bill Procedure (Scotland) Bill is another important Home Rule measure—the thin end of the wedge which, when driven home, will relieve the Imperial Parliament of the greater part of the vast burden of the numerous Railway, Gas, Water, Electric Lighting, and other Bills appertaining to England, Wales, and Ireland, as well as Scotland. Believing, as I do, that the Liberal party has suffered greatly in the past from its course being dominated by the timid counsels of weak men afraid to carry out their principles to their logical and legitimate conclusions, I regret that there are some amongst us who hesitate to concede Home Rule all round. They oppose Home Rule for Ireland, but when asked why not give it to Scotland or Wales they draw back as if, except in the case of Ireland, it were a political

Frankenstein. Although they do not say so, they seem to think that Home Rule is a kind of physic to be thrown to the political dogs on the other side of the Channel. This is not the view of the intelligent, well-informed Liberal electors of Scotland, who are now Home Rulers almost to a man. They are not Home Rulers for Ireland alone. They do not think that Home Rule is good enough for the Irish, but that the Scotch are too good to need it. I say this because there is a suspicion that some of the supporters of Home Rule are ready to give it to Irishmen on account of their "double dose of original sin," but think it would be unwise to give it to Scotchmen, Welshmen, or Englishmen.

Intelligent Scotchmen have adopted Home Rule not as a mere local expedient, but as a wise general arrangement of the machinery of Government. Scotchmen are nothing if not logical. They may be "dour," they may be slow to convince, but once convinced they are thorough in acting upon their convictions. Hence, when a Scotchman becomes a Home Ruler it is equivalent to saying that he is for Home Rule all round. The urgency of the claims of Ireland is generally admitted, and priority in conceding them will be granted, but not with the understanding that the claims of Scotland and Wales are to be indefinitely postponed.

Much, indeed, may be said in favour of dealing with the whole subject at one time in one comprehensive measure. Mr Samuel Smith, in his published speech at Garston on the Difficulties of the Irish Question, has pointed out that "if we grant a Parliament to Ireland to deal exclusively with Irish affairs, and have the Irish Members sitting at Westminster as they are at present, and voting upon every question that comes before the British Parliament, they will be in this singular and anomalous position that they will have double power as compared with Members representing English and Scotch constituencies." This objection cannot be well met unless a distinction is drawn between Imperial affairs and the affairs of the different nationalities or divisions of the Kingdom, and the attention of the Members of the Imperial Parliament is given exclusively to Imperial questions, and of the Members of the National Parliament to exclusively National affairs.

Whenever this is suggested we are reminded that Mr. Gladstone once said that it passed the wit of man to draw a distinction between Imperial and non-Imperial business. This saying of Mr. Gladstone is held by our opponents to be conclusive. They eagerly adopt any statement of his that seems in their favour. Why do they not accept as final and conclusive everything he has said in favour of Home Rule? Now, while there is a sense in which it is impossible to separate Imperial from national and local considerations, as it is also impossible to separate local and national from Imperial considerations, it is certainly within the resources of statesmanship to

devise for the purposes of government subordinate representative assemblies to which certain well-defined local and national affairs may be committed.

This has not surpassed the wit of man. It has been done. It has been done even by a Tory Government in the Act of 1867 "for the union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick and the Government thereof." It was still more signally done by the framers of the Constitution of the United States—chief of whom was that sagacious Scotchman, Alexander Hamilton. The Act establishing the Government of the Dominion of Canada and the Constitution of the United States have both secured a degree of contentment, tranquillity, and prosperity to many millions of people, originally of different nationalities, now all speaking the English tongue, such as has probably not been witnessed before in the history of mankind. With such precedents why need we fear to trust the good sense of the peoples of Scotland, Wales, and England, as well as Ireland, with the power of administering their own local and national affairs?

The Federal Government of the United States reserves to itself—

1. The levying of Customs and Excise duties and the imposition of taxes to pay the debts and provide for the Common Defence and general welfare. All such taxes and imposts must be uniform throughout the States. [Such uniformity would prevent Ireland setting up any Protective Tariff.]

2. The National Debt.

3. Foreign and Internal Commercial Relations.

4. Naturalisation and Bankruptcy Laws.

5. Coinage, Weights and Measures.

6. Punishment of forging or counterfeiting National Securities or Coins.

7. Post Office and Postal communications.

8. Copyright and Patent Laws.

9. Constitution of Tribunals subordinate to the Supreme Court; Piracy offences against the Law of Nations.

10. Declaration of War; Letters of Marque and Military and Naval Captures.

11. The Army.

12. The Navy.

13. Regulation of Land and Naval forces.

14–15. The Militia: its organisation, government, discipline and employment.

16. The Seat of Government; exclusive jurisdiction.

17. Power to enforce the above.

The United States are debarred from doing anything reserved to the Federal Government, and corresponding prohibitions would make Separation of any part of the United Kingdom impossible. There is also a limitation of the power of Congress itself in one of

the Constitutional Amendments which would prevent the setting up an Established Church in Ireland: "Congress shall make no Law respecting an Establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"; while the second part of it would check many of the acts of the Dublin Castle Government, as it forbids "abridging the freedom of speech or of the Press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

If the general lines of the Federal Constitution of the United States were followed, separation would be impossible. The cry of the "Disintegration of the Empire" is a mere phrase invented to alarm the weak and the ignorant.

The Imperial Parliament relieved first of the heavy business of Private Bill Legislation, and secondly, of the innumerable minor details of local legislation and administration for England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, would have time to do justice to Imperial questions and affairs which it does not now possess.

The Members for each country would discuss and determine the specific and exclusive affairs of that country, delegated to them for consideration and determination by the Imperial Parliament. And the Imperial Parliament would reserve to itself the power of defining the bounds beyond which the national local representative assemblies would not pass. The power of veto on measures which might be deemed injurious to the common weal might be reserved to the Imperial Government, acting through the Secretary of State for each division of the Kingdom. With the national and historical arguments in favour of Home Rule space does not permit me to deal. But I may refer to Milton's *Ready way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, published in 1660, as containing a remarkable adumbration of the principles of local national Government now advocated. So, too, Fletcher of Saltoun's Letter, dated 1st December 1703, "Concerning a Right Regulation of Government for the Common Good of Mankind," is an argument for decentralisation which is still more forcible now than when it was written. Perhaps the strongest plea for Home Rule is by that sturdy Tory, Sir Archibald Alison, in his account of the work of "The Old Scottish Parliament" in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1834. The present Tory Lord Advocate would not have spoken of taking "a step backwards to the darkness from which the country was withdrawn at the Union," and "the dismal and bleak prospect of life in Scotland under a Scottish Parliament," if he had read Sir Archibald Alison's proofs that Scotland owes much both of her prosperity and her general advancement to the wise legislation of her own Parliament. It is also significant that so cultured a Conservative as the Marquis of Bute looks back with regret to the loss of that Parliament.

With me, the practical argument is the strongest. The so-called

Imperial Parliament is weighted and hampered and clogged by the necessity of dealing, or attempting to deal, with innumerable local details which should be dealt with by local representative assemblies. The great majority of the questions put to the Ministers of the Crown every day in the House of Commons relate exclusively to local affairs. The great majority of the Bills brought before the Imperial Parliament are not Imperial, but Local or National Bills. Besides 237 Private Bills now before the House of Commons, there are sixty-nine which may be considered Imperial, that is, applying to the whole of the United Kingdom, or our foreign possessions; ninety to England alone; thirty-one to Ireland alone; thirty to Scotland alone; and five to Wales alone. It is obvious that Parliament, as now constituted, is quite unable to deal satisfactorily with this mass of legislative proposals, and I therefore advocate the extension of the system of devolution, and the constitution of representative assemblies—consisting wholly or mainly of the Parliamentary representatives of each division of the country—to deal with the specific and exclusive affairs of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales respectively.

JOHN LENG.

## THE INDEX LIBRORUM PROHIBITORUM.

THE appearance of Dr. Reusch's work on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* has called attention once more to the action of the Church of Rome as regards the Printing Press, and has aroused an interest in the whole question of literary censorship, its aims and methods. Dr. Reusch's book is not polemical. His object has been to trace the history of the Index from its first beginnings down to the present time; he applies no criticism to the action of the Church in the matter; nor does he discuss the reasons why the various books on the condemned list were placed there. It would have been impossible to do so authoritatively, for it is not the practice of the Congregation of the Index to publish its deliberations, nor is the author heard in defence of his work; there is, in short, an examination, but not a trial, of suspected books. The sub-title of Dr. Reusch's book explains the real scope of the work: it is *Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Literaturgeschichte*. Besides a study of the growth of the Index we find an account of the larger number of works which are named in the various Indices, with condensed though admirable notices of their authors. This part of Dr. Reusch's work contains a vast amount of learning, and is a veritable quarry of information, chiefly, though not solely, upon the subject of ecclesiastical polemics. The labour has been colossal, and the result is a monumental work, which merits Dr. Dollinger's praise of it as a "phenomenon."

The more important critical studies upon the Index which precede Dr. Reusch's book, begin in the seventeenth century, when Gretser published his *De jure et more prohibendi expurgandisq; abolendi libros hæreticos et noxios*, at Ingolstadt, in the year 1603. Gretser was followed, in 1653, by Theophilus Raynaud, whose *Erotemata de malis ac bonis libris* appeared at Lyons. Both Gretser and Raynaud were Jesuits, and apologists for the Index. On the other side, Daniel Franck published at Leipzig, in 1684, his *Disquisitio academia de papistarum Indictibus*. The eighteenth century produced the most important contribution to this discussion on the Roman side in the Jesuit Zaccaria's *Storia polemica delle proibizioni de' Libri* (Roma, 1777); and the opening of this century furnished another remarkable work on the Index, the Rev. Joseph Mendham's *Literary Policy of the Church of Rome exhibited in an account of her damnatory Catalogues or Indexes both prohibitory and expurgatory* (London, 1826,



2nd edition, 1830). In his introduction, Dr. Reusch cites Zaccaria and Mendham as his two most important predecessors. Both are polemical, while Dr. Reusch is not. He takes his place between the two, and his book is by far the most valuable contribution to the history of the Index which has ever appeared.

There is no doubt, and Zaccaria has no difficulty in proving it, that from very early times the Church of Rome claimed and exercised the right of condemning and destroying books which it considered pernicious. But as long as books remained in manuscript the danger of their hurtful influence was not immense, their circulation was limited, their number not unmanageable. It was the discovery of the art of printing which brought the whole question of literary censorship to an acute state. By the invention of the Printing Press one man and one man's opinions became multiplied a thousandfold; there was practically no limit to the diffusion of new doctrines; all barriers previously imposed by circumstances were swept away. It was no longer a question of seizing and burning some comparatively few manuscripts, and of confining or of slaying their author; an edition of a thousand copies placed the author beyond the power of death and of fire to silence him. By the discovery of printing the world was brought face to face with a problem which it has not yet succeeded in solving, the problem of how to deal with the Press and its output: Is the Press to enjoy absolute freedom at the risk of flooding the world with injurious, dangerous, and corrupt literature? And if not, if a censorship of the Press is necessary, how is that censorship to be applied so as not to stifle all advance of opinion? for the official definition of injurious, dangerous, and corrupt will always be up to the level of the day, but never in advance of it.

When we come to deal with the history of the Roman Index of prohibited books, we shall see that the Church became alive to this difficulty very early in the history of the Press. Only thirty-seven years after the introduction of printing into Italy, Alexander VI. posed the whole question in the preamble to the Bull, *Inter Multiplices*, published in 1501, where he declared that *sicut ars impressoria litterarum utilissima habetur ad faciliorem multiplicationem librorum probatorum et utilium, ita plurimum damnum foret si illius artifices ea arte perverse uterentur*. The Church was the first to express doubts as to the undiluted benefits of the Press; no temporal Sovereign seems at that time to have been aware that in the new art lay a possible danger to all constituted powers. We shall have occasion to notice, however, that when temporal princes did become alive to this fact they preceded the Church in active measures for gagging the Press.

Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Milton*, has put the problem in a vigorous and compact form. In dealing with the question of a free

Press, he says: "The danger of such unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the science of government which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve. If nothing may be published but what civil authorities shall have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth; if every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace; if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy against these evils is to punish the authors, for it is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions which that society shall think pernicious; but this punishment, though it may crush the author, promotes the book; and it seems not more reasonable to leave the rights of printing unrestrained, because writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because by our laws we can hang a thief." In this passage Johnson, while stating the problem, lays bare three objections to the restriction of opinion: first, that it checks intellectual progress, for power becomes the standard of truth; secondly, that the attempted suppression of a book encourages its circulation: for, as Bacon observes, "a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out;" there would be no effort made to suppress books unless they contained some germ of sense and truth which renders them dangerous to established opinion; and thirdly, that punishment is impotent to prevent: the dread of the gallows does not dispense us from the need for bolts. Johnson was dealing with the problem from his own high conservative point of view, and, though loyal to his conceptions, he does not approach a solution of the difficulty. Milton's attitude has more of faith in it. "Give me liberty," he says, "to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all liberties; . . . though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field we do injuriously by licencing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew truth put to the worse in fair and open encounter? Who knows not that truth is strong next to the Almighty? She needs no policies, no stratagems, no licencings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and defences that error uses against her power."

Here we have the two points of view stated by Johnson and by Milton. The civilised world has never yet made what it would still consider a rash committal of itself to the untried ocean of Milton's policy; it has hitherto attempted, with more or less success, to stem the tide of books, to confine the current within channels of its own devising; it has hung many thieves, but still dreads that it may be robbed.

We must look a little closer at the way in which the world has hitherto conducted this business of her Press censorship. Three kinds of censorship over the Press have been attempted since the invention of printing—religious, literary, and moral censorship. This last kind may be divided into censorship of public or political morals, and censorship of private morals, or morals in their restricted sense.

The literary censorship we may dismiss very briefly. It has been put into operation rarely in the world's history. Venice affords the most striking example of such a supervision of the Press, when the Council of Ten, in the year 1516, decreed that no one should print any work in humanity until it had been examined, in order to put an end to the *infamia della città*. The Republic always showed itself solicitous for the good repute of Venetian editions, and deeply resented Gaspar Scioppius' caustic strictures on the Ciceroes published at Venice, which he declared fit only for the flames. But the creation of a literary censor did not save the Venetian Press from steady decline.

The second and third kinds of censorship, the religious or dogmatic censorship and the moral censorship, are far more important, and have occupied a much larger space in the history of the Press. The moral censorship we have divided into two kinds, supervision of public and supervision of private morals; and these three censorships, religious, political, and moral, fall into two groups, which it is as well to keep quite distinct from one another. In the first group we have religious and political censorship, where the matter to be dealt with and examined is opinion, doctrine, ideas. In the second group is the moral censorship, where the matter to be dealt with is impure and corrupting literature. The advocates of censorship urge that they are protecting the delicate from food poisonous, in one case to the intellectual man, in the other to the moral man; poison which, however, the censors themselves must have swallowed. The original formulæ in general use covered all three censorships. In the case of the Church, when the Index had been thoroughly established, the formula ran, *contra, alla fide cattolica, contra ai principi, contra ai buoni costumi*; in the Star Chamber decree of 1637, it runs, "Contrary to Christian faith and the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, against the State or Government, contrary to good life or good manners," but it is certain that the application of the censorship varied much; now it was applied to ecclesiastical dogma, now to politics. The censorship of the Roman Church began by being occupied chiefly with heresy, and has continued to be largely directed in that point. So much so is this the case that in the Bull, *Inter Multiplices*, already quoted, neither political nor moral censorship are mentioned, the scope of the powers conferred is *ne quid improbitur quod orthodoxe fidei contrarium, impium ac scandalosum existat*; and of the ten rules of

Council of Trent only one, the seventh, deals with impure literature, and not one with the question of sedition; in fact, the Roman censorship of books was originally directed to the suppression of heresy, and to nothing else. The coadjutor of Aquileia told the Council of Trent that it was absurd to condemn equally a work *juvenalis luctia* and a work which contained dogmatical errors. It is only comparatively late in the development of the Index that obscenity is taken into serious consideration; and the number of works of this nature on the Index is quite small in proportion to the long list of books condemned for their heretical tendencies. On the other hand, in Venice, Spain, France and England, when the Government exercised a censorship of the Press on its own account, and not merely as the secular arm of the Church, that censorship was chiefly directed to the political movement of the Press, and to the suppression of all criticism of existing institutions. In fact, the power which wielded the censorship was inevitably tempted to use it selfishly, and to justify Johnson in declaring that, in all cases where official censorship exists, power must be the standard of truth. In neither of these cases of censorship by the Church, and of censorship by the State, did the moral supervision of the Press play a conspicuous part at first. We shall return to this kind of censorship presently; but before doing so we must consider for a moment some of the arguments which have been urged for and against a free Press in matters religious and political, or, in other words, for and against a censorship of opinion.

This is the ground upon which Bacon and Milton are met by Dr. Johnson. Johnson does not contemplate the question of morals; it is only on the subject of political and religious opinions that he would like to see a censorship enforced. Various arguments have from time to time been urged against such a censorship of opinion. In the first place, there is a great and almost irresistible temptation for a constituted body to apply its official censorship solely from its own point of view. If the Church itself or the State itself is left to decide what may be contrary to the faith or contrary to good government they are certain to decide by the standard of faith as it at present exists, and of government as it is at present constituted, and to condemn any criticism of the established order. Any innovation or movement will seem noxious: *omne ignotum pro noxio*, is apt to become the maxim of established classes. The State censor, knowing the mind of his employer, and also feeling that he is on the safe ground of the recognised and approved, will veto any proposals of change. His major premise tends to become as rigid and as clear as that enunciated by Lord Brougham when trying Muir, in 1798. "Now this is the question for consideration," he said; "is the panel guilty of sedition or is he not? Now before this can be answered two things must be attended to that require no proof;

first, that the British Constitution is the best that ever was since the creation of the world, and it is not possible to make it better." If the official censor is not of this way of thinking, he is no longer a good servant of the State or of the Church, but himself and his opinions are rather a fit subject for examination. Such a censorship as this means the destruction of all movement of ideas, of all novelty, of all originality, therefore of all improvement; it presupposes that we have reached perfection, and that finality which Johnson and Lord Braxfield desired; it is suited to the millennium, but not to our current centuries. Moreover, it implies stagnation, for, as Bacon remarked, "all books so authorised are but the language of the time;" a licenser's very office and commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already. So true is this that the Index contains a large number of epoch-making works, which it is difficult for common sense to consider harmful, and of books, like the *Religio Medici*, which have proved the stay and solace of many a good man. Dr. Johnson's objections that without such a censorship there can be no settlement, there can be no peace, there can be no religion, are no doubt true had he qualified religion by the epithets dogmatic or established; but can we expect any of these blessings? Is not the Doctor sighing for death, not for life?

• What peace, what settlement is there in any living body? We ourselves live only by the destruction and reconstruction of our tissue. Milton, in his second defence, seems not to have been averse from a competent censorship of opinion. "I wrote my *Areopagitica*," he says, "in order to deliver the Press from the restraints with which it was encumbered, that the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and what suppressed, might no longer be entrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of vulgar superstition." But the sacrifices required by an adequate State censorship are too great; that the best spirits of every age should be exhausted in the examination of other people's work, and not in the production of their own, is more than any nation could be called upon to endure. And again, the adequate State censors must, *ex hypothesi*, be wiser than their age, and this they cannot be without being also to a certain extent critical, innovators, revolutionary, and antagonistic to the existing order; the hope of the future cannot lie in the past nor rest in the present.

Another objection to State censorship of opinion was indicated, though not strongly enforced, by Paolo Sarpi; if you claim to examine every book which is a candidate for the Press, you make yourself responsible in a degree for all books which are allowed to issue from the press; you give them, as it were, a clean bill of health. Sarpi warns the Venetian Government that it is *veramente gran cosa*

*pigliar sopra se, et farsi approbatore di tutti i libri che si stampano in Venetia.* For the State censorship implied an *imprimatur*, which, in a measure, made the State share in every opinion contained in the books which it permitted to be printed; the readers would argue, had the Government objected to these opinions the book would have been suppressed. It is not possible to predict how books will "demean themselves," "for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve, as in a viol, the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them; they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth, and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men;" yet at the moment of passing the censor, especially should he be a man of "hide-bound humour," not of judgment, these books may appear dead and harmless. Indeed, it is very often subsequent events which give to a book its vital activity and importance; and it was this fact which led the Church not only to exercise a censorship over candidate books, and to insist upon an *imprimatur*, but also to open an Index for the better suppression of past issues.

There are two other objections which have been urged against a State censorship of opinion. One is the practical objection that it would be almost impossible for any Government office to read all works seeking an *imprimatur*; and without a most accurate examination a censorship is as useless as a frangible sanitary cordon; for none can be certain where censurable matter may lurk. The Church was very thorough in this respect. In 1599, the Carthusian Jodocus Graes wrote to Cardinal Baronius, complaining that his studies were hindered owing to the number of books of reference. Lexicons and Thesauruses, which were on the Index; but even the activity of the Church was not able to keep pace with the activity of the Press; and the block caused by the elaborate censorial machinery in Venice was, as the Government itself admitted, most ruinous to the book trade. The other objection is raised by Bacon, and based upon the inherent curiosity of human nature which will always make people anxious to know what there is in a prohibited book; "the punishing of wits enhances their authority, and a forbidden writing is thought to be a spark of truth"; and Johnson admits the same when he allows that punishment, though it may crush the author, will promote the book. Both remarks seem to show that mankind is deeply sceptical about the *bona fides* of its literary censors on matters of opinion.

The conclusion to which many are drawn is, that such a censorship is neither possible nor desirable. No doubt the finality of Dr. Johnson and Lord Braxfield is a consummation to be desired, but that we have attained it is contradicted by the experience of

every day ; nor is it attainable as long as men's minds and actions remain imperfect, and therefore susceptible of improvement. Milton sums up in these words: " Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance, which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppressed without the fall of learning . . . and evil doctrine not with books can be propagated except a teacher guide, which he might do also without writing, I am not able to unfold how this enterprise of licensing can be exempt from the number of vain and impossible attempts " By such a censorship of opinion we are far from securing the permanence and purity of doctrine. And we run the risk of playing " the nursing mother to sects, but the step-dame to truth " History shows that in spite of the most rigorous censorship, backed by the dungeon and the stake, opinion has refused to remain hid-bound. It was surely wiser to act upon the faith that was in Milton believing that truth never yet was worsted in a free and open encounter, but that falsehood may obtain a specious triumph through an embittered and injudicious persecution.

We come now to the last kind of censorship, the censorship of private morals. There is no longer here a question of protecting the intellectual side of man from dangerous doctrine, but of guarding his moral being from corruption by impure literature. It is upon this point that we are most exercised in England just now. We are more anxious about moral than about speculative sanity, probably because the moral nature is nearer to action than the speculative nature ; and we consider impure literature as a kind of contagious moral disease ; censorship of the Press has almost come to mean for us moral censorship. The Church in the recent additions to her Index shows the same tendency to lay more stress on the moral censorship than she has hitherto done. But when the Church opened her Index, and when secular Governments first employed a State censorship of the Press, it was not morals but dogma and politics which chiefly engaged the attention of churchmen and statesmen. Neither Bacon nor Johnson, in the passages referred to, touch upon this view of censorship. Milton has expressed his opinions in the *Areopagitica*, and they are no more favorable to licensing in the region of morals than in the region of opinion. He urges that it is not so much books that corrupt us as that we are corrupt ourselves ; " they are not skilful considerers of human things who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin. . . . Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness. Banish all objects of lust ; shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercised in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste that come not thither so ; we have minds that can wander beyond all limit of satiety." In short, it is little use expurgating books till we have purged men's minds ; and when that is done there will be no need

for damnatory catalogues, whether prohibitory or expurgatory; for the purged mind is the free mind, and dreads not corruption. Moreover, books are not the sole sources of corruption; "evil manners are learned perfectly without books a thousand other ways that cannot be stopt. If we think to regulate printing thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate all recreation and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. The windows and balconies also must be thought on, there are shrewd books with dangerous frontispieces set for sale, who shall prohibit them? shall twenty licensers?" As long as human nature is imperfect it will demand impure literature, and as long as there is a demand there will be a supply, if not from London, yet from "Londra," "Benares," "Cosmopoli"; repressive laws on this subject in Venice had the effect of creating a large clandestine press; and in spite of every effort, no Government succeeded in suppressing the Pierre Marteau editions. The appetite for loose literature will not be stamped out by any licensing laws; to attempt to do so is to emulate "that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting the park-gate." To this argument of Milton we may add, as worthy of attention, the frank opinion expressed by Paolo Paruta, Venetian Ambassador to the Pope. In the year 1593, when discussing the question of the Index with Clement VIII., "You cannot make the world perfect," he said, "nor can you hope by the prohibition of one kind of literature, which is neither fruitful nor edifying to a Christian life, that all men will be led to a study of the Scriptures; nay, the time spent over bad books may be worse spent over worse actions." Further, owing to the inherent curiosity and imperfection of humanity, there is great danger that the Index may be merely acting as the editor of Byron's *Martial* acted, by furnishing the very persons for whose protection the Index is devised with a compendious account of the books they desire.

From the date of the Tridentine Index to our own day the moral censorship has been in this anomalous position, that it condemns as impure a large number of books, while leaving in the hands of school-boys the classics, which we do our best to induce them to read. The Seventh Regula of the Council of Trent declares that the classics on account of their beauty and elegance may be read, but they are to be kept out of the hands of boys. In this provision the Church proved itself more consistent than secular Governments. Paul IV. included Lucian in his Index. The *Lesben Index* permitted Martial only in an expurgated form, or in the editions of the Jesuits. The private study of Ovid's *Epistles* was allowed, but schools might only use the *Epistolae Selectae*, printed at Tournay in 1615. On the whole, however, we may say that during the early history of the Index the Church hardly dealt with the question of loose literature, and, as far as it went, it was inclined to handle the question lightly. We have noted that it was ready to draw a distinction between *opera*



*juvenilis licentia* and works of controversy; and the Seventh Regula of the Tridentine admits the principle that beauty and elegance may, to a certain extent, condone impropriety.

But it is certain, in spite of all objections to a moral censorship, that no one could desire to see his country or his home flooded with loose literature. Books, though not the sole means of corruption, are still very potent agents in that direction. It is clear that there are many books the reading of which will better no one—even admitting that “a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet than a fool will do of Sacred Scripture”—and many others that are too strong meat for “queasy stomachs.” Some sort of moral censorship of the Press is necessary; the question is where and how to apply it.

Milton's arguments are directed against a State censorship; he urges nothing against a paternal censorship. That the head of the family or the schoolmaster in *loco parentis* should determine what their charges may read, appears to be the natural and proper form in which that needful supervision should be applied. For, after all, the proper attitude of mind towards impure literature is a part of education, it is the duty of the parents and the schoolmasters to create it. A grown man should know how to deal with that subject; “what advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scaped the ferula to come under the fescu of an *imprimatur*.” “We are taking away the very atmosphere of virtue by denying a free choice in the matter; nor can we praise a cloistered and fugitive virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversaries.” The fact that the corrupting power of books is a matter of temperament—that one person's mind may be poisoned by literature which to another would prove innocuous and dull—again suggests that the parent and the schoolmaster are the proper censors of morals, for it is their special duty to observe temperaments, whereas no one could expect the State to take into consideration all the various compositions of its subjects' minds. It seems then that moral censorship of the Press is necessary, but that it is properly applied in youth during the period of education, and best exercised by the head of the family or the schoolmaster. The danger to avoid being not so much that grown-up people should become corrupt, but that the young man should be corrupted before he knows it, without perceiving all its significance, and be driven when too late to repeat Leopardi's bitter cry:

“Quel fallo mai, qual sì nefando eccesso  
Macchiommi anzi il natale, onde si torvo  
Il ciel me fosse e di fortuna il volto.”

To quit the various kinds of censorship and to come to the ways in which the censorship has been applied. We can distinguish

two methods. The first and oldest proceeded mainly by means of an Index—that is, by the categorical prohibition of certain specified books; the second proceeds by defining all the qualities which render a book liable to suppression, but does not attempt to indicate the specific offenders. The first method was that adopted by the Church of Rome, and by States such as Venice and Spain, though in a much less active manner. In this case the definition of the qualities which rendered a book liable to be placed on the Index was so vague that it might be stretched to cover the whole energies of the printing press; and, as a matter of fact, it left the question of whether a book should be suppressed or not entirely to the discretion of the censor for the time being. The Papal Bulls and Briefs, which promulgated and introduced the various Indices, did little to define, with accuracy, the Indexable qualities of books; they repeated, for the most part, the formulæ against heresy, but little else. The Ten Regulæ of the Council of Trent did something towards a definition, and still more the Instruction of Clement VIII.; but in both cases more attention was paid to informing censors how they shall act than to defining what is heresy; virtually it remained with the censor to say whether a book should, or should not, be placed upon the Index, and an author could never be quite certain of the fate in store for his work. This procedure by Index implied the appointment of a State censor, and entailed all the objections which have been pointed out above. So strongly did Paolo Sarpi feel the difficulty of this undefined position of the State censor, that he urged the Government of Venice to frame a list of rules and definitions to guide the conduct of the Secretary to the Senate, who was at that time charged with the State revision of books. Sarpi desired that this important question of what was and what was not censurable, should not be left to the varying opinion of individuals, but that the State censor “might walk securely, having the light of public wisdom to guide his feet.”

Venice never formulated these rules; but the recommendation of Fra Paolo brings us to the second method of censorial procedure by definition of censurable qualities alone without an Index, a purely preventive, not a repressive, censorship. The law defines what qualities in a book render it liable to suppression; but it takes no steps to examine the issues from the press in search for those qualities. There is no State-appointed censor, and public opinion is left to take his place, for it is open to any one who feels aggrieved by the publication of a work to cite it, and the trial will show whether it contains the qualities declared censurable by law. In one way this method is good; Philip II. of Spain, writing to De Luna, his Ambassador at Trent, says truly that books are not equally dangerous at all times and in all places; by creating public opinion censor of the Press, it is intended to secure that the law be put in motion where danger

threatens the community, where the public conscience is alive and sensitive, it leaves it to the national conscience to say what are the books which, at any given time, it considers to be *libri contagiosi*, infectious books. It is hoped that the law and national feeling will work together automatically to suppress whatever is felt to be inimical to national growth.

The Church of Rome was not only the first to recognise the power of a free Press, but she has also furnished the most striking example of a world-wide censorship of the Press in the apparatus of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. It is therefore of interest to follow the history of that censorship and of the Index from its earliest creation. The history of the Index falls into two main periods; the first dates, roughly speaking, from the introduction of printing into Italy in 1465, down to the publication of the Clementine Index in 1596; the second period covers the centuries from 1596 down to the present day. Historically speaking, the first period is by far the most instructive. In it we trace the inception of the idea, its growth and formation under Paul IV and the Council of Trent, till it assumed its permanent shape in the Pontificate of Clement VIII. This form it retained till the middle of the seventeenth century when Alexander VIII. made some important changes in its structure; and Benedict XIV finally corrected, revised and re-edited it, very much in the form it now possesses.

Like much of the Church machinery previous to the Council of Trent, the censorship of books grew up in obedience to necessity; sporadically and without any headquarters or general regulations. The need for this censorship was created by two great events, the invention of printing and the beginning of the Lutheran heresy. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the earliest instances of such a supervision of the Press in the home of printing, the Rhine Province. The earliest operation against books proceeded directly from the See of Rome, when Sixtus IV. in 1479, empowered the Rector of Cologne University to exercise ecclesiastical censure against those who read, or buy, or print heretical books. That the University exercised a censorship is proved by the formula of approbation prefixed to many books which were issued between the years 1479 and 1493. Another instance of such ecclesiastical approbation appears in the devotional work, *Deus et Mater*, printed by Jenson at Venice in 1480. The approbation is signed by the Patriarch of Venice, the Inquisitor, and three other authorities. But this approbation cannot be taken as a sign of any general ecclesiastical censorship of books in Venice. The reason for its appearance in the *Deus et Mater* is the fact that the author Johannes was a Carmelite, and the Superiors of the various Orders exercised supervision over the works issued by their own members. In the year 1486, the Archbishop of Mainz issued an order that no one in his province might print translations or

other works without the approbation of a censor named by him. The art of printing appeared in Italy much later than in Germany, though when it did take root it received a most remarkable development in that country. Accordingly we find that the first censorial order relating to books in Italy is dated considerably later than the orders of Cologne and Mainz. In 1491, Nicolo Franco, Bishop of Treviso and Papal Legate for Venice, published a constitution providing that no one, under penalty of excommunication, *late sententia*—that is, incurred *ipso facto*—may print books dealing with theological topics, unless he has the permission of the ordinary or his Vicar-general; and that all who possessed Antonio Rosselli's *Monarchia*, or Pico della Mirandola's *Theses*, were, within fourteen days, to bring them to be burned in the cathedral of their diocese. Bishop Franco's constitution is remarkable on two grounds: first, it enunciates the principle of an *imprimatur* from the ecclesiastical authorities as necessary before a book might be printed; and secondly, it is the earliest example of an ecclesiastical order denunciatory of books already published; the beginnings of a repressive censorship. The orders of Cologne and Mainz refer only to future impressions. But Bishop Franco begins the attack upon books already launched upon the world. We do not know whether this order was executed; whether any cathedral of Venetian territory saw Rosselli's and Pico's speculations vanish into smoke; but it is certain that, though Rosselli's work was dedicated to a Venetian Doge, Francesco Foscari, the Venetian Government raised no objection to the Episcopal order, and that the censor succeeded in stopping the circulation of the work, for only two editions are quoted by Hain, one in 1483, and one in 1487, both anterior to the Episcopal denunciation.

From the introduction of printing down to the close of the sixteenth century, the action of the Church in the matter of press censorship was local. Although Sixtus issued orders from Rome, they were not general orders, but applicable only to such narrow jurisdictions as that of Cologne University. The Popes had not yet acted in their capacity as heads of the universal Church. But after the opening of the sixteenth century a change took place. The Popes began to take universal action in the matter of press censorship. In the year 1501 Alexander VI. published his Bull, *Inter Multiplices*, to which reference has already been made. The most remarkable points in this Bull are, first, the confirmation of the doctrine that an ecclesiastical imprimatur is necessary. Archbishops, especially those of Cologne, Magdeburgh, Trier, and Mainz, are to see that no books are printed in their provinces without their *imprimatur*, which is to be granted gratis. Second, the censorial powers of the Archbishops may be delegated to Vicars-general, and to experts. Third, the scope of the censorship is confined to ques-

tions of what is *orthodoxæ fidei contrarium*; questions of public or private morality are not apparently included; the jurisdiction is to extend over corporations, universities, and colleges; the penal powers include ecclesiastical censure, destruction of books, and fines, for the enforcement of which the censors are to seek the aid of the secular arm.

The next important step in the growth of the ecclesiastical press censorship is marked by the Lateran Council. Leo X., in 1515, published his Bull, *Inter Sollicitudines*, by which the machinery of the *imprimatur* was still further organised. The necessity for an *imprimatur* is enforced, but it is provided now, for the first time, that in Rome they shall be obtained from the Apostolic Vicar and the Magister Sacri Palatii, the official who continued to be the responsible censor of books in the Papal States; outside Rome the ordinary or his delegates are the proper sources of *imprimaturs*. The penalties remain, as in *Inter Multiplices*, fines and destruction of books. In Rome the pecuniary penalties are designed to the building fund of the Prince of the Apostles. Neither in the Bull of Alexander nor in that of Leo is there any mention of the Inquisitor who subsequently played such an important part as censor of the press. The Inquisition which then existed was the old Dominican Inquisition. The new Inquisition, devised by Caraffa, had not yet been thought of. The Papal attack on Luther and Lutheran writings became more definite in 1520, when Leo published his Bull *Exurge*, condemning as heretical forty-one propositions, and entailing excommunication, *lata sententiæ*, on all who taught or defended them. And Luther's name was added to the commination list of the *In Cœna Domini*, by Hadrian VI. in 1524.

So far then the Church had exercised its censorship of books, first in a vague and sporadic way, then in general action expressed in Bulls. The motive for this action had been always the dread of dogmatic infection, the spread of the Lutheran heresy, not any anxiety about the purity of the Press, or the danger from seditious and subversive political teaching. As yet there was no example of an Index even in an incipient form; but we have now reached the period when such Indices began to appear.

If we omit the Imperial Edict of Worms (1521); which was directed against Luther and all his writings, and can hardly be considered as containing an Index of forbidden books, the first list which may claim that title appeared in England in the year 1526. It contained the names of eighteen books, and was soon followed, in 1529, by the second English Index, very much enlarged, and reaching to as many as eighty-five prohibitions. These English Indices, of which seven others under Henry VIII. and one under Mary followed the first two, are compiled in no particular order, and contain the names of special works only; there is nothing in them

corresponding to the condemnation of whole classes of books and of authors which characterises the Roman Indices. The proclamation of 1580 expressed the formula under which books were prohibited in England! It runs: "Contrary to the Catholic faith, contrary to the law and custom of the Holy Church, against the King, his Council, and Parliament"; thus covering two departments of censorship, the religious and the political, but making no provision for the moral censorship. The English Index of 1529 contains the phrase—curious in the mouth of a damnatory censor—*Joannis Wicleffi viri pissimi dialogorum libri quattuor*. The Clementine *Instructio*, which had not yet appeared, forbade any one to bestow honorific epithets on heretics; the English censor, however, did not scruple to admire his opponent.

The English Indices are, however, hardly to be reckoned in the real series of *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum*. That series properly begins with the Index, or more correctly Catalogue, issued in 1546 by the Theological Faculty at Louvain. The Louvain Index, and all Indices down to the first Papal Index, are properly known as Catalogues, not as Indices. In construction the Louvain Catalogue is essentially different from any of its predecessors. It is the first Catalogue in which we find a division into classes. The Catalogue contained, first, a list of Latin, German, and French Bibles and New Testaments; second, an alphabetical list of German and French books prohibited. The fountain of authority in the Louvain Catalogue was the Imperial mandate which conferred upon the Faculty power to visit all libraries and bookshops, and to remove all noxious books. The Louvain Catalogue is by no means free from that carelessness in compilation which characterises almost all the Indices down to the time of Benedict XIV. The alphabetical list is compiled upon a varying principle; sometimes the surname, sometimes the Christian name, of the author is given, sometimes only the title of the book to be condemned. The Emperor Charles V. was not satisfied with the Catalogue of the Theological Faculty, and in 1549 he ordered the whole University to draw up a new Catalogue, with a special list of works appropriate for use in schools. Both Catalogue and list were printed the following year in Latin, French, and Flemish. Here again, as in the case of the English Indices, the scope of the work is the extirpation of heresy; *pour l'extirpation*, so runs the title, *des sectes et erreurs pullules contre nostre sainte foy catholique et les constitutions et ordonnances de nostre mere sainte eglise. Avec le Catalogue des livres reprouvez et prohibez*. There is not the slightest reference to the other possible subjects of censorship, while every care is taken to suppress books which, though not heretical, yet under the cloak of true religion inculcate false views on the Papacy, Ceremonies, Confession, Mass, and Saints. This second Catalogue of Louvain presents two distinguishing features—first, the list of

books approved for school use in addition to the Catalogue of general condemnations, a feature which does not appear in other Catalogues or Indices, and, second, we find here for the first time the distinction drawn between heresiarchs and heretics; all works of heresiarchs are, *ipso facto*, forbidden; while the works of heretics require examination before they are condemned to the Catalogue. The Louvain Catalogue is of great importance in the history of the ecclesiastical censorship of books, not only because it is the first of the regular series of Indices *Librorum Prohibitorum*, but also because Fernando Valdes, Inquisitor-General in Spain, published it entire in 1551, and subsequently retained it in the first Spanish Index of 1559. The Latin Catalogue of Louvain appeared in the Venetian Index, and thence passed into the Roman Indices; and in this way the Louvain Catalogue may be considered as the fountain-head of two main branches of the Index, the Spanish and the Roman.

The Spanish censorship was from the very first declared to be a State ecclesiastical department. The King of Spain always insisted upon the independence of the Spanish Index. Philip II., writing to De Luna at Trent, says Spain has her own rule and her own Index, and must on no account be placed under the general orders of the Council. This independent position was always maintained, and we shall not have to consider the growth of the Spanish in dealing with the Roman Index.

A similar process of State censorship had been taking place in France contemporaneously with that which was going on in England and the Netherlands under Charles. In the year 1521 Francis I., on the invitation of the University of Paris, published a decree forbidding the Parisian booksellers to print any new Latin or French works dealing with the Christian faith without first obtaining an *imprimatur* from the Theological Faculty. This decree applied to future impressions only; and made no sort of provision for an Index. In 1542, however, the Parliament of Paris ordered the Sorbonne to draw up a Catalogue of objectionable books, and this task was accomplished in the following year, when a list of sixty-five numbers, compiled without error, was prepared. The Sorbonne Catalogue, properly so called, was not published till 1547, and was repeated three times subsequently, in 1547, 1551, and 1556. Here, again, the authority is the order of the king, *survant l'edict du roy*, and the scope, as always, the suppression of heresy. The Sorbonne Catalogue is divided into five heads: first, a list of Latin works by known authors, arranged alphabetically by surname; second, a list of anonymous Latin works; third, a list of French works by known authors; fourth, a list of anonymous French works; fifth, French translations of the Bible. Though the Louvain and the Sorbonne Catalogues naturally contain many names in common, yet there is no essential connection between the two; the Sorbonne Catalogue is an

independent compilation. But, like the Louvain Catalogue, the Sorbonne list draws much of its interest from the fact that it was largely used in the compilation of the Venetian Catalogues, and, in consequence, helped to build up the first Pontifical Index, that of Paul IV.

England, the Netherlands, France, and Spain had all issued Catalogues of forbidden books before Italy moved in the matter. When a Catalogue did appear in Italy, it did not owe its existence to ecclesiastical but to civil authorities, as had been the case with all its predecessors. The Senate of Lucca, no doubt prompted by the Inquisition, published in 1545 a decree commanding all Luchese subjects to burn, or to hand to their ordinary within fourteen days, all books in their possession which were named on an accompanying list. The Lucca Catalogue is drawn up in Latin, and contains the names of twenty-eight writers whose whole works are prohibited. There seems to have been a special dread of heresy in Lucca at that moment, chiefly on account of the influence of Bernard Occhino and of P. M. Vermigli, which called the attention of Rome to the Republic, and induced the Church to put pressure on the Government, giving to this Luchese Catalogue a peculiar character. The Republic was alarmed at this interference from Rome, and took very strong steps to secure their own independence of action, while at the same time proving themselves good sons of the Church. But this question belongs rather to the history of the Inquisition than to the history of the Index. The Luchese Catalogue being in a special degree the outcome of ecclesiastical initiative, shows quite as strongly as its predecessors the tendency to deal with dogma only, leaving the other departments of censorship untouched. The most important fact about the Lucca censorship is that the Republic established a civil office, *speciabile officium*, to deal with the whole question. This office was charged with the publication of all future prohibitions, and was convened at least once a week. It acted in concert with the ecclesiastical authorities as advisers, but in its origin and in its fountain of authority it was a State and not an ecclesiastical authority.

The next Catalogue of prohibited books brings us to an important point in the development of the Index. This Catalogue was published at Venice by Giovanni Maria Casanovi, Nuncio and Papal Legate in Venetian territory. In the case of this Venetian Index, it is no longer the State but the Church that compiles the list; the fountain of authority is the ecclesiastical not the civil government. Hitherto it had been Henry VIII., Charles V., Francis I., the King of Spain, or the Senate of Lucca which had ordered the preparation and enforcement of the prohibitions; now, in the case of this first Venetian Catalogue, the Church assumes the lead, in the person of the Papal Legate. The Casanovi Catalogue, compiled in Italian, was published in 1549. Our acquaintance with La Casa's list rests upon the hostile edition



of it published by P. P. Vergerio in May of that year. Vergerio says that La Casa compiled his Catalogue in obedience to orders from Paul III.; whether there were any explicit orders from Rome or not, the fact that La Casa was Legate *a latere* gave his Catalogue a direct connection with the Holy See. The Venetian Government, though it had not taken the initiative in the matter, at once recognised and supported the Legate's action; and the Doge issued a proclamation calling on all Venetians to surrender to the Inquisitor all books named on La Casa's list. The Catalogue contains one hundred and forty-two numbers in all, consisting almost entirely of the names of heresiarchs, and of the titles of heretical works. It closes with a declaration of the sanction, which was the greater excommunication as pronounced in the Bull, *In Cena Domini*. There is no division of the Catalogue, and no particular order is observed. The principal sources of the compilation are the Louvain and Paris Catalogues; and the recent Inquisition trials furnished La Casa with some names which appear on no previous list. La Casa enjoyed notoriety and even a certain reputation in the literary world, but he was not a learned ecclesiastic; and the assistance he received from *alcuni frati* in the construction of his Catalogue was not of much service to him. His list is full of careless mistakes; and Vergerio found it no difficult task to turn the work to ridicule. Its chief interest in the history of the Index lies in the fact that it was the first ecclesiastical Catalogue; and that it forms the link between the damnatory Catalogues of Louvain and the Sorbonne and the Papal Index of Paul IV.

Three more Catalogues remain to be noticed before we come to the first Roman Index. Vergerio is once more our source of information in the absence of the originals; but it must always be borne in mind that his is a hostile testimony, though there is no apparent reason to doubt his evidence. The most important general feature about all these Catalogues, subsequent to La Casa's, is, that they are issued by ecclesiastical, not by civil, authorities. In the year 1552, the Dominicans of Florence issued a Catalogue to which Vergerio makes reference. This Catalogue is based on La Casa's, but corrects some of the many errors into which the Nuncio had fallen. Vergerio takes credit to himself for enabling the Dominicans of Florence to discover and remedy these errors, though he asserts that they made *novos et valde pudendos*. Of this Florentine Catalogue we know little, and it does not appear to have been important. In 1554 the Archbishop of Milan, Arcimboldi, published his Catalogue, described by Vergerio, as usual in terms of great exaggeration, as a work *ove egli condanna et difama per heretici la maggior parte de figliuoli di Dio et membri di Cristo, i quali ne loro scritti cercano la reformatione della chiesa cristiana*. Vergerio's recension is dated "Cambridge," probably for Poschiavo. The most important point about the Milan Catalogue is that here for the first time we find the Inquisition.

associated with the Provincial in the publication of the damnatory list. The Catalogue opens thus: "Giovanni Angelo Arcimboldi, Archbishop of Milan, Imperial Senator, and Bonaventura Castiglione, Provost of Sant' Ambrogio and Apostolic Commissary-General of the Inquisition in Milanese territory, with the approval of the Senate of Milan." Here we find a new ecclesiastical authority, the Inquisition, acting concurrently with the older ecclesiastical organisation, the ordinary and the provincial. In Milan, as in Venice, the Church takes the initiative, and merely seeks the approval of the civil powers. The Milanese Catalogue is compiled alphabetically, and contains five hundred numbers, sometimes names of authors, sometimes titles of books. It is therefore far more comprehensive than La Casa's list, and was largely used in compiling the first Roman Index. In the same year, 1554, another Venetian Catalogue was published. It is mainly an enlargement of the Milan Catalogue, with some additional names taken from Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*. It absorbed most of its predecessors except the English lists, and included the Louvain and La Casa Catalogues almost entire; and this Venetian Catalogue served immediately as the basis for the Pauline Index. The most remarkable feature about the Venetian list of 1554 is, that its preface declares it to have been compiled and published by the Venetian Inquisition, *de commissione Tribunalis sanctissimæ Inquisitionis Veneticarum*; no mention is made of the other ecclesiastical authorities or of the civil magistrates.

The Catalogue of the Venetian Inquisition was the last Italian Catalogue. We have now reached the period when the Roman Indices begin to appear. Hitherto we have seen how the censorship proceeded first by local orders as to the supervision of the Press and the necessity for an *imprimatur*, then by Papal Bulls addressed *urbi et orbi*, confirming the local orders and making them universal. In the same way we have seen local Catalogues of books published in various parts of Europe, applicable only to certain limited districts and jurisdictions. Now we come to the Papal Indices, which, as issuing from the head of the Church, claimed to be binding on all Christendom. The two main points about the early Catalogues are, first, that they were designed almost entirely as a censorship of heretical works; and, secondly, that down to the Catalogue of Lucca they were the work of the State, not of ecclesiastical censorship. La Casa's Venetian Catalogue is the first example of the Church issuing a prohibitory list on its own account and alone. This Venetian list was compiled and carried out by the ordinary ecclesiastical machinery, but in the Milan Catalogue we find a new instrument, the Inquisition, working conjointly with the older machinery, and in the last Venetian Catalogue this new instrument seems to have absorbed the whole authority, and the Catalogue is issued by the Inquisition alone.

The appearance of the Inquisition in the censorship of books, and the fact that the headquarters of that censorship were now transferred to Rome, lead us to inquire what had been taking place in the Eternal City. Almost every European State had preceded Italy in the censorial attack upon the Lutheran heresy. It had taken long to convince the Church that her danger was real and imminent. There was one man in Rome, however, who was resolved that the Church should not remain indifferent to the progress of the new movement, but should exert all her energy to crush the heresy, Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, the Neapolitan, at that time Bishop of Chieti. It was on his initiative that Paul III., in 1542, published the Bull *licet ab initio*, which gave a new organisation to the Inquisition. Six cardinals were named Inquisitors-General, with orders to attack heresy, and with powers to act independently of the ordinaries in each diocese. This was the weapon with which Caraffa hoped to fight the Lutheran schism. He desired to see the Inquisition supersede the ordinaries, whose zeal and energy he mistrusted as censors of the press; it was owing to the prevalence of his policy at Rome that we find the Inquisition coming to the front in the conduct of the censorship of books. Although the Bull *licet ab initio* did not expressly name heretical books as the peculiar object of the Inquisitors-General's attention, yet it was fully understood that their immediate function was to suppress such books, and they proved that they appreciated the scope of their duties by the publication of their Edict of 1543, which deals entirely with the question of heretical works. Caraffa's vast and grandiose scheme for a network of Inquisition embracing all Christendom, having its centre at Rome, and being thus in direct relation with the head of the Church, failed as so much of his policy failed. But in dealing with the history of the Roman Index we shall see how close a connection he succeeded in establishing between the Congregation of the Inquisition and the censorship of books.

In the year 1559 the first Roman Index appeared. Caraffa during his Cardinalate, and while a member of the Congregation of the Inquisition, had been occupied with the preparation of an Index. When he ascended the throne as Paul IV. he entrusted the completion of the work to the Congregation. This Index was printed in 1557, but not published. It is not certain why the edition was suppressed, but a new edition was ready in 1558, and given to the world as the first Roman Index in 1559, with the declaration that it issued from the Holy Office. The Index is preceded by the decree of the Holy Office imposing obedience on pain of all the penalties enumerated in the Bull, *In Oena Domini*. The Index is compiled alphabetically, but a new feature is introduced. Each letter is divided into three classes, an arrangement which occurs here for the first time, and was preserved in all Roman Indices down to the Pontificate of Alexander VII. The first class contains the names of

all those\* whose entire works are prohibited. The second class contains the names of certain writers, some of whose works are condemned as heretical or guilty *præstigiosæ impietatis*; the edition of 1557 contained besides the works *aut obscura alicujus turpitudinis*, but these were removed from the edition of 1559. The third class contains the titles of books by unknown heretical authors. In the Pauline Index we find distinct and unmistakable censure of qualities other than heretical, such as magic, scurrility, in the Pasquins, and obscenity; and the Index itself is rich in the titles of astrological works and prophecies. The Index closed with a list of sixty-one printers, and a declaration that any works whatsoever printed by them were, *ipso facto*, prohibited. The majority of these printers were Germans; but among them we find Francesco Brucioli of Venice, and Robert Estienne of Paris. As already stated, the immediate basis of the Pauline Index is the Venetian Catalogue of 1555, which had absorbed the larger part of its predecessors; and Gesner's *Bibliotheca* furnished a considerable quantity of new names. The Pauline Index was held to be very severe, especially in its proscription of certain printers; and we shall see presently that it was found necessary to modify it. The Index contains one amusing instance of the speed, and consequent carelessness, with which names were sometimes placed on the list of prohibitions. Among the works which the compilers of the Index had to examine was a book called *Monachopornomachia*, published under the pseudonym of *Lucii Pisoni Juvenalis, datum ex Archaia*. Its real author was Simon Lemnuis, teacher in the Gymnasium at Chur, and the book is a satire on Luther the married monk; but the censors, satisfied by the title as to the real scope of the work, placed it on the Index without reading it.

The Pauline Index was not rigorously enforced, even in Rome; perhaps because the Pope did not live long enough to compel a full observance, but certainly also because it met with serious opposition. The learned found it excessively severe, and even complained that in Spain the censorship proceeded more leniently; to which the Inquisitor-General, Ghislieri, replied that Rome gave laws to Spain, not Spain to Rome. The Index was published by the Inquisition in Bologna, Genoa, and Venice, but received little attention. The Viceroy of Naples and the Governor of Milan, as Spanish subjects refused to allow it to appear in their jurisdictions, and reported on the matter to their master. Florence waited to see what other Powers would do. In Paris it was not even printed. The Pauline Index proved a failure, and on the death of that Pope in 1559, the same year that the Index was issued, his successor Pius IV. deemed it advisable to order Ghislieri, the Inquisitor, to prepare a *Moderatio Indicis*, which was published in 1561. The *Moderatio* affected only the general provisions of the Pauline Index. It sanctioned the use of

translations from the Fathers made by heretics, on a written permission for such use being obtained from the Holy Office; and it removed from the Index books placed there only because the printer was suspect. The Council of Trent was now in its third Convocation, and the question of Press censorship came before it in the year 1562. The general opinion of the Council was that the Pauline Index required revision. Daniel Barbaro, coadjutor of Aquileia, expressed the real intention of the Church as regards the use of a Press censorship, when he said that it was a flaw in the Pauline Index that it condemned equally and in the same way a work *juvenilis licentie* and a work containing heretical opinions. After much discussion, the whole question was referred to a commission of eighteen, and the Council as a body took no further charge of the matter. The Tridentine Index was ready by the end of March 1564, and was published under the title of *Index Librorum Prohibitorum cum regulis confectis per patres a Tridentina Synodo delectos, auctoritate Sanctiss. D. N. Pii IV. Pont. Max. Comprobatus*. Except upon three points, the Tridentine Index is merely an emended edition of its predecessor. Those three points are, first, the abolition of the list of forbidden Bibles, and of proscribed printers; second, the introduction of the formula *donec corrigatur*, opposite certain books, implying a modified and not an absolute condemnation. The full significance of *donec corrigatur* is that the possession and study of the work will be allowed on condition that certain obnoxious passages shall be corrected or obliterated by pen in existing editions, and in subsequent editions be removed or amended. But by far the most important feature in the Tridentine Index is the third point, the Ten Regulæ, or rules upon the subject of book censorship. The Regulæ collected and formulated the scattered provisions of the Bulls, the Catalogues and Index which preceded them; they remain in force to this day, and form the basis upon which the ecclesiastical censorship of books proceeds; as an example, we have the prohibition of Savarese's *La Segmunica-di' un idea* pronounced in 1884, which cites the second regula of Trent as its chapter, *opus prædammatum ex reg. 2 Indicis Trid.* The Index of the Council of Trent was the most important that had yet appeared. Issuing from a General Council and confirmed by the Pope, it had all the authority and prestige that any ecclesiastical legislation could enjoy. It was much more widely received than the Pauline Index. Belgium, Bavaria, and Portugal officially received it. Spain, while maintaining her independent attitude, incorporated the Tridentine Index in her own. In France and in Germany only individual provincial synods declared it as binding. In Italy, which was submitting to the counter-reformation, the Tridentine Council and Index were generally acknowledged. In Venice, as yet on good terms with the Church, the Government allowed the Patriarch, the Nuncio, and the

Inquisitor to frame and publish a statute for booksellers based on the rules of Trent. As a proof of the potent effect of the Tridentine Index, Dr. Reusch cites two most interesting passages. Josias Simler, writing a year after the publication of the Index, says: "A new Index has appeared, in which so many books are condemned that the Italian professors declare their inability to continue their lectures if the Edict is enforced. Frankfort and Zurich and other German States have written to the Venetian Senate urging it not to accept the Edict, by which the book trade will be ruined." And later, the Dominican Bernardo Castiglione declared that "in Rome they are very careful about the books which come into Italy. Booksellers no longer venture to import books, and cannot sell many of those they have on hand. In Rome there must be some thousand scudi worth of unsaleable books."

But the publication of the Tridentine Index, though the most important point in the history of ecclesiastical press censorship, did not close the process of the development of the Index. The Pauline Index, as we have seen, was published in the name of the Inquisition, and it was to that body that Paul IV., had he lived, would have entrusted the whole treatment of censurable books. But the Inquisition had many other duties to attend to besides the revision of books, and Pius V. resolved to create a new Congregation, which should devote its whole energies to this subject. In 1571 the Congregation of the Index, consisting of four cardinals and nine councillors, was elected. Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius, bestowed upon the Congregation the right to exact obedience from all bishops, doctors, magistrates, booksellers, printers, and custom-house officers; and Sixtus V. empowered it to revise all Indices and Catalogues of prohibited books, past, present, and future. The most important person on the Congregation of the Index was the Magister Sacri Palatii, whom, as we have seen, Leo X. created censor of the press in Rome, conjointly with the Vicar. The Magister Sacri Palatii, until quite recently, has always been a Dominican. He is ex-officio consultor to the Congregation of the Inquisition and to the Congregation of the Index, besides being theological adviser to his Holiness. He therefore formed a connecting link between the two Congregations, and united them closely to the head of the Church, and his influence was naturally very great. Although the Congregation of the Index, after its creation, took its own independent place among the governmental departments of the Church, yet its origin shows how very closely it was connected with the Congregation of the Inquisition. That Congregation has never lost its censorial powers, and its authority runs parallel with that of the younger Congregation. It was the Inquisition which condemned Gioberti's works in 1852.

Between the publication of the Tridentine Index by Pius IV.

and the year 1590, no serious steps were taken towards a new Index at Rome. The next important epoch in the history of the Index is the action taken by Sixtus V. In the year 1588, that Pope charged the Congregation of the Index to prepare a new and enlarged edition of the Tridentine Index; and this, when ready, was printed in 1590. The object of this Sixtine Index, as expressed in the Bull which preceded it, was to amend the Index and the Rules of Trent. But Sixtus died the same year, and the diffusion of his Index was at once stopped; the reason being, in all probability, that his additional *Regulæ* had not the approval of the Congregation. But although the Sixtine Index never took effect, it is important in the history of the censorship, as it formed the basis of the last Index with which we have to deal—the Index of Clement VIII., published in 1596. Two points distinguish the Sixtine Index. It is the only Roman Index which contains a list of heresiarchs, compiled for the better understanding of Rule 2 of the Council of Trent; this list was based upon the Spanish Index of Quiroga, and contains in all eighty-one names. Secondly, the Tridentine Ten Rules were expanded into twenty-two; but, as these rules were never enforced, it is not necessary to dwell upon them here. We may notice, however, that Rule 15 was entirely directed against works on duelling; that Rule 19 attempted to limit the impression of Bibles and liturgical works in cities where there was an Inquisitor, or a University, or a Censor; and Rule 20 ordered that forbidden books were not to be destroyed by their owners, but surrendered to the ordinary or the Inquisitor. The Sixtine Index was, in fact, the severest which had yet been proposed, and the first class contains twice as many names as there were on the first class of the Tridentine Catalogue.

When Clement VIII. came to the throne, the Congregation of the Index was commissioned to take the question of a new Index into consideration. Bellarmine, then consultant to the Congregation, was opposed to the Sixtine Index and its Rules, and the Congregation determined to set these aside, and to prepare an Index of their own. In 1593 the Index was ready, and the Cardinal of Ascoli handed to the Pope a printed copy. The Pope, however, gave orders that the new Index should not be published, and it was not till three years later that the Clementine Index was given to the world. Dr. Reusch is very brief upon the causes of this long delay; but the despatches of the Venetian Ambassador, Paolo Paruta, make it quite clear what was taking place at Rome. The notorious severity of the Sixtine Index had greatly alarmed the world of letters, and all those connected with the book trade. People had learned by experience how powerful the action of an Index could be. The centres of the book business, Paris, Lyons, Antwerp, Venice, and Frankfort, had all suffered severely. Although the Sixtine Index had been suppressed, it was rightly conjectured that the Clementine Index would

follow closely on its lines ; and it was generally known that the new Index was not merely a revised but an enlarged edition of the Tridentine list. Paruta, seeing the hesitation of the Pope, and urged by many people of consideration in Rome, who promised to support him if he would begin the attack, thought the moment favourable for seeking an interview with his Holiness, in order to lay before him the various reasons in favour of a milder Index. His arguments covered a number of points, some of them personal to Venice, others touching on the nature of the proposed Index, which contained many books quite foreign to religious questions ; others, again, relating to the policy of the Church, such as the danger of disgusting the world of letters which might give trouble to the Holy See, and the risk of not being obeyed, and so losing prestige. The general opposition to any severer Index was very great. It was this which caused the Pope to hesitate. He thought of naming a commission of literati to examine and report upon the new Index, but abandoned the idea on learning that the Congregation would take it as an insult. Finally, the Congregation was convened in the presence of the Pope. The Cardinals wished to maintain the Index in full, as they had compiled it ; but his Holiness himself spoke at length, showing that he was of another opinion, especially dwelling on the danger of being disobeyed ; to which the Cardinal of Ascoli replied that this was no sufficient reason, the Congregation must do its duty and leave the consequences of disobedience to others. But the Pope remained firm ; and the Index of Clement, which appeared in 1596, was very considerably modified, especially on the side of non-religious books. The most important point about the Clementine Index is the addition of an *Instructio*, or orders to the censors as to the rules they are to observe in the prohibition and the correction of books. This *Instructio* is printed along with the Tridentine *Regule*, and appears in subsequent editions of the Index. Though it extended the powers of the censorship, and required an oath of allegiance to the Index from booksellers, it met with little opposition anywhere but in Venice. There the Clementine Index and the *Instructio* were only formally received by the Government after the Pope had agreed to and signed, through his plenipotentiaries, a document called the *Declaratio*, and subsequently known as the *Concordat* of 1596, whereby the severity of the rules was greatly modified, the censorial action largely curtailed, and a considerable measure of freedom secured to the Venetian Press. The oath of allegiance was not exacted from Venetian booksellers ; the additions to the Index made at Rome were not valid in Venice without the consent of the civil members of the Holy Office ; and that only in cases of books which attacked the Catholic faith, or were printed with a forged licence or false date. As a matter of fact, no new Index was printed in Venice, with the consent of the Government,



till 1766, and then only very few additions to the Clementine Index appear upon it.

The publication of the Clementine Index closes the first period in the history of the ecclesiastical censorship of books—the period of growth. We have seen that censorship springing up from local orders to Papal Bulls, and from special Catalogues to Universal Indices; and have noted how secular Governments led the way in the attack on heresy; how the early censorship, at least, was directed almost entirely to questions of dogma, leaving aside such other grounds of censorship as morals, public and private, though in its more recent additions to the Index the Church is endeavouring to grapple with the question of impure literature. The machinery of the ecclesiastical censorship passed from the ordinary authorities into the hands of the Pauline Inquisition, and thence into the power of the special Congregation created for that sole purpose. The Congregation of the Index is still alive; the additions to the Index still continue. We may meet upon it such modern names as those of Whately, Bentham, Hallam, Spencer, Gregorovius, and a whole list of distinguished writers, while the battle which has lately raged round the name of Rosmini shows how vigorous the censorship is, and how little it has changed in character. The prohibitions of the Index are still supposed to be binding on the faithful, and for those who think that truth cannot be left to take care of herself, and that free discussion of opinion should be suppressed, every success of the Index is a source of legitimate satisfaction. Those who think otherwise may rejoice that its powers are not so great as they were in the sixteenth century, and that the number of its lieges has decreased.

H. F. BROWN.

## FUSION OR DIFFUSION ?

So far as Liberal Unionists are concerned, the parting of the ways which diverge at the end of the path they have hitherto elected to tread cannot be very far distant, and it can scarcely be doubted that many among that party are even now, and with much anxious searching of heart, considering what must be their course of action when the making of the momentous choice cannot longer be delayed. The General Election is now within measureable distance, and, therefore, the necessity for making that choice becomes more pressing every day ; but astonishment cannot be felt that meantime it is put to one side as being something not very agreeable to think about, because it is "Hobson's choice" after all, and whichever path the leaders may elect to choose seems destined to lead their party—as a party—to an ultimate and inevitable goal of complete eclipse and extinction. How to escape from this dilemma constitutes a problem of no little difficulty, but the problem remains unsolved, and the choice unmade, even though they know in their own hearts that the solution and the decision must shortly be faced, however unwillingly !

Not very long ago there was a good deal said as to the advisability of fusion taking place between Tories and Unionists, but the feeler thus thrown out by the senior to the junior firm engaged in the anti-Home Rule business was not responded to in at all a cordial manner.

And no wonder !

Some recollection of the fate of the lamb who tried the pacific and ingratiating experiment of lying down beside the lion doubtless crossed the minds of the unfortunates to whom the meant-to-be tempting proposal was made. Therefore they shrank back in alarm from an offer which, while professing to be for the benefit of both parties concerned, would, if accepted, have had none other effect than the absorption into the Tory ranks of the Liberal Unionist leaders, and the consequent disruption and dispersion of their party and following in the country.

It is abundantly evident on whose side the balance of profit would have remained had such a fusion of parties taken place. There is nothing that the Tories can give in the way of political eminence which the Unionist leaders have not already attained to, whilst, on the other hand, the formal inclusion in their ranks of Lord Hartington,

Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Henry James, and others of the Unionist leaders, would mean to the Tories an accession of strength only to be fairly estimated by comparing the known ability and achievements of these distinguished men with the respectable mediocrity which, with perhaps two or three notable exceptions, is the distinguishing characteristic of the members of Lord Salisbury's present Cabinet. To bind such men as these to their party by irrevocable bonds would have seemed to the Tories ample compensation for the consequent annihilation in the constituencies of the Liberal Unionist party—an annihilation which probably would not have proved anything more to the Tories than a calamity in name, inasmuch as whatever support they might have lost at the polls through the refusal of the Unionist rank and file to identify themselves with the action of their leaders, would have been more than made up for by the greater willingness of their own rank and file to vote for out-and-out Tory candidates, rather than for the hybrid politicians who, not ashamed to solicit Tory votes, are, nevertheless, ashamed to bear the Tory name.

Fusion would undoubtedly have averted some friction in the working of the Unionist machine at the next General Election, but it did not seem to guarantee to the less known Unionist M.P.'s the retention of their seats—or even the adoption of themselves as candidates—when that much-dreaded period should arise. So as neither to leader nor followers did any compensation for donning the Tory livery seem to present itself, fusion clearly was not to be jumped at, and jumped at accordingly it was not.

But having refused fusion, do the Liberal Unionists see anything before them but the equally terrible plight of *diffusion*? Having escaped Scylla, can they hope to avoid Charybdis? It is to the consideration of these questions that this article is applied.

That the Tories in 1886 really believed themselves face to face with a grave national crisis seems, in the light of their former coquettings with Home Rulers and Home Rule, a thing that no one can seriously be asked to believe; but that the Liberal Unionists were sincerely convinced that such was the case, is a fact that cannot well be contradicted, nor, indeed, would anyone desire to doubt that at least the great majority of them acted under a sense of sheer necessity and sincere conviction!

At a time when men's minds were reeling under the shock occasioned by Mr. Gladstone's splendid and dramatic departure from the lines on which all his predecessors, and even he himself, had hitherto carried on the government of Ireland, it can easily be understood that in the Liberal camp there should have been doubters and waverers who thought they saw in the departure from what had come to be looked upon as almost a policy of necessity, something that in its very newness and strangeness foreshadowed difficulties, and it

might even be, dangers, in the not far distant future were a mandate given in haste and without due reflection to Mr. Gladstone in respect of his new and surprising Irish policy; it can also be easily comprehended how, bewildered by the spectacle of the Liberal leaders divided against themselves, these waverers should either altogether have abstained from voting, or, worse still, have gone the length of recording their votes against the policy of their old, tried, and hitherto trusted chief!

Thus it is not difficult to understand how the party calling itself Liberal Unionist should have sprung into existence, and that a third party should have been formed in the State. It was a party born of necessity and emergency; and it is questionable whether the leaders and their followers are at one upon the objects for which it was formed, or upon the necessity for its permanent duration. What the ideas of the leaders are we all of us know only too well; we know that they cherish an unrelenting hostility towards the establishment of an Irish Parliament, and we are also led to believe that they will fight any such scheme to the bitter end; we know, moreover, that they have given up all idea of coming to terms with the main body of the Liberal party, and that, to quote Mr. Chamberlain, "they are emphasising their separation from the Gladstonian Liberals, and are (by organising Liberal Unionist clubs and so forth) taking further steps in the constitution of a third party in the State." The cry of the leaders is, "No compromise, and no surrender." But, in shouting this battle-cry, are they thoroughly persuaded that they understand the feelings, or are carrying out the wishes, of those who in 1886 were their followers? Are they assured that in the sense in which they now define Liberal Unionism they have followers worth speaking of in point of numbers? Finally, are they quite clear as to who were really their followers in 1886, or are they deluding themselves with regard to the strength of their party by forgetting that the Unionist victory was won not by accessions to the Tory poll, but by abstentions from the Liberal?

These are questions worthy of careful consideration, for on the answer in the affirmative or negative depends the possibility, or impossibility, of the permanent existence of the Liberal Unionist party.

Now in regard to the first of these questions, it is at least probable that the leaders of the Liberal Unionist party understand the workings of their own minds a good deal better than they comprehend the influences which during the last few years have been at work on the minds of their supporters; it is conceivable that Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain believe the necessity for the existence of the Liberal Unionist party to be as well defined as in 1886; it is even possible that in their own minds they are persuaded that the position of their party is in all respects similar to what it was at

the time of its formation. But is all this really so? Formed in haste, the Liberal Unionists began their separate existence as a party by declaring that on one point at least they and the followers of Mr. Gladstone were in complete agreement, viz., that Coercion as a policy was played out, and would, from then at all events, receive no support; agreeing in the negation of a policy of Coercion, they refused, however, to concur in the affirmation of what Mr. Gladstone distinctly told the country was its only possible alternative, and submitted that a policy less obsolete than Coercion, and at the same time less adventurous than Home Rule, or in other words a generous scheme of Local Government, was what they were prepared to carry out in regard to, and was all that could reasonably be demanded by, the sister country of Ireland. It is the function of the Tories to oppose the inevitable, and had they *alone* stood forth as the opponents of Home Rule, it is impossible to suppose that any appreciable number of Liberals would have abstained from voting in favour of candidates pledged to support Mr. Gladstone, but the opposition offered by politicians representing such different phases of Liberal thought as Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen, Sir George, then Mr., Trevelyan, and Mr. Chamberlain was another matter altogether; moreover, prejudices die hard, and deep down in the heart of the average Briton there was very firmly planted the prejudice against governing Ireland according to Irish ideas, consequently a certain number of Liberals gave effect to what was probably an honest preference for Lord Hartington's *modus operandi*, whilst a far greater number stood aside, neither committing themselves to the one policy, nor to the other, until they should see how that of the Unionist leaders would work; of this number, too, were those who could not make up their minds in a hurry, and desired time in which to weigh the merits and demerits of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy. But by how many of those who voted for Liberal Unionist and Tory candidates was it imagined that the policy of Coercion which then their leaders denounced was within a few short months to be the remedial policy brought forward by the Ministry, and without protest assented to by the men whom, on a distinct understanding to the contrary, they had sent to Parliament as their representatives? How many of them imagined, when exercising the franchise, that the very men whom they were returning to the House of Commons would in the near future prove that they had been all wrong when they denied, and that Mr. Gladstone had been quite right when he affirmed, that there was no half-way house between Home Rule and Coercion? How many of them imagined that the schism in the Liberal party was to be anything but a temporary schism; that the hateful necessity of voting for Tory candidates was to be anything but a temporary necessity, or that voting against Mr. Gladstone was anything more than a painful expedient to enable

the country to have breathing space, and to give the leaders of both wings of the Liberal party time to co-operate together, in order to arrive at some scheme capable of obtaining the support of all? How many of them imagined that their leaders would throw every obstacle and impediment in the way of finding a *modus vivendi* with the main body of the Liberal party? Finally, how many of them had irrevocably made up their minds to lay down for ever the honoured name of Liberal, and to take up instead the new-fangled designation of Liberal Unionist?

Sir George Trevelyan supplies a key to the answer!

The rank and file of the Liberal Unionist party originally understood that theirs was a party formed *for a time*; the leaders have persuaded themselves that theirs is a leadership formed *for all time*; the followers do not seem to have made the leaders understand *their definition*; have the leaders made the followers appreciate *theirs*?

And now for the second question: Are the Unionist leaders assured that, in the sense in which they now define Liberal Unionism, they have followers worth speaking of in point of numbers?

At the General Election of 1886 there were 409 English, Scotch, and Welsh seats contested, against Gladstonians by 279 Tories and 130 Liberal Unionist candidates.

The aggregate Unionist poll in these 409 seats amounted to 1,318,275, as against a Tory aggregate for the same number of seats at the preceding General Election of 1,314,025, or a balance in favour of 1886, amounting to 4250!

Of course so trifling an addition cannot be taken as representing the real measure of support given by the Liberal Unionists to their Tory allies, for it must be remembered that the Irish vote, which in 1885 went solid for the Tories, was cast against them in the following year.

Bearing this fact in mind, it will be noted that in these constituencies the Liberal Unionists were apparently possessors of something rather more than the strength necessary to make up to the Tories for the loss of the Irish vote. But more than this was required, in order to defeat the Liberals, who, it must be remembered, had had the Irish vote transferred to them; the material support given to Tory candidates by Liberal Unionist electors would not in itself have been sufficient to turn the tables, had not the Liberal Unionist leaders been able to give that *moral* support which proved to be of so very much greater importance in deciding the issue of the contest.

All along the line a heavy decrease—not alone to be accounted for by the transference of Liberal Unionist votes to Tory candidates—was apparent in the Liberal poll, and so it came about that in very

many instances seats wherein the Tory poll was no heavier than in 1885, were lost to the Liberal party through the abstention of voters, who, though unable to make up their minds to vote Tory, were so taken aback and bewildered by the bold line adopted by Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, that they deemed it wiser to give no opinion either for or against Mr. Gladstone's policy until they had had more time to turn it over in their minds.

In yet a third manner did the Liberal Unionists contrive to contribute support to their allies. To swell the Unionist majority they were fortunate enough to secure election without opposition in no fewer than 28 seats, wherein in 1885 large Liberal majorities had been recorded.

To account for this, various reasons may be adduced, not the least strong of which, perhaps, is, that many of the thus elected Liberal Unionists had been—and it was believed would again be—among the brightest ornaments of the Liberal party, consequently there was a natural disinclination on the part of the Gladstonians to embitter the controversy by offering opposition to their return, more especially as the differences of opinion which divided the party were at that time believed by nine out of ten Liberals to be only temporary, and of such a character as could easily be removed by mutual and statesmanlike concessions.

It may of course be urged that reciprocal forbearance was shown towards a certain number of Gladstonian candidates, but reference to the polls of 1885 may, perhaps, most easily explain the reason.

All this being so, it will easily be understood that the support accorded to the Tories by the Liberal Unionists was rather negative than positive; they were able to put many Liberal electors out of action, but they were not able to bring very many of them into line with the Tories, or in fact, to do anything more than induce them to observe a benevolent and watchful neutrality.

But when the battle was over and men began to take stock of the position, it became apparent that the Liberal Unionist strength was potential rather than real.

They had been unable to do more towards strengthening the Tory voting battalions in the constituencies than bring in sufficient—and only just sufficient—recruits to compensate for the Irish desertions to the enemy.

But there were great possibilities in the future! If only the waverers, who had thus far been benevolently neutral, could be induced to enrol themselves in the Unionist ranks, and to fight the Unionist battle at the next General Election, all was well; but if the reverse should prove the case, all was lost! It was not to be expected that the waverers were going to be waverers always, nor was it within the range of possibility that they would permanently disfranchise themselves through an inability to make up their minds.

Everything, then, depended on the continuance, and, if possible, on the emphasisement, on the consciences of these men of the moral effect originally produced by the secession from Mr. Gladstone of the Liberal Unionist leaders, and on its continuance will depend the ability of the Liberal Unionist to give their allies at next election, that *moral* support, which immeasurably more than the *material*, contributed to the great Unionist victory in 1886. Now, the voting strength of the Liberal Unionists in the constituencies is admitted on all hands to be not sufficiently great to enable them unaided to return any number of representatives worth speaking of; they had at the last General Election to obtain a loan in the way of voting strength from those who had hitherto been their sworn foes, nor can they expect on any future occasion to make even a decent show at the polls unless they can once again secure material support from the Tories. But are they able to give a *quid pro quo* in the constituencies wherein Tory candidates are to be run? Not to speak of *material*, can they even contribute *moral* support to their allies at the next General Election?

The evidence of the bye-elections which have taken place during the last four years, seems to negative any such assumption, for the polls on these occasions have, almost without exception, been much heavier than in 1886, and have served to show that the Liberal voting strength is once more consolidated and approximates pretty closely to what it was in 1885. The reason for this fact is not very difficult to arrive at.

Had the Unionist leaders impressed on the Tory Ministry that they and their followers would be no parties to the introduction and passage through the House of Commons of an Irish Coercion Bill; had they insisted on the prompt introduction of an Irish Local Government Bill; in fact, had they adhered to the pledges which they gave at the General Election, it would have been impossible for Ministers to take the course which, unfortunately for their own interests, they have most misguidedly seen fit to follow, and the country would have affirmed—as it now denies—the ability of the Liberal Unionist party to exercise a controlling influence on, and to shape the policy of, Lord Salisbury's Cabinet. This they have not seen fit to do. Now, had Lord Hartington insisted on the early and speedy passage of a Local Government Act for Ireland, one of two results must inevitably have followed; either the Act would in its operation have been found sufficient to satisfy Irish demands, or it would not!

Had it turned out a success, the Unionist leaders would have been entitled to all the credit attaching to a satisfactory solution of the Irish question, and their attitude towards Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill would have been so far justified as probably to have exercised a determining, and, so far as Unionists are concerned,



satisfactory influence on the minds of those electors who had previously abstained from voting. In this way, the moral influence of the Unionist leaders would have been enormously strengthened.

But had the reverse been the case, and had the reception of this Act by the Irish people been such as to demonstrate that Mr. Gladstone had not exceeded the limits of accuracy in stating that as between Coercion and Home Rule there was no alternative, the Unionist leaders might still have served the cause of Unionism by co-operating frankly and loyally with Mr. Gladstone—or, for the matter of that, with Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon—in the elaboration of a scheme of Home Rule such as might in its details have proved wholly unobjectionable and acceptable, not only to the Irish people, but also to English politicians of all shades of opinion.

But these chances have been wantonly thrown away and wasted!

The Local Government (Ireland) Bill, of which so much was said by Unionist candidates, and from which so much was expected by Liberal Unionist voters and Liberal abstentionists, is still a thing of the future.

This, the alternative policy to Home Rule, has been relegated to the close instead of being passed—as it ought to have been—at the commencement of the present Parliament, whilst—*mirabile dictu*—the scheme for buying out Irish landlords, which, according to the Unionist, was never more to be heard of, is at the present time almost *un-fail accompli*!

Granted that the Unionist Leaders still believe in Local Government as an efficacious remedy for Irish ills; granted also that they do all in their power to pass a Bill of this character into law next session, they have by their wilful inaction in the past rendered it impossible for the country to have an adequate period of time in which to study the effect of its operation. The Bill may be passed next session—we are told that it will be—but a dissolution will take place only a few months thereafter!

All this we may be quite sure has not escaped the notice of the Liberal abstentionists; all this, we may assume, did not escape the prophetic eye of Sir George Trevelyan, Sir Hussey Vivian, Mr. T. R. Buchanan, and other ex-Liberal Unionists!

"We have redeemed our pledges!" the Unionists may say at next election. "We have given to Ireland a generous scheme of Local Government."

"Yes," the elector will reply; "but you have redeemed them too late! You have given us no time in which to judge of the efficacy of your remedy. You may tell us now, as you told us before, that Local Government will satisfy all Irish demands; but then we don't forget that you told us Coercion would not be necessary; you have been wrong in the one forecast, how are we to believe that you will be more correct in regard to the other?"

And that elector will remain unanswered and unanswerable!

Now the trump card of the Liberal Unionists was the moral support they promised and believed they could guarantee to their Tory allies; they had a valid reason for separate existence so long as they could lead the Tories to believe that that moral influence would be shattered were the two parties to coalesce, or fuse, under a common denomination.

But are they quite sure that that moral influence is not impaired to a point at which it may be said to be non-existent?

And if it be non-existent, of what conceivable value is the Liberal Unionist alliance to the Tories?

Tory electors have to sacrifice something in the way of principle in voting for men who still call themselves Liberals; but will they be content to do this one moment longer than the time when it is clearly demonstrated to them that the alliance is productive of no political profit to their own party? If Home Rule be shown to be inevitable, how long will Tory electors continue to return—that is, always supposing it to be in their power to return—men who on all questions else declare themselves to be sound and convinced Liberals?

The Tory Unionist alliance is, as yet, unbroken, because it is not an assured fact that from it the Tories have nothing to gain in the future; but even so there are not wanting outward symptoms of internal dissension which may possibly result in no such number of Liberal Unionist candidates being permitted to stand at the next general election as, in 1886; the acrimonious discussion which took place between the allies as to the candidate to be run for the seat left vacant through the death of Mr. Bright, gave the outside public a glimpse behind the scenes, and showed in a very unmistakable manner the preference for party over “patriotism” entertained by the Birmingham Tories; the two bye-elections in the Ayr Burghs also let in a good deal of side-light on the subject, and evinced the fact that in 1888 local Tory jealousy would not permit of a *Liberal Unionist* candidate being returned, although two years later a *Tory* candidate regained the seat! *Then* and *now* are two very different words; in 1886 the Liberal Unionist neck was not so tightly secured in the Tory halter as to make withdrawal impossible, but in 1890 the case is otherwise, and even were the Tories to adopt in almost every constituency, “true-blue” in place of “piebald” candidates, the Liberal Unionists are now too deeply committed to what they call “patriotism” to render it possible for them to show resentment, or to refuse whatever support they may still have to offer. That the Tories will act in this fashion at the next election no one, of course, believes; but assume for a moment the victory at the next election of the Gladstonians; assume also that Mr. Gladstone’s Home Rule Bill passes through all its stages in the House of Commons, and is there-

after thrown out by the lords—what would happen? Inevitably another appeal to the constituencies. What in such an event would be the probable, the natural, and the perfectly defensible action of the Tories?

Undoubtedly to assume the entire direction of the forthcoming campaign, and, without reference to the susceptibilities of their quondam allies, to run as many Tory and as few Liberal Unionist candidates as possible.

The reason for such a course of action would be two-fold—in the first place, one battle having already been lost, the Tories would be perfectly justified in assuming that the value of the Unionist alliance was not what they had hitherto believed it to be, and that, therefore, there might be a disinclination on the part of Tory voters to give a hearty support to any very considerable number of Liberal Unionist candidates; in the second place they would have the natural, although not altogether disinterested, desire to do the best possible for their own party, and this would lead them to make out that the interests of Unionism would best be served by running very many more Tory Unionist candidates than at the preceding election, a course which the Liberal Unionist leaders, pledged as they are to oppose Home Rule by any means whatsoever, could not openly resent, and would, in order to appear consistent, and, perhaps, in some measure, to hide their discomfiture, feel compelled to acquiesce in!

Of course, in remembrance of past services, the seats of such men as Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Henry James, and Mr. Goschen, would, so far as lay in the power of the Tories to do so, be made safe for them; but, for the reasons I have pointed out, no such consideration would be shown to their followers, and, on the re-assembling of Parliament, the Liberal Unionist party would be seen to consist of all head and no tail, all leaders and no followers. Followers without leaders are unfortunate, but leaders without followers are only ridiculous. It is ridicule that kills, and no party could survive ridicule such as this!

I have thus far gone on the assumption of a Gladstonian victory at next election; but, of course, there remains to be considered the probable position of the Liberal Unionists in the event of victory at the polls crowning their own and the Tories' endeavours.

That position would at once become one of very great difficulty. Two courses would be open for the leaders to follow, either of which would not be unattended with danger.

On the one hand, they might consent to accept office in a Coalition Government; on the other hand, they might elect to follow out the course of self-effacement which, with the single exception of Mr. Goschen, they have hitherto seen fit to adopt.

Against adopting the first of these courses there appear to be

various objections all of which, we may safely assume, would not escape the notice of the Unionist leaders: in the first place, the reasons which have hitherto prevented their acceptance of office, would still remain in force; in the second place, the return for the second time to the House of Commons of a Unionist majority would seem to indicate an indefinite prolongation of the struggle with the Liberal party, which, true to the traditions of the past, could not be expected to turn back from the policy of Home Rule; consequently, any Coalition Ministry which might be formed would require to face the possibility of having to work harmoniously together, not, as is ordinarily the case with Coalition Ministries, for a limited, but for an indefinite period. It might take twenty years for the country to become converted to the Liberal policy, during which time a Ministry composed of a majority of Tories, and a minority of Liberal Unionists would require to carry on the Queen's Government, and with the inevitable result—at present strikingly exemplified in the person of Mr. Goschen—that the minority of the Cabinet would, in the eyes of the country, become entirely identified with the majority, so that ere long the Government would come to be spoken of as, and in reality would be, a Tory Government in name as in everything else. An involuntary and irretraceable fusion would thus take place between the Tory and Unionist leaders which would render it quite impossible for the unofficial Liberal Unionist members to maintain a status of irresponsible independence, or to have, even, in name, a separate existence from the Tory party. Acceptance of office, then, by the Liberal Unionist leaders would imply the complete absorption of the lesser by the greater. But the Unionist party does not desire to lose its identity in the fusing process, consequently the leaders would perforce have to adopt the second of the two courses open to them, viz., the continuance of that course of self-effacement and masterly inaction which they have hitherto been content to follow.

But the adoption of this course would be fraught with a peril hardly less than the adoption of its alternative!

It is a self-evident truth that statesmen who are responsible for, and statesmen who actively oppose, the policy of a Government, bulk most largely in the estimation of those who are governed; it is also a self-evident truth that the governed cease to speculate with interest on the political careers of men who neither govern, nor possess the potentiality of governing.

A man whose party is in power, and whose abilities entitle him to such a position, may temporarily render himself impossible as a Minister of the Crown; but, on that account, the public does not cease in some degree to speculate with interest upon all his political actions, because it knows that he has only temporarily shelved himself, and has, therefore, a probable future before him—of this Lord Randolph Churchill supplies a good example—but the case is other-

wise with statesmen who have rendered themselves impossible as Ministers through an unswerving adherence to a party, which is not, and never can be, numerically strong enough to undertake the functions of Government.

Of what interest, for example, is it to the country to read in the papers that Mr. Chamberlain does not exactly see eye to eye with the Government as regards Mr. Balfour's Irish Land Purchase Bill? In what way is the public agitated by learning that the Ministry decline to entertain his suggestions?

But conceive the importance that would have attached to Mr. Chamberlain's opinion had he been either a member of the Government, or a leader of the Opposition!

In the one capacity he could, under threat of resignation, have insisted on the passage of a Local Government Bill anterior to a Land Purchase Bill; in the other capacity, he would, *and could*, have given effect to his convictions by offering a strenuous and uncompromising opposition to the procedure of the Government; but in the position he now occupies, he is absolutely impotent, and the country, knowing this, reckons his "pious opinion" as of no account whatsoever! Nor is it of much greater interest to the country to know that Lord Hartington—unlike Mr. Chamberlain—has signified his complete approval of the action of the Ministry; because it is aware that, even had the reverse been the case, he could not have afforded to set his followers an example which would have had the effect of throwing the Government out, and letting in Mr. Gladstone. There was a time when a word from Lord Hartington would have been all powerful in shaping the action of the Ministry, but that time has passed, and no one knows this fact better than Lord Hartington, unless, indeed, it be Lord Salisbury!

Thus far, the reputation of the Liberal Unionist leaders has been living, so to speak, on its own tissue; but such a process of exhaustion cannot go on for ever! Temporary effacement may not damage a political reputation very greatly; permanent effacement ensures its ultimate dissolution!

Imagine for a moment the possibility of the country turning a deaf ear for, say, ten or twenty years to the Home Rule policy of the Liberal party, and the consequent continuance throughout either of those periods of the Unionist alliance; imagine, too, the self-effacement throughout all these years of the Liberal Unionist leaders. Where, I ask, would be their reputations, and what would the weight of their utterances amount to in the political world?

Thus far, the reputations of Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain for both constructive and destructive statesmanship are fresh in the public recollection, and they themselves are political factors with whom the Tories still have, to a limited extent, to deal.

But recollection of former statesmanship is not strengthened by

the efflux of time, nor is gratitude a characteristic of the Tory party!

Year by year as the alliance went on, and year by year as the political influence of the Liberal Unionist leaders waned, so would the deference of the Tory party diminish towards their allies. "What is the use of this alliance to us?" they would say. "Why should we continue to flatter the susceptibilities of these renegade Liberals? They have served their purpose, and now that their influence is gone, we can afford to dictate terms to them!"

And they *would* dictate terms; they would quietly, and without so much as "By your leave," fill up with candidates of their own choosing any Liberal Unionist seats that might become vacant, nor would the Unionist leaders---whose names must long ere then have ceased to be things to conjure by---have the power, even if they had the will, to make reprisals of an effective nature.

Those crowning indignities are, as yet, in the dim future; but it seems in accordance with what is known of human nature---especially of Tory human nature---to suppose that Fusion having in the past been contemptuously refused, Diffusion will in the future be thus ignominiously brought about.

In English political life there is only room for two permanent parties, and, as Mr. Arnold Morley said a few weeks ago at Nottingham, the very construction of the House of Commons shows this to be the case.

The task the Liberal Unionists have set themselves is too enormous; they will not call themselves "Tories," because in nine points out of ten---let this be frankly conceded---they are in closer touch with the Liberal than with the Tory party; they profess to cherish the hope that when the influence of one vast and overshadowing personality is removed from our midst, they will be able to bring back those whom they now style "Gladstonians," to what they are pleased to call "the old Liberalism."

But have they gone the best way about it? Even were it not the case that Mr. Gladstone's followers are sincerely convinced of the righteousness of the cause for which, under his leadership, they are now fighting, the acerbity and bitterness which the Liberal Unionists have imported into the controversy with their former friends, would not help to convince them of their errors! Hitherto the Unionist leaders have tried pressure and bitterness from without; would it not be far better to give a trial to pressure and conciliation from within?

Every day that they remain outside the Liberal party makes their re-entry more difficult: new men are springing up to take their places; new men who are not disposed to pave the way for reconciliation in the same manner as Mr. Gladstone; new men who have their own ambitions, and therefore have a direct interest in making

the way of reconciliation as hard as possible; new men who, when they have the power, will make the way of reconciliation impossible!

Why, then, should not the Unionist leaders return to the Liberal party ere these men become too powerful? Why should they throw away the opportunity of having a hand in shaping the inevitable?

Fusion or diffusion stares them in the face, and either the one or the other is the fate in store for their party if the present alliance with the Tories be continued.

Surely an honourable reconciliation with the Liberal party were preferable?

The time for that has not quite passed away—the General Election is not just yet!

But when that period is over; when victory or defeat has been meted out to the Liberal party, the bitterness will become more bitter, and the soreness more sore, until reconciliation becomes a thing undesired by either, and impossible for both.

JAMES DOUGLAS HOLMS.

## THE LEGITIMACY OF CHILDREN.

HUMAN laws should be based, not on blind prejudice or rigid formulas, but on natural justice. This is, indeed, a mere truism; but it is necessary to emphasise it, inasmuch as it is practically disregarded in many cases by those who assume the functions of legislators. In our English system of jurisprudence there are many anomalies; but perhaps, there is none more flagrant than the law relating to the legitimacy of children. The word "bastard," applied to an illegitimate child, is looked upon as one of the most opprobrious terms in the English language. It fixes upon the unfortunate being whom it designates a stigma more horrible than that which attaches to a criminal. The Jews of old isolated the leper; and Christian England, in like manner, but with far less show of reason, isolates the bastard. The leper was forbidden to mingle with his fellow-men; but he was not robbed of his property, and, subject to certain sanitary regulations, he could enjoy all his natural rights. Not so the bastard: he is a nonentity, and his very existence is a crime. The Mosaic law did not seek to punish the victims of leprosy, it merely kept them apart, for hygienic reasons, from the rest of the community. The law of England has no such justification for its treatment of illegitimate children. By inflicting penalties on the innocent, it incurs the odium of tyranny; and nobody derives any moral benefit from the unmerited degradation of those who have the misfortune not to have been born in wedlock.

It may be convenient here to define, with as much conciseness as possible, the legal status in England, at the present time, of an illegitimate child. In the first place, if a male child, he is incapable of inheriting property, because he is in law *nullius filius* (nobody's son); and even if by his own industry, after arriving at manhood, he acquires wealth, his offspring have no claim to it, in the event of his dying intestate. To quote a passage from a well-known text-book on the law of real property:<sup>1</sup> "Being nobody's son, he can have no brother or sister or any other heir than an heir of his body; nor can his descendants have any heirs, but such as are descended from him. If such a person, therefore, were to purchase lands, that is, acquire an estate in fee-simple in them, and were to die possessed

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of the Law of Real Property.* By Joshua Williams.



of them without having made a will and without leaving any issue, the lands would escheat to the lord of the fee, for want of heirs."

Strange as it may appear to a non-legal mind, the offspring of a traitor or a felon has, according to modern legislation, rights of which an illegitimate child is absolutely deprived; for by an Act passed in the reign of her present Majesty, forfeiture in cases of treason and felony has been abolished, the practical result being that the son of a murderer is not deprived of his inheritance by the fact of his father having made no will.

As a necessary consequence of his having no legal parents, a bastard can have no surname. It is stated by English jurists that he may gain a surname by reputation, though not by inheritance. Again, a bastard has no claim to belong to the parish in which he was born. Formerly, no illegitimate person could be received into holy orders; but modern ideas have succeeded in destroying this ridiculous prejudice.

One cannot help sympathising with Edmund in *King Lear* when he protests against the injustice of the law. He is not one of Shakespeare's most lovable characters, but the words put into his mouth have deep force and significance:

"Thou, Nature, art my goddess; to thy law  
My services are bound. Wherefore should I  
Stand in the plague of custom, and permit  
The curiosity of nations to deprive me,  
For that I am some twelve or fourteen moonshines  
Lag of a brother? Why bastard? Wherefore base?  
When my dimensions are as well compact,  
My mind as generous, and my shape as true  
As honest maids' issue."

Admitting that illicit intercourse between the sexes is reprehensible, the law should not punish the child for the fault of its parents. Those who base their moral creed on a literal interpretation of the Bible would probably defend the English law of bastardy by citing the passage in which we are told that "the sins of the father are visited on the children." But these words surely cannot mean that the children must bear *all* the consequences of the parents' guilt? The rational explanation is, no doubt, that parents by their misconduct often transmit diseases, and even vices, to their posterity. Thus the passage in Holy Writ, which has so frequently served the purpose of the bigot and the Pharisee, may be fairly regarded as a rough statement—a kind of anticipation—of the scientific law of heredity. Is it because children inherit some of their parents' physical infirmities that human laws should punish any individual for coming into existence—a circumstance over which, to use a conventional phrase, "he has no control"??

There are many would-be moralists whose sense of propriety may be shocked at the suggestion that no distinction should be made

between the offspring of lawful marriage and what they are pleased to describe as "the child of shame." It would be easy for any one who despised conventional morality to retort upon critics of this class, by saying that a child born out of wedlock is frequently the offspring of love, whereas there are many marriages in which love has no place. But it is not necessary to push the argument so far. In the language of Scripture, "marriage is honourable in all"; and, in its ideal state, it is the purest and most natural kind of relationship that can exist between the sexes. Unfortunately, however, the lawful union of a man and a woman is nowadays often effected for base purposes, and it is idle to pretend that any religion or other ceremony could cast a halo of sanctity around an act which, when stripped of its artificial surroundings, is only another form of prostitution. Even when people "marry for love," as the saying is, their motives are far from pure, and rarely do the husband and wife enter into the contract with an unselfish desire, at any cost, to promote one another's happiness. An ambitious man with scanty means marries some wealthy heiress, whom he regards with coldness, if not aversion. A pretty girl sells her personal attractions to some rich man old enough to be her father, for whom she has not a particle of honest affection. How can such unions be regarded as holy or pure? It is the custom of society to approve of them on the ground of their "lawfulness"; but a sound and virile morality must condemn them as loathsome and degrading. In one sense they are viler than illicit relationship, because their essentially foul character is concealed under the mask of hypocrisy. A union of souls is, indeed, a rare thing in the nineteenth century; and yet, without this, marriage is only a sort of legalised concubinage.

That certain relationships between the sexes which do not come within the category of marriage are revoltingly immoral cannot be denied. Nothing can be more horrible than the prostitution which prevails in large cities, and which so-called Christian reformers have done very little to remove. The indifference with which the existence of "the social evil" is regarded by a large proportion of British matrons, proves that their professions of virtue are hollow and unreliable. Many an English mother is apathetic with regard to her son's vicious habits as long as he abstains from keeping a mistress. Concubinage is denounced, because it is, so to speak, an unconsecrated marriage, and in that way sets up a kind of rival system to the conventional form of union, while promiscuous intercourse is tolerated as something that cannot be avoided. This—though never openly expressed—is the accepted doctrine of British "respectability"; and is it not, when stated in bold and unambiguous language, more immoral than anything taught by Pagan philosophers or believed in by Pagan nations?

The very persons who exhibit this shameful disregard of the growth

and propagation of vice are the most strenuous upholders of the distinction between legitimacy and illegitimacy. Their contention is : " We must not encourage immorality. Therefore we must attach a stigma to every child not born in wedlock." Could anything be more absurd on the face of it ? How is immorality checked by calling an innocent child a bastard, and depriving it of the ordinary rights to which every citizen of a free country is—or should be—entitled ? Are men and women coerced to refrain from unlawful intercourse by the knowledge that their offspring will be deprived of certain legal rights ? If immorality must be punished, why not punish the wrongdoer instead of the guiltless ?

To any mind not warped by incurable prejudice the atrocious injustice of the law in this respect must be self-evident.

It may be pertinently asked, Is there any remedy for the evil ? The answer is that common sense, as well as common justice, requires that all children, whether born in wedlock or not, should be legitimised whenever their parents can be ascertained. A child should be entitled to a just proportion of its parents' property, irrespective of the fact of their having been lawfully married or not. The first natural duty of the man and woman who bring a child into the world is to support and educate it, as far as their means will allow. In order to give a peculiar sanctity to marriage, it is not necessary to bastardise the children of unmarried persons. If the illicit intercourse which results in causing the existence of a human being is in its nature immoral, that is no excuse for the deprivation of that unhappy being's natural rights. The Roman law legitimised the offspring of concubinage ; and the law of Scotland—differing from that of England—makes every child legitimate whose parents marry after it has been born. It is a fact worth remembering, that the English clergy, at an early period, advocated this very principle ; but the Statute of Merton, passed in the reign of Henry III., declared that no child born before the marriage of its parents could be legitimised. The ecclesiastical authorities considered that the marriage of the parents was a condonation of their sin, at least to the extent of removing the stigma on the offspring ; whereas, the common-law judges held that a child not born in matrimony should pay, all its life, the penalty of its parents' misconduct. Both parties were manifestly guided by a wrong principle. They felt that some penalty must be inflicted for immorality, and they fixed it, though under slightly different conditions, on the unoffending child.

Assuming that the principle of compelling parents who have not been married to maintain and provide for the future of their offspring is a pre-eminently just one, some difficulty might be raised with regard to the child of a married man or woman which is supposed to have sprung from an adulterous connection. The

English law on this subject is very peculiar. The presumption of law is in favour of the legitimacy of the child of a married woman; but this presumption is liable to be rebutted by evidence showing non-access on the part of the husband, or any other circumstances indicating that he could not have been the father of the child. Formerly, it used to be laid down by the judges that, if the husband were "within the four seas"—that is, within the jurisdiction of the King (or Queen) of England—he must be presumed to be the father of his wife's child. That doctrine has, however, been long since exploded, and now the child of a married woman may be bastardised by proof that it was physically impossible for her husband to be its father. A great number of cases have arisen on this point, the most celebrated of which is the Banbury Peerage Case. The Earl of Banbury, in the reign of Charles I., married in his fifty-third year a lady who was then only nineteen. He was a Protestant, while she was a Catholic and a "malcontent." It appeared that the Earl, who died at an advanced age, considered himself childless up to the time of his death. The Countess of Banbury had, however, two children, Edward and Nicholas, who, according to her own account, must have been born respectively in her husband's eightieth and eighty-fourth year. An inquisition was held, after the Earl's death, and the jury found that there was no heir of the house of Banbury. His widow married Lord Vaux, and eight years afterwards she set up a claim on behalf of the two children. She admitted that she had concealed the fact of their birth from the Earl of Banbury. A fresh inquisition was held, at which it was found that Edward, the eldest son, was the lawful Earl of Banbury, and, as he died soon afterwards, the younger son was likewise declared to be the heir. The question was re-agitated in the early part of the present century, when the second son, Nicholas, was made illegitimate by means of a special Act of Parliament. So much for the rationality of the English law of adulterine bastardy! But numerous cases with even more absurd results could easily be cited.

The question of adultery does not, when rightly regarded, interfere with the application of a just rule to the case of the spurious offspring of married persons. At present, the fact of adultery can easily be proved in a court of justice, for the evidence required for that purpose is strictly defined by the Divorce Laws. As soon as that proof is given, the offspring of such adulterous intercourse should be declared the child of the married person and his or her paramour. On them, and on them alone, should thenceforward devolve the duty of maintaining and in every way providing for it; and the child should have as much claim to inherit the property of its parents in such a case as if they were lawfully married. This would work injustice to nobody, and would be nothing more than what the child would be

entitled to by the law of Nature. It might be urged that such a state of things would give an additional stimulus to divorce. That is exceedingly probable ; but we must not refuse justice to any member of the community merely because the result would be to dissolve a few existing marriages. The slaveholder's vested interests were not considered a justification for denying freedom to the negro. The abolition of bastardy would injure no person or class, and it would save English jurisprudence from the imputation of inflicting pains and penalties on those who have committed no crime. The civilised world has become impressed with the idea that no human being should be called a slave ; it is time that it should convince itself of the injustice of calling any human being a bastard.

D. F. HANNIGAN.

## THE MYSTERY OF GOOD AND EVIL.

LIFE is the origin of good and evil, and death is the end of them. Good and evil proceed from organisation, as right and wrong are an outcome of order. Organic or inorganic might be worded, susceptible or insusceptible of good and evil. The inquiry whether a planet or a satellite is inhabited is no other than whether good and evil are known there. Wherever the river of life is aflow, good and evil flourish. They outline its course. Good and evil are the outward and visible shape of life, as direction is of motion, form of crystallisation.

Whatever is advantageous to any living being is good for it. All that is to its disadvantage is bad for it. There are qualities in substances and results of action that are good or evil for living beings. The terms good and evil as the names of qualities are adjectives; as the names of results of action, they are substantives, synonymous with benefit and harm. The qualities named by the adjectives are ready to become operative and correspond, in the lax way of ordinary language, to potential energy. They are potential good. The benefit and harm answer, in a similar way, to results of kinetic energy. We can trace the process of providing the qualities in one case: the sun shed his rays on the jungles, and their heat and light are stored up in the coal. The discrimination of potential and kinetic good and evil might be taken advantage of in a more ambitious treatment of the subject than is here proposed. If that treatment were effectual it would be a welcome contribution to "The Sum of Saving Knowledge"—a fine phrase fantastically applied erewhile. It is interesting to look at a discrimination made of old in the ordinary use of language corresponding to a scientific distinction only recently formulated—revealed would have been said in an earlier era of thought.

Good and evil are the lot of all living things. But each kind is assigned its own allotment, selected for it by the wants of the less or more numerous organs of whose energies life is the resultant. The nourishment that supplies the need of each kind is limited. The conditions of fruitfulness are strictly defined. The evil also against which they instinctively defend themselves has bounds set to it. Evil can only assail where good is available. If we could sum up all that is good for any form of life, and all that is evil for it, we

should have a pretty complete view of its nature from without. The good and the evil are the measure of the fulness of life in that form. Viewed from the standpoint of its proper good and evil, it is limited by them. Viewed from its own standpoint, it limits their power. They owe their power to the particular form of life to which they are limited. They live its span, are the sum of its fate, and die with it, as do its hours or years.

But living beings do good and evil to others as well as inherit the dual fate. The good they do them is a portion of the inheritance allotted to those others. The evil they do them is done in quest of good. When the eagle falls like a thunderbolt on the prey, he has watched for, he is toiling for his own good, and, it may be, the good of his offspring. The sparrowhawk, a beautiful bird, looks on the sparrow as good for food, just as the sparrow regards your garden-seed. The monarch of the forest and the man-eating tiger will not starve if food can be found by their own exertions—the lion, should he attack the bull in the pride of the vigour of his lionhood, or paw feebly after rats and mice when he is old and blind and toothless. A crocodile incriminated for procuring a livelihood in his own way might plead that one must live since he is alive—an ultimate argument against suicide; and he might add that he does not go stalking large game for sport. The audacious and voracious shark, with cavernous mouth and teeth like isosceles triangles, needs much food, it grows so large, and may be seen playing swiftly round the fastest sailing ships in the hungry hope of a meal. Good is got by evil done in every grade of ~~moving~~ life. The spider does not invite the fly. He resents the intrusion of him and his kind. But if they will intrude uninvited, he knows how to turn them to good, if only he can get a dig at them. Down to the minutest forms of life there is a good side of evil. The bacteria of contagion revel and swarm, and find their good in the organisms they affect and infect.

It is of the nature of man to take readier and more notice of evil done than of the good accomplished by means of it, even when the evil is comparatively minute and the good enormous. From the beginning evil has goaded men on to know. Knowledge is ultimately traceable to the instinct of self-defence. The need of the nourishment supplied by knowledge and the impulse to propagate it are late developments. There is, notwithstanding, in every detail of the plan of life, good for some form of life—for its maintenance, multiplication, and defence. The ponderous jaws of the ichthyosaurus were armed with numerous teeth, pointed and strong, because it fed on ganoid fishes which were encased in an armature of enamelled scales and plates of bone. There was also a ring of bony plates around the eyeballs of its spacious eyes to protect them while it was on the track of its ganoid food in the gloom of the deeper waters.

The law that regulated the formation of the plan of life, and which unifies it, is to do evil that good may come. The end is good, the means are evil; but the end justifies the means. To do wrong that right may come is an injunction of a different kind. It will receive all due attention when we come to consider moral good and evil, which are, not right and wrong, but the good and evil wrought by right and wrong. When in the economy of life evil is done that good may come, the good is necessary, the evil is inevitable. The good is the gratifying of the three primary activities of living beings: the need of nourishment, the impulse to propagate, and the instinct of self-defence. Ideal good would be the unstrained, unrestrained exercise of these functions to the attainment of the end of the aim of their activity.

Let us look now a little more closely at the evil. There is mutual cruelty of the animal kinds. They fight with and feed on one another. The kindness of individuals to their own offspring, and to the young and helpless of other individuals, is, once for all, admitted to the fullest. But what does the mutual cruelty of the orders mean—the fighting with and feeding on one another? It means that the instinct of self-defence is vigorous, and the need of nourishment continuous. The indication is of fear and hunger, not of malignity. The cobra and the rattlesnake—to take the strong case of shy creatures that, owing to our ignorance, have a reputation worse than it need be—do not deliberately crawl about striking at every living thing they can reach. If they are not hungry and can avoid fighting, they prefer to escape and economise their auxiliary and protective poison. But if provocation or hunger impels them, their fangs, like an Englishman's fists, are of good account in a fair way of fighting, and also in securing them something to eat.

It would surpass the wit of man to imagine a better plan for the development and support of life. One way in which animals might enjoy their own good without inflicting on others the pang of being caught to be eaten, would be universal vegetarianism. It is observed that, as a general rule, plants feed on inorganic matter, animals on organic matter. Another rather superficial, but quite correct, observation, so far as it goes—it leaves the respiration of plants out of account—is that the carbonic acid given off by the animal supplies the plant with the carbon on which it nourishes itself, while it sets free again the oxygen, a necessary of life, to the animal. There is thus no competition for food to speak of between plants and animals, and they are mutually beneficent. There might be fighting over their food, and killing in the fight, but there would be no systematic feeding on one another. That element in the cruelty of creation would be eliminated. It would. And so would a great deal of creation as well. The present forms of life could never have been developed on a vegetarian diet. There would have been no fish in



the sea, for the small fry there have a smaller fry to feed on. It is too grotesque to imagine whales, sharks, salmon, cod, and herring browsing on seaweed! In the air no fowls of prey and seed- and fruit-eating birds kept at famine fare! For, besides that on land there would be no carnivorous beasts, if man could be there—which is questionable—he would be a less energetic agriculturist and horticulturist than the fish- and flesh-eating farmer and gardener whose labours provide for so many flights of birds, as well as for flocks, and herds, and men. The abundance of corn and fruit on the earth is due to the intelligence and industry of carnivorous man. Uncultivated nature would make poor provision for even a single generation of animals.

One more of the crowds of considerations that press in on the mind at the suggestion of universal vegetarianism, may be put in words. The rate of multiplication of any one of the vegetable-feeding kinds would be disastrous to all the others. It would soon overgrow the room of the region it could live in. The elephants of Africa, for example, would be in no danger of extinction, as they seem to be at present—on account of their ivory! Left to breed in peace, and feed on plenty of their vegetable food; living on, most of them, till they died of natural decay, they would, by-and-by, leave room for no other animals—wherever elephants could subsist. Then to think of their dead bodies, and the carrion there and everywhere exposed to the air and the sun! No jackals to do industriously the sanitary work of willing scavengers! No vultures, carrion-hawks, or crows, magpies, ravens—none of the birds called obscene and of evil omen—to pursue incessantly the good within their limits, unaware of any stain on their name! Decaying vegetable matter would cover up many of the carcasses no doubt—to generate under hiding their millions of malarious germs. The dead bodies of some would be washed to the sea, if they happened to die on the banks of rivers, or within sweep of the waters that overflowed the banks. Still the loathsome land, growing ever more fetid, would be hugged by an atmosphere fatal to animal life.

The working plan in the economy of life, according to which evanescent evil accomplishes everlasting good, is that orders of living beings produce food for other orders by the process of natural generation. There is stock-raising for the universe carried on automatically. The food is self-grown. The supply is kept up, because each order finds its own good in obeying the impulse to propagate. The offspring enjoy their good for a time which, however short, is long compared with the process that precedes the fulfilment of their chief end in becoming food for some other order of their kind. In no other way could this earth of ours, or any other planet, become and continue a home of life, exhaustless as she is in inventiveness of form.

And while observing the working out of this plan we are not to project into less complicated organisms the keenness of our own sense of pain. The amount of pain felt depends on the delicacy of the nervous system, or, in other words, on the complexity of the organism. Pleasure and pain are not trustworthy tests of good and evil to men themselves. The quality of a substance or a result of action which gives exquisite pleasure to one may be indifferent or annoying to another. So torture to one man is a trifle to his neighbour. Resentment deadens pain in all. There is a dulling of pain due to the instinct of self-defence; and that instinct is strong in proportion as the struggle for existence is hard.

. When a wider view takes in a larger aspect, and we consider the inorganic home of life, our sense of the predominance of good over evil becomes more distinct. This conviction is a result of men's relying with courage on their common sense. Imagination, excited by fear, had from the beginning overcrowded the inorganic realm with embodiments of evil of every degree, from the least significant imp up to the prince of the power of the air, while it had left good all but unpersonated. It has been the evangelical mission of science to depopulate that realm of its evil indwellers, and to go in and possess it on behalf of good in the name of beneficent nature. The time has long gone by for an emperor to abdicate at the appearance of a comet. No utterly sane man believes now that we wrestle "not against flesh and blood, but . . . against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavens." The personal powers of evil have fled before the gaze of clear, honest eyes. It is a way they always have had, the weightiest and the worst of them. They have ever been as shy as sheeted ghosts. A student was hurrying along a street of a Scottish university city one night, and he came on a group of frightened people cowering at the outer end of one of those narrow entries, called closes, which lead to common stairs. The scared look of the people arrested him. He asked what was to do, and they whispered that there was a ghost up the stair. The student, eager to secure reliable evidence of the existence of disembodied spirits, darted, with heightened hope, along the close. At the other end he saw there were two stairs, one to the right, one to the left. He signed to the people, which stair? They did not know. He went up the right-hand stair, peered into every corner of each landing, and saw nothing. He came down all alert, went up the other stair, searched with his eyes even more carefully and saw nothing. There was nothing of the kind to be seen.

Like that ghost the hosts of evil that swarmed on and all round the earth, and the Evil One, were the miraculous offspring of fear and fancy, terror and imagination. Men who tried to see with their eyes and hear with their ears were for weary, dreary eras of darkness treated as themselves powers of evil. To this day there are

those who when they meet such men do not fail to mention that "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread." There are circumstances in which some have to be fools that others may be wise. It is rather hard on the angels to identify them with the others, as if they were always cowering in fear at the outer ends of dark closes. But they are not all fools who rush in, nor are they all angels who fear to tread. That the imagination of men—the kindest, dearest, and most dangerous of their mental endowments—should have created a progeny of personal powers of evil, was a natural occurrence not to be held in scorn. It was done in the innocence of their ignorance. The times of this ignorance are not to be held up to reproach. They lasted till the advent of such men as Galileo and Isaac Newton and their apostolic disciples. Then it was—only the other day in a way of looking at it—that the mystery of inorganic good and evil, which had been kept secret from the beginning of the world, began to be revealed. Such men saw and said that the terrifying convulsions and the startling freaks of nature were, to the eye of reasoned common sense, the patient obedience of matter to the eternal unchangeable laws observed by energy in transformation. The praises of the bounteous earth which gave men each day their daily bread, had from of old been subdued by supplication for deliverance from evil or the Evil One. Now at length it began to be seen that believing there was a place on any plain or height, or in any direst depth of earth, for malignant personal powers, was as void of reason as is the child's resentment at the stone against which it has happened to stumble. There is no personal power of evil other than human. The prayer for deliverance from that kind of evil is idle. There are plenty of real evils.

There is evil done, and much of it, by inorganic nature to things that live. They alone can suffer from the clumsy movements of the blind, beneficent giant. It is the penalty of their higher development. The evil caused by storms, tornadoes, squalls, hurricanes, whirlwinds as they are called—masses of air whirling with destructive energy within the limit of a few yards or with a sweep of thousands of miles—is enormous, and bulks larger than it is in reality, because people are too much frightened to think of the limits of the storm, the comparative rarity of its occurrence, or any other of the many aspects of good in it. The terrific fury of its concentrated energy occasionally does evil to date from : such that a storm is called a tempest, a time to be remembered. The evil caused is tremendous. Is evil the cause? Strata of air unequally heated, inequalities of atmospheric pressure, excess or deficiency of moisture : these and such like results of the shining of the genial sun account for the storm. And to speak of them as evil is to juggle with the meaning of a word. Air under higher pressure will always rush towards and rage around a centre in an area over which

the pressure is lower. And water will find its lowest level. In the spring of 1888, the Yellow River, in China, burst its banks, and seven millions of Chinamen were drowned. The pressure and weight of the water was the cause of a calamity which many would not hesitate to call a judgment. The sun shone, and the air fanned the corpses, and they putrified. It is supposed that countless millions of microbes were thus generated in the dead bodies decaying on the marshy ground, and that these were the organic cause of the recent visitation of influenza! Water will also rise when the pressure of the atmosphere is diminished. A storm-wave occasionally accompanies a hurricane. There is one on record that swept more than a hundred thousand persons into the jaws of death on the eastern edge of the Delta of the Ganges. It arose, as it could not but rise, when the lessened pressure of the atmosphere allowed it, allured it. If a tower falls on men and mangles them to death, it is a pity they were near it. But neither their character, good or bad, nor any unseen personal power, bad or good, had anything to do with the tower's falling on them. The terrifying phenomenon would be if the tower were not to fall under the strain of that elasticity which we call gravitation, and which shows the tendency of inorganic nature towards unity and rest. One well-confirmed instance of natural law relaxed, of miracle established, would be enough to terrify the universe—if its meaning was caught. It would be a demonstration of the insecurity of the foundations of the universe.

All the familiar transformations—winds, waves, lightning, thunder, electric light, motion by electricity, falling bodies, falling stars, and also the fiery outbursts of incandescent hydrogen which on occasions are seen to set a crown of glory on the sun—are but displays of matter inwrought by energy. The change of form is a susceptibility of matter, the guise in which energy always passes by. Matter and energy are things apart from, outside of us, perceived by us through senses, passive organs, developed originally at the instance of the instinct of self-defence. The quantity of matter and the amount of energy in the universe remains constant, independently of us. Matter and energy exist and work as if we were not. Energy is neither like nor proportional to that force of which we have a muscular sense, because we have motor nerves; although we are fain to ascribe some such exertion to nerveless nature. It is ultimately owing to this propensity, this proneness to attribute exertion to nature, that the evil done us by matter and energy is so readily set down to malignity, personal in some way or other. The evil we suffer is avoidable or unavoidable. If unavoidable we add to it by idle ado about it. If avoidable we should not suffer it. Matter and energy undergo their transformations according to unchangeable laws, which may be ascertained. It is ours by searching to find out these laws. To remain ignorant of them when knowledge of them is within

our reach is to neglect a high duty, to miss good, and expose ourselves to evil. To resist them is to court destruction. To observe them, when we know them, is to put ourselves in the way of gaining our allotted good; a large element in which is helping others to gain theirs. It is not many that any of us can help effectually; but, with the qualification of a knowledge of good and evil, all of us can help some, and will help all we can. Such is the saving power of truth; a reverence for which will yet be the essence of religion.

It has been thought desirable, at the threshold of a science of conduct, founded on a theory of right and wrong, which is, at least, internally harmonious, to state quite plainly the notions of good and evil by which that theory will be affected, as by an atmospheric influence. It need hardly be mentioned that those notions are not yet commended by traditions of the kind that secure ready approval. The world has not had time to mature such traditions. The notions that have been long enforced, not merely by tradition, but by serious penalties—not to mention cruelties that darken important portions of the story of mankind—clearly indicate right and wrong as the origin of good and evil. This is their one clear indication. They sanction belief in many personal powers of evil; and in a chief of theirs who is a very powerful personage. Death is not the end of evil—to human beings, at all events. It is to most of them, on the contrary, the beginning of evils so fiery that they require a separate region for preparation, and all eternity for consummation. There is good for a chosen few. It also really begins after death, and lasts for ever. The place and the manner in which good is enjoyed by them is not so definitely insisted on as are the hell and the torments of their less fortunate fellow-creatures. This is wise, for it is a difficult question:—What are the conditions on which, and the surroundings in which, one would choose to live for ever? Some might not care to be condemned to eternal bliss. There would certainly be difference of opinion among the elect as to what conditions and surroundings would be acceptable. Although it is an open question, there is a pretty general acquiescence in the expectation that the good to be eternally enjoyed is of the nature of an everlasting church service—perhaps an eternal oratorio! The chosen ones, while here below, before they can be assured that they are chosen, have to believe a story constructed on lines of the loftiest drama. Belief in this dramatic specific is a charm against all evil; and the believers, who alone wield the charm, need not concern or trouble themselves about finding out laws of good and evil by research. Thorns and thistles and the serpent's mode of locomotion are among the evils specified in the original story of the origin of evil. It is interesting to note also that the man who did the wrong which was the source of all evil, and his wife too, became as one of the gods in a knowledge of good and evil. We are told the nature of that know-

ledge—they knew they were naked, and were ashamed of themselves! Their gain of knowledge amounted to the loss of an innocent sense of natural purity. There are many other details of similar interest to the seeker after truth.

And there are magnificent institutions, requiring mines of wealth to support and extend them, which have been established for no other purpose than to keep telling stories of that kind. They are well officered too. If moribund, they are mighty to command the services of men. Some of these men are loyal to their office. They believe the old stories as devoutly as do the least enlightened of their people. Such individuals are often specially effective in the service of institutions that are on the down grade of decay. Others there are who are more alive to the material interests of their order. They claim that the stories which are the palladium of the institutions have come down to them by succession. This confers on them some kind of right of inheritance, which they say they understand, and which they are ever ready to defend. Men naturally show sturdy fight for rights of inheritance. It is, they think, their right and their bounden duty to keep up belief in these stories. If the stories ceased to be believed, men would not believe in the retailers of them. Their office would become effete. Even the gods cease to be when men no longer believe in them. Still another class of these officers accept the stories in faith—faith being the mind's submission, abandonment, to authority. They cannot be said to believe them. Still they contrive, somehow, to let bewildering enigmas pass for saving dogmas. They are sound in mind and sincere in their convictions: which suggests that mind may, after all, be nothing but a congeries of convictions. If there be any who take to retailing those stories merely as an occupation to live by, not caring to believe them, or actually disbelieving them, to such men and of them nothing will be said here. It is better to pass them by, not even glancing scorn at them.

## POLITICAL ECONOMY AND SOCIAL REFORM: A PROTEST.

IN the public movement of the times there is no more remarkable feature than the conflict which appears to have arisen between the science of political economy and the religion of social reform. From being his close ally, many an advanced politician has come to regard the economic text-book as a contemptuous antagonist. In words that are becoming hackneyed, political economy is abruptly dismissed as "the dismal science," or even scornfully banished to Jupiter and Saturn. Mr. G. W. E. Russell, who in this matter may be taken as typical of many, recently contributed to one of the Reviews a very sympathetic article on the new gospel of the Liberal party; and in the course of the article there occurred a passage which so well illustrates the prevailing tendency that we must reproduce it here.

"Among younger men," says Mr. Russell, discussing the question of the future leadership of the Liberal party, "there is none whom we would more gladly welcome as our champion than Mr. John Morley. But he too is, I fear, out of the question: for is he not the bond-slave of political economy? The dismal science has many irritating and unattractive features, but none more provoking than this: that being pre-eminently a matter of theory and speculation, the subject of conflicting opinions, and the battle-ground of opposing schools, it gives itself the airs of an exact science, and demands for its dogmas the unquestioning acquiescence which we pay to mathematic demonstration, and whoever will lead the new Liberalism in its mission of social reform must be prepared to find his loyalty to the principle of 'unrestricted competition' rudely shaken. Of course we do not breathe a word against free-trade. But the question whether Parliament can properly interfere with the hours of labour, with the importation of foreign workmen, perhaps even with the rate of wages, will assuredly have to be faced in the not distant future, and in order to secure its right solution we shall have need of quite another set of leaders than Adam Smith or Mr. Mill."

In nearly all this we hold Mr. Russell to be utterly wrong. We are not concerned just now with the description of Mr. Morley as "the bond-slave of political economy," for since the words were written the right hon. member for Newcastle has shown strong

sympathies with various measures of social reform for which Mr. Russell gave him no credit. But we do protest against Mr. Russell making a present of political economy to the Tory party, and we do think that in imitating his contempt for Adam Smith and Mr. Mill, Radicals are playing into the hands of their enemies. It would seem that having been so often told by their opponents of late years that they are flying in the face of political economy, and that their favourite plans and proposals are opposed to what Tory gentlemen call its laws, Radicals are beginning to think it is all truth. Yet surely it is not for Liberalism, whether in politics or religion, to profess indifference to the teachings of science. In the history of the world science has always been hand in hand with progress, and in its work of social amelioration the party of progress need not, we believe, part company with the science of economics. We do not ignore Mr. Russell's sneers; but the pretensions against which he directs them have never been made on behalf of political economy by any of its best accredited teachers. Mill, for instance, in the preface to the *Principles of Political Economy*, says that "except on matters of mere detail, there are perhaps no practical questions, even among those which approach nearest to the character of purely economical questions, which admit of being decided on economical premises alone." It may well be, therefore, that in order to bring about a right solution of the social problems with which we are confronted other guides than Adam Smith or Mr. Mill will be needed. But although it may not be all-sufficing, can we not find some guidance in the way that we would go in the writings of the one or the other? Their works may be true or false, the creation of scientists or the production of quacks, but applying them to the practical politics of to-day we deny that the weight of their authority is in favour of those who oppose fundamental changes in our social system. In what respect can they delight the armchair politician and confound the Radical reformer? There are passages in the writings of both which could doubtless be turned to account against some particular measure that we Radicals advocate, for even the devil can quote Scripture to his purpose. But their whole teaching and the tendency of their writing surely throw far more light upon the group of measures by which we hope to ameliorate the lot of the toiling masses than do dreary iterations of the *non possumus* and sickening laudations of the *status quo*. The lapse of time must count for something; political economy, like all others, is a progressive science. Adam Smith lived in the last century, and John Stuart Mill wrote his masterpiece in the middle of this. But such parts of their writings as can be applied to the problems of to-day, such as have not been rendered obsolete by the lapse of time and the change of conditions, go far to justify not the position of the stolid Tory or timid Liberal, but that of the fervent Radical. For neither Adam Smith nor John Stuart Mill were sub-



scribers to the doctrine of inertness and inaction—that the existing society is the best of all possible societies, that want and misery we must have always with us, that there can be no great increase in the sum of human happiness.

The present scepticism in regard to political economy and its prophets that prevails among the faithful may be said to be merely the revival of an old phenomenon. But the time has nearly gone by when Mill can be regarded as the man of unfeeling, Adam Smith as callous-hearted as Scotch granite, and Malthus a monster in human shape. It must now be well known that there is nothing in the lives of these men to justify the former conception of the political economist of heartless cynicism, that Adam Smith shaped his life in accordance with his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and that Mill's *Autobiography* amply disproves the ridiculous supposition that devotion to economic science deadens human feelings. Yet many liberal minds are content to derive their notion of the science from Tory pamphlets, and consequently despise it as a mixture of sophistry and selfishness. In some measure, of course, the impression one brings from its study depends upon what one takes to it. John Burns studied Adam Smith amidst the desolate surroundings of a South American village and became a Socialist, while a correspondent of the *Times*, setting an example to another distinguished Philistine, looked up the article "Political Economy" in an Encyclopædia, and straightway turned out a column on "Sympathetic Benevolence v. Economic Science." These are extreme cases; the "economic" man to whom Tory selfishness appeals is as much an unreality as the perfect creature socialistic altruism conjures up. But there is a happy medium.

Putting the point at issue to a short simple test, let us accept Mr. Russell's reference to Adam Smith and Mr. Mill as the incarnation of economic men, and inquire what they have to say upon the principal proposals which constitute the social reform programme of the Liberal party, and which are said by some opponents to have been brought forward in defiance of all political economy. These may be stated as the taxation of ground values, the enfranchisement of leaseholds, and a graduated income-tax. In the "unauthorised version," prominence is, of course, given to the compulsory restriction of the hours of labour. There is apparently a close connection between the two first measures, but from the political economist's point of view there is also a broad distinction. In respect to the first, no fundamental principles arise concerning the interference of the State, unless its right to impose taxation is held to be still an open question. Yet this proposal admirably illustrates the services which economics can render to Radicalism. Any one who in the manner of Macbeth throws political economy to the dogs would certainly be unable to disprove the contention that the taxation of

ground values would defeat its purpose, inasmuch as it would necessarily be paid by tenants in the shape of increased rents. Such a contention is not obviously unsound; it is merely an example of what Bastiat termed "the seen and the unseen" in political economy. A Tory M.P. who sat on the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor, recently told the present writer that he would be delighted to have the ground-landlords taxed if only some means could be devised of preventing them from shifting the taxation on to the tenants. Is the banishment of political economy to the sublunary planets after all such a blessing? Would it not be better if M.P.'s read their Adam Smith and Mr. Mill. "A tax upon ground-rents," we read in *The Wealth of Nations*, "would not raise the rent of houses; it would fall altogether upon the owners of ground-rent, who act always as monopolists and exact the greatest rent which can be got for the use of ground." The taxation of ground values is indeed—as we may be permitted to remind Mr. Russell and those who think with him—the subject of a special recommendation at the hands of Adam Smith, although he had not fully perceived the effect of the natural law which gave rise to Mill's phrase "the unearned increment."

"Both ground-rents and the ordinary rent of land are a species of revenue which the owner, in many cases, enjoys without any cost or attention of his own. Though a part of this revenue should be taken from him to defray the expenses of the State, no discouragement will be given thereby to any sort of industry. The annual produce of the land and labour of the society, the real wealth and revenue of the great body of the people, might be the same after such a tax as before. Ground-rents and the ordinary rents of land are therefore, perhaps, the species of revenue which can best bear to have a peculiar tax imposed upon them."<sup>1</sup> The testimony of Mill is, of course, not the less emphatic, and it would be well if those who excommunicate him from their counsels would remember that, in respect to the taxation of ground values, he gave his *imprimatur* when many of them were in their infancy to proposals as large as any to which any section of the Liberal party is now pledged. The reasoning with which Mill makes good his position on the subject of the unearned increment would, moreover, fully justify the enfranchisement of leaseholds or even the revision of rents by a judicial court. And on comparing the two books, *The Principles of Political Economy* and *The Wealth of Nations*, one always sees that Mill's arguments are but developed from the hints given by Adam Smith.

The proposal of a graduated income-tax must, of course, stand or fall—economically speaking—by Adam Smith's four canons of taxation. It has been truly said that they are the alpha and omega

<sup>1</sup> *The Wealth of Nations*, edited by J. S. Nicholson, M.A., p. 356.

of the subject; to them nothing of import has been added and from them nothing has been taken away by later writers. It is only with the first that advocates of a graduated tax are concerned. Admitting the justice and expediency of an income-tax, they have nothing to do with the second requiring certainty, the third requiring convenience, or the fourth requiring cheapness of taxation. With the first, giving Adam Smith's definition of equality of taxation, we can surely have no quarrel. "The subjects of every State ought to contribute to the support of the governors, as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities." Is that not precisely the ground we Radicals take in advocating a graduated income-tax? We say that the millionaire and the shopkeeper, the one paying the same percentage upon his gigantic income as the other upon his paltry profits, are not "contributing to the support of the Government in accordance with their respective abilities." We say that the one can better afford to pay half-a-crown in the pound upon £200,000 a year than the other can sixpence upon £200 a year. "Equality of taxation," rightly understood and logically carried out, can mean nothing short of an equality of sacrifice. Although Adam Smith discusses a tax upon stock and the interest upon stock, an income-tax, as we now have it, not coming within his purview, no appeal can be made to his authority respecting the application of his canons to the principle of graduation. Mill's hostility to the views which now obtain among Radicals must be regretfully admitted, although at the present day its grounds—that "to tax the larger incomes at a higher percentage than the smaller is to lay a tax on industry and economy," and that it is impossible to say how much less a person with £10,000 a year cares for £1000 than the person with £1000 a year cares for £100—seem quite insufficient. "The principle of graduation," Mill says, however, "seems to me both just and expedient as applied to legacy and inheritance duties." While Liberals have done nothing to limit the rights of bequest, by which the accumulation of capital in few hands could be checked and the better distribution of wealth assisted, surely it is not for them to disclaim ostentatiously the guidance of John Stuart Mill. For our own part, the one proposal seems a good set-off to the other; we would give willingly a graduated income-tax in exchange for a graduated inheritance-tax.

Passing to the compulsory limitation of the hours of labour, upon which, for the purpose of his argument, Mr. Russell lays such emphasis, we think it can be shown that to this proposal also political economy—at least as personified by the Mr. Mill of his disdain—is not the sworn foe and the irreconcilable enemy it is painted. It is to be presumed that even Mr. Russell does not deny that the principal factor in the problem is the economic one—the effect a compulsory limitation of the hours would have upon the remuneration

of labour. Mr. Russell thinks that the principle of "unrestricted competition" would necessarily cause Mill to oppose the proposal. Not at all. Mill writes as follows of a Nine Hours Bill—which for the purposes of argument is as good as an Eight Hours Bill :—

"Assuming that a reduction of hours without any diminution of wages could take place without expelling the commodity from some of its markets—which is in every particular instance a question of fact, not of principle—the manner in which it would be most desirable that this effect should be brought about would be by a quiet change in the general custom of the trade; short hours becoming by spontaneous choice the general practice, but those who choose to deviate from it having the fullest liberty to do so. Probably, however, so many would prefer the ten hours work on the improved terms that the limitation could not be maintained as a general practice; what some did from choice others would soon be obliged to do from necessity, and those who had chosen long hours for the sake of increased wages, would be forced in the end to work long hours for no greater wages than before. Assuming then that it really would be to the interest of each to work only nine hours if he could be assured that all others would do the same, there might be no means of their obtaining this object but by their converting their supposed mutual agreement into an engagement under penalty by consenting to have it enforced by law."<sup>1</sup>

Mill added of such an enactment that it was one which had never been demanded, and which, in the then existing circumstances, he should not recommend. But this extract at least demonstrates the hollowness of the pretence of pseudo-economists that an Eight Hours Bill is put out of court by a reference to the sacred principle of freedom of contract.

It may be objected that we are confining our attention to Adam Smith and Mill. Our contention is that from the whole body of economic thought social reformers have more to gain than to lose, and were we to extend our range of reference the favourable testimony would, we believe, greatly outweigh the adverse. But in the article from which we have taken our text, Adam Smith and Mr. Mill have been put forward as the teachers whom we are to shun, and it is on the whole true that all English economists have been followers of the one or the other. If Adam Smith was the father of political economy, John Stuart Mill was assuredly his son and heir. Adam Smith was the guide of one generation of reformers, and John Stuart Mill should be the guide of another. The practical result of the teachings of the one was an immense increase in the wealth of the nation; the practical result of the teachings of the other should be the more equitable distribution of that wealth among the nation. There is another phase of the relations between social reform and political

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Political Economy*, Book v. chap. xi. § 12.

economy to which, important as it is, but very brief allusion need now be made—we mean the limitation by the exercise of prudent restraint of the numbers of the community. For Mill's conclusion that this and universal education are necessary corollaries to measures of social reform, if such measures are to have a permanent ameliorating effect, is not now seriously challenged. Many years ago Emerson stigmatised the Malthusian principle as "the nightmare bred in England"; but the night has given place to day, and in the fiery enthusiasm of social reformers the Malthusian principle escapes almost scatheless. There is much indifference to, but little denial of, its truth. Those who like Mr. G. W. E. Russell blindly gird at political economy in general, leave this particular part of its teaching severely alone. It may be because or in spite of the fact that there is the same agreement among economists in favour of Malthusianism as there is among biologists in favour of Darwinism—the only distinguished exception in the one case being the Protectionist Henry Carey, and in the other the Catholic St. George Mivart.

Leaving specific questions for abstract principles, let us consider to what extent we are helped or hindered in our mission of social reform by those two great exponents of the much maligned science. What some people—perverting the prophets and purloining the psalms—call the "laws" of political economy, are constantly being brought into requisition in support of bad principles. In the politics of the future the cries with which we shall be most frequently assailed are "freedom of contract" and "the liberty of the subject." You are destroying the liberty of the subject, you are interfering with the freedom of contract, you are "violating the laws of political economy," we shall be told when it is proposed to tax the land, enfranchise leaseholds, and municipalise public monopolies. In the first place, on the authority of Adam Smith, it may be denied that "freedom of contract" ever was a law of political economy. "Every man"—this is the dictum of *The Wealth of Nations*—"as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interests in his own way." Cobden was a true disciple of Adam Smith, yet when the sacredness of freedom of contract was invoked in opposition to the Factory Acts, he replied that freedom of contract was sometimes freedom of coercion. In truth, the difference between our view of the "liberty of the subject" and the interference of the State and that held by Adam Smith is more apparent than real. It is more concerned with the word "government" than with the word "interference," inasmuch as the State Adam Smith knew was not a democratic Parliament. The *laissez-faire* principle is now employed by Lord Bramwell and his ilk as the invention of economists for the defence of privilege and injustice. Yet even when nearly all examples of State interference were pernicious, the great economist did not hold the principle as it is held by the

Liberty and Property Defence League. Compulsory and even free schools are shadowed in the words, "the public can facilitate, can encourage, and even impose upon almost the whole body of the people the necessity of acquiring the most essential parts of education." Is it not unreasonable then to suppose that Adam Smith would denounce social reforms with the words *laissez-faire* as they are denounced by some who profess to be his disciples?

We are told that when questions now looming in our national future come up for judgment, we shall have to discard the counsel of Mill because of his devotion to the principle of "unrestricted competition." But where is the evidence of this devotion? Assuredly not in such a passage as we are about to quote, and which could easily be multiplied from other parts of his writings:

"I confess I am not charmed with the ideal of life held out by those who think that the normal state of human beings is that of struggling to get on; that the trampling, crushing, elbowing, and treading on each other's heels which form the existing type of social life are the most desirable lot of humankind, or anything but the disagreeable symptoms of one of the phases of industrial progress."

Surely the social reformer can accept this, the political economist's ideal of human society:

"The best state for human nature is that in which, while no one is poor, no one desires to be richer, nor has any reason to fear being thrust back, by the efforts of others to push themselves forward."

In the present perverse temper of some advanced politicians it seems necessary to re-state Mill's attitude towards Socialism, to point out that Mill expressed the opinion that the ultimate form of society would be co-operative and not individualistic, and that the present system of private property had his strongest denunciation.

"If, therefore, the choice were to be made," to quote a passage from the *Principles* that should be as familiar in the mouths of the present generation as household words, "between communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portion to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most exhausting and fatiguing bodily labour cannot count a certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life; if this, or communism, were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of communism would be but as dust in the balance."<sup>2</sup> Where is there to be found a more

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Political Economy*, Book iv. chap. vi. § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Book ii. chap. i. § 3.

forcible prose version than is contained in the above passage of Shelley's stirring verse :

" 'Tis to work and have such pay  
As just keeps life from day to day,  
In your limbs as in a cell,  
For the tyrant's use to dwell."

The social reformers who, so far from seeing in Mill a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day, make him their *bête noir*, quite forget that he confessed that we were too ignorant either of what individual agency in its best form, or Socialism in its best form, can accomplish to be able to decide which of the two will ultimately prevail; they quite forget that as the only possible alternative to communism Mill declared for an equality of opportunity, which is the goal of their own hopes, and to realise which scarcely anything has yet been done. The political economist's idea is, after all, the same as the poet's :

" If every just man, that now pines with want,  
Had but a moderate and becoming share  
Of that which lewdly pampered luxury  
Now heaps upon some few with vast success,  
Nature's full blessings would be well dispensed  
In unsuperfluous even proportion."

Mill has yet to find his Cobden. We have strong hope that in the coming years John Morley, armed with *The Principles of Political Economy*, will struggle for justice to labour as Richard Cobden, taking *The Wealth of Nations* as his text-book, struggled for freedom of trade—that the one book will be to the London programme what the other was to the Manchester school. However that may be, there is, we are convinced, no good reason why the union between radical reform and economic truth should not be an enduring one: at the worst there is no incompatibility of temperament between them, only a temporary misunderstanding. It is not in the wholesale charity, it is not in the church and chapel benevolence in which the awakened conscience of our generation finds expression necessary, though they may be as a passing palliative, that a real and lasting betterment of the general lot is to be looked for; it is rather in the earnest advocacy and timely adoption of large-hearted public measures such as economic science, equally with moral sentiment, sanctions and demands.

FREDERICK DOLMAN.

## EARL GREY AND THE PRINCESS LIEVEN.<sup>1</sup>

It is always interesting to have an opportunity of reading the private letters of distinguished statesmen, the perusal of which can hardly fail to throw a clear light on their character and policy. In this respect posterity has an advantage over contemporaries, since the inner history of many important political transactions is seldom thoroughly revealed till all the actors have been long in their graves. It is only within the last few years that numerous memoirs and journals relating to the events of more than half a century ago, and in many cases making considerable additions to our knowledge, have become public. The work before us will certainly be found especially interesting, consisting, as it does, of a large portion of the private correspondence of Earl Grey during the ten years (from 1824 to 1834) when his activity was greatest—first as leader of the Opposition, and afterwards as Prime Minister.

Lord Grey was on terms of the most intimate friendship with the Princess Lieven, whose husband was Russian Ambassador at the English Court from 1812 to 1834; and the letters between the two have now seen the light after a long interval. The relations of these two personages may seem somewhat curious, but everything shows that those relations were equally honourable to both parties. There was, of course, often considerable divergence of political opinions between the leader of the English reformers and the wife of the representative of a despotic government, but it was only once or twice that this threatened to interrupt their personal friendship.

One of the earliest of the published letters well illustrates what has just been said. The death of the Emperor Alexander I. of Russia was a great blow to Madame Lieven, who had entertained a strong feeling of personal regard for the deceased Sovereign, about whom she thus expressed herself in terms of praise, which, though no doubt excessive, were evidently sincere and heart-felt: "The Emperor Alexander was the best of Sovereigns—the most humane, generous, and just of men. During five and twenty years of absolute power, he used this power solely as a means of doing good. His memory will be blest as long as the Russian people exist."

Lord Grey's reply is worthy of all praise for the delicate manner in

<sup>1</sup> *Correspondence of Princess Lieven and Earl Grey*. Edited and translated by Guy De Strangé. Vols. I. and II. With Portraits. London: Richard Bentley & Sons. 1890.



which he expresses the difference of his political sentiments and those of his correspondent. He writes: "I believe all you say of the personal qualities of the Emperor Alexander. I believe, too, that the happiness, as well as the influence and power, of Russia has been greatly improved by his government. If I stop here, and acknowledge with deep regret that I could not in the same degree subscribe to any commendation of his policy with respect to the other States of Europe, you will ascribe it to that heresy with which I have been too deeply infected to admit of my hoping, great as that temptation would be, that I can ever hold opinions that would be more approved by you. You would not believe me if I expressed myself otherwise in this respect, nor think so well of me as, I trust, you now do, in spite of this difference which I trust will be the only one that ever can exist between us. Why is there this difference between us, when I believe our characters to be so well suited to one another in all other respects? Will you laugh at this piece of vanity which has thus escaped me, or will you regret, as I do, that so many years were lost before I found out to love and esteem you?" Lord Grey was, no doubt, in this case the more correct in his views; but on the occasion of the death of a more illustrious man than the Emperor Alexander it must be confessed that his correspondent had the advantage of him, as far as insight into character was concerned. She thus writes on the news of the fatal illness of Canning: "I know you too well, I think, not to feel sure that, despite political differences of opinion, you will feel regret at the life of one so gifted being thus prematurely brought to its close, and I would add (but in this you will not so easily agree with me) of one who was so true-hearted a man. I am too much of a woman not to count the heart for something even in the composition of a statesman, and he had a good heart, and it was in the right place."

Earl Grey thus replies: "You have understood my feelings as to Canning's death. I cannot alter the opinion of him which I had formed from long experience and observation, and which recent occurrences had not improved. It would be hypocrisy, therefore, if I were not to acknowledge that, as a public man, the circumstance in his death which I think most to be regretted is that it took place before his character and conduct were fully developed."

Every one must admire Lord Grey's honesty in not affecting sentiments which he did not feel; but it is to be regretted that political prejudice hindered him from recognising Canning's personal elevation and nobility of character—qualities which no one who has studied his life and career can deny. In this respect but few statesmen, certainly hardly any modern Tory statesman, can compare with him. Canning's death occurred at a critical period in the history of the Greek question, which it is his great glory to have striven to settle in the interests of the Greeks. His last conspicuous

public act had been the conclusion of the Treaty of London, in July 1827, by which England, France, and Russia agreed to establish Greece as a tributary State to Turkey, with full internal freedom, it being understood that, if the Sultan refused to accept the proposals of the three Powers, the latter would recognise the entire independence of Greece.

Soon after the death of Canning followed the battle of Navarino, the refusal of the new English Ministry to take any active steps in the way of coercing the Turks, and the outbreak of war between the latter and Russia. These events occupy the greater part of the first volume of the correspondence before us.

Earl Grey and the Princess Lieven were not altogether of one mind on the matter. The former, though he desired the freedom of Greece, yet did not approve of Canning's policy of applying coercion to Turkey, and felt a great distrust of the action of Russia. The Princess, of course, stoutly defended the policy pursued by her country. Russia may, no doubt, have been influenced by motives of ambition, but no fair-minded person can deny that she has really felt a deep sympathy for her co-religionists suffering under Mahometan tyranny. Though the interference of Russia in the affairs of Western Europe has generally been on the side of despotism, only prejudice can refuse to admit that her action in the East has been attended with opposite results, and has, on the whole, greatly enlarged the sphere of freedom and good government. The Emperor Nicholas is commonly looked upon as the incarnation of despotism, and there were certainly many facts in his career which lent colour to this view. Still, however, it must be remembered that, in liberating Greece, he did at least as great a service to the cause of liberty as he did it harm in other instances.

He hardly merits quite so much abhorrence from lovers of freedom as the Austrian Minister, Metternich, the enemy of the Greek as of every other popular cause.

The divergence of views between Earl Grey and the Princess Lieven on the Greek question threatened once to break off their friendship. The Princess was annoyed that Lord Grey showed so little sympathy for the policy of Canning, and expressed, as she thought, such unreasonable suspicions of Russian action. She had expected rather different sentiments from him, for in previous communications he had expressed the warmest enthusiasm for the Greek cause, and had even given utterance to, a hope that the Russians would attack the Turks.

There seems to be no reason why Earl Grey should have changed his sentiments when Russia actually took up the policy he had wished her to adopt, and the indignation of his correspondent was not unnatural when she found him opposing any co-operation of England with Russia to put pressure on the Sultan. "You are going," she

writes, "even to attack the cause of those unhappy Greeks for whom, in former times, you always expressed to me such sympathy! And you will do this because we, in conjunction with England, wish to save them! Well, my dear lord, I, for my part, shall consider as personal anything you may say having a tendency to embarrass the fulfilment of the treaty, which, in truth, I deem the sheet-anchor of Greek independence. You have there an avowal on my part, I will not say a menace, and I make it in all sincerity of purpose. I feel I am somewhat irritated by the matter of your last letter, and, for the first time, I cannot conclude mine with any words of friendship. This is a state of things which is very unnatural between us, and I request you not to let it last."

Lord Grey expressed himself pained by the possibility of a loss of friendship, but adhered to the position he had taken up. In his reply he said: "It has happened to me, unfortunately, but too often in the course of a long life, to differ from those whom I loved most in political opinions. But, if unfortunate in this respect, I have been most fortunate in another, in having been able to maintain, in spite of these differences, the unbroken intercourse of private affection. Well! you threaten me, and it is to me a severe threat, that, if I take the part which I feel it my duty to take on the affairs of Greece, you will consider it as a personal offence. This, of course, precludes all discussion. I must submit to the penalty if I should be so unfortunate as to incur it; but, in my turn, I must add, not a threat, but the expression of a resolution equally sincere and equally firm, that if our friendship is broken off on this ground it never can be renewed." This language sounds all very proper and dignified; but, when we reflect on what the poor Greeks were suffering at that very time from the hordes of Egyptian savages who were devastating the country with hideous barbarity, we shall be more inclined to sympathise with the indignation of the Princess at anything being done to hinder the deliverance of this unhappy people.

The threatened rupture of intercourse did not take place, though the Princess was unable to bring Lord Grey into line with her on the Greek question, despite all her efforts and entreaties. "How I wish," she tells him, "once and for all that you would adopt the resolution to live in peace and harmony with me. Think it over. I have much good sense, some intelligence, and a great deal of friendship for you." The news of the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino was, as might be expected, more welcome to the Princess than to the Earl. The latter wrote on hearing the news: "I confess it has thrown me into consternation. I endeavour to find some justification for our measures, but am unable to find it." His correspondent's reply is in curious contrast to this despondent tone, and expresses, it may confidently be affirmed, a far truer appreciation of one of the greatest blows ever struck for the cause of right and

freedom in Eastern Europe. "Navarino is a fine moral fact, and a fine military action. There is to be found therein glory, honour, and humanity; in short, it has produced all the excellent and generous results one so rarely meets with in the affairs of this lower world—disinterested political action, valour without rivalry, and a Christian nation regenerated. Come, my dear lord; there are here so many causes for congratulation that I cannot believe any one with a truly generous mind can find evil mingling with the joy."

The progress of the Russian war with Turkey in 1828-29 was, of course, followed by the Princess Lieven with the keenest interest. She was anxious lest the neutrality which the Wellington Ministry had adopted, in the place of Canning's policy, of co-operation with Russia, should be attended with complications between the latter Power and England; of this there appeared to be considerable danger. The English Ministry, though taking nominally no part in the war, seemed to consider that they were entitled to restrain Russia in the exercise of the ordinary rights of a belligerent, and objected to her enforcing a blockade of the Dardanelles. Lord Grey supported the action of the Government in this matter, and thus expressed his views in a letter to the Princess: "All my observations tend more and more to make me fear an open rupture between our Government and yours. If you persist in the blockade, I shall have no hope of its being averted." The Princess thus replied, with excellent common-sense and fairness: "I must confess myself incapable of understanding how the exercise of a right which every belligerent Power possesses can possibly lead to a rupture between us. I would repeat once again—I cannot conceive how England and Russia should find cause for quarrel in a matter concerning which none will deny our having full right to act as we are now doing. It is self-evident that, when one is at war, one tries to do the enemy the greatest possible harm. You have admitted the fact of our being at war, without, on that account, making any declarations of hostility against us, and you ought not now to demur at the necessary consequences which follow." Very reasonable, too, are her remarks as to the folly of a war between England and Russia, which are just as true and appropriate to-day as when they were first written: "Pray explain to me what interest you can have in picking a quarrel with us. You could do us some harm, but show me, if you can, what possible gain England would reap thereby. I think, of all pieces of foolishness, the greatest would be for England and Russia to find themselves at war."

Throughout the whole of the war the position taken up by Russia was consistent and straightforward. Her demands from first to last were the fulfilment of the stipulations of the Treaty of London relative to Greek independence. She was ready to make peace at any moment on these terms, but was determined to put up with

nothing short of them. And, surely, every lover of freedom and the rights of nationalities must approve of her policy in this respect. Had Canning been alive, there would, in all probability, have been no war at all, as the Turks would, probably, have seen that it was hopeless for them to contend against the united strength of England and Russia; but they were encouraged by the attitude\* of the Wellington Ministry to hope that England would interfere in the last resort to save their tyranny from the ruin it so richly merited.

When the Turks had at last been brought to their knees, and compelled to concede Greek independence, difficulties arose as to the boundaries of the liberated State. The English Ministry, with a perversity similar to that which their successors showed in dealing with the Bulgarian question, wished to confine Greece within as narrow limits as possible. "I greatly fear," writes the Princess Lieven, "that your Government wish the least possible for Greece. Good policy, however, ought to make you wish to set up the new State so firmly as to enable her to maintain herself and to do credit to your protection."

The Princess Lieven gives the following lively account of an interview with the Foreign Minister at this critical period:—"Lord Aberdeen asked yesterday to see me. Our interview was a long one, and very droll, for I can find no other word to use. His theme was, 'We have been the dupes of Russia; we have let ourselves be insulted, played with, and cast aside.' I repeated, with astonishment, the expressions he used, and added, 'It is false, my lord, and you ought to know yourself that it is so. For had it been true, you would have taken vengeance. A great Power does not tamely suffer insult.' 'We have put up with it all for the sake of peace,' he replied. 'Put up with it all! You cannot put up with dishonour.' 'Yes, even with dishonour.' 'Come, come, my dear lord,' I said; 'I am more English than you are, for I am ashamed of what you are saying to me!' This speech of mine rather astonished him. I inquired what it was he called our insults, and I proved that his complaints in this matter left him in a very false position. For if insult there had been, it was rather for us to complain, who had received from his Government nothing but injurious suspicions and ill-treatment. I begged him to point out a single instance in which we had been wanting in due regard for England, or where we had gone against her interests. He had not a word to say in answer, and for the excellent reason that he has nothing, absolutely nothing to prove against us." And this is a dialogue between a Minister of Foreign Affairs and a woman. The Princess had the satisfaction of knowing that Earl Grey was in sympathy with her on this point. Though he had disapproved of the war, he saw that, "if Greece was to be made free and independent, there was no common-sense in

stopping short of the means which were necessary to make it so securely and permanently."

The question of the frontiers was ultimately settled by an unsatisfactory compromise, the result of which was to deprive Greece of the good fortune of having for its first Sovereign such a wise statesman as Prince Leopold of Coburg. While the negotiations were in progress serious complications seemed to be threatened by a severe illness of the Emperor Nicholas, which at one time appeared to be in danger of a fatal termination. The Princess Lieven was in great anxiety about the health of her Sovereign, for whom she entertained strong feelings of personal esteem. She was greatly relieved when the news arrived of his convalescence. In one of her letters she gives an interesting account of a singular accident to one of the children of the Imperial family by which the Emperor's illness was aggravated at a critical stage. "The Emperor had a cold, with fever, sufficiently high to be keeping him in bed, the Empress was sitting beside him, and the children, with their governesses and nurses were playing in the adjoining room. All of a sudden they hear a noise, as though the ceiling of the next room were falling in, and then fearful screams. The Emperor springs out of bed, rushes into the next room in his shirt, and what he sees is a huge vase, or rather a jar of porphyry, turned upside down, and all the people present crying out, 'Constantine! Constantine!' The little Grand Duke Constantine, who is only two years old, had disappeared. Before men enough could be got together to lift up the enormous mass of the jar, many minutes had elapsed, during which you may imagine what an agony of suspense the Emperor and Empress must have experienced. At last the jar is raised, and below it they discover the little Grand Duke safe and well, without having suffered in the slightest degree. By a miracle of Providence, the diameter of the mouth of the vase was wide enough to have gone over him like a lid, and under it the child was found seated quite at ease and unharmed. The support upon which the vase stood had only been set up temporarily, and was of wood, awaiting the finishing of the porphyry pedestal. This wooden base had of a sudden given way on one side, and so the vase turned over upside down. The result of the whole affair was that the Emperor, who had been bathed in perspiration when he jumped out of bed, was seized with a most violent attack of fever, and the shock to his nerves which the fright caused carried the inflammation to the head. Dating from that moment, and during several successive days, his life was in the greatest danger. All this is a very long story, but really it was the most inconceivable accident that could have happened, and the child's safety is a real miracle."

The Princess Lieven was by no means an uninterested observer

of English politics, and she complains in one letter, that Lord Grey seemed to suppose that she could not care for such matters, and therefore told her nothing about them. "I feel, again and again, that in your eyes I have the fatal defect of not being an Englishwoman, for I see too well that you never tell me anything of what relates to your political position in the country, doubtless considering that I am not capable of understanding this, or not worthy of having the subject confided to me. But I think you are wrong in this. If all the world were likewise excluded, I would submit with good grace; but, as this is not the case, I shall not resign myself so easily to the slight. I have good common-sense, I know your country tolerably well, and I am truly your friend." The party with which the Princess seems to have had most sympathy was that of the followers of Canning, most of whom, after the death of their leader, gradually became merged in the great body of the Whig party of which Lord Grey was the nominal leader. He was not, however, ready to take the active part in opposition to the Wellington Ministry which many of his friends wished him to take. The Princess would have liked to see him take a more decided line, and often expressed her anxiety that he might come into power. He showed, however, a great unwillingness to be "drawn" by her about all such matters, since he knew himself to be the object of suspicions, in certain quarters, that his public conduct was influenced by his friendship for the Princess. Such accusations he knew, as every reader of this correspondence must know, to be utterly unfounded; but the fact that such rumours were in circulation made him extremely cautious and reserved in all his allusions to home politics in his letters. In reply to one of the complaints of the Princess that he kept her in the dark on these questions, he writes: "You understand me too literally when you suppose me to exclude you from a knowledge of what is going on. I know that it is your business and your duty to gain the best information you can of all that is passing; I only meant to express in the strongest terms my opinion of the necessity of your not interfering in our domestic politics in reality or even in appearance. The charge of doing so, not only does you harm personally, but throws obstacles in the way of the business with which you are entrusted. I desire nothing more, after this caution, than that you should observe your own rule—*savoir et ne vous mêler de rien.*"

A considerable section of the correspondence is taken up with the affairs of France. The revolution of July 1830 was brought about by the infatuated conduct of Charles X. in clinging to his unpopular and reactionary Minister, Polignac, against the will of the representatives of the nation. There is too much reason to believe that he was encouraged in this wrong-headed course by the English Ministry. On this subject the Princess and Earl Grey were pretty

well of one mind. Though, as a Russian, she might have been expected to sympathise with the French King's endeavour to secure absolute power, she was most energetic in her denunciations of his folly, and predicted the issue of it with correctness several months before the occurrence of the catastrophe. Earl Grey was delighted at the news of the revolution. "I lament," he wrote, "every act of violence attended with the loss of life. But as the unjustifiable and atrocious attempt of Charles X. and his Ministers to extinguish at a blow the liberties of France could only be resisted by force, I must rejoice that the resistance has so far been successful. What could be done by legal resistance to a power which had overturned all law? Force was the only resource, and, thank God, it has triumphed. The people of Paris seem to me to have shown no less moderation than courage, and are entitled to the thanks and admiration of every one who feels that they have not only preserved the liberty of France, but have prevented the destruction of that of every country in Europe." The Princess substantially agreed with Lord Grey's views, only adding her opinion that "France must give some guarantee for the tranquillity of the country, and make some profession of faith with reference to the principles of her government, must dismiss all questions of conquest, and have no meddling with the affairs of other nations. In one word, she must not seek to revolutionise foreign governments. These points being conceded, the late events in France will have been productive of all that is good and salutary." The revolution in France was followed almost immediately by a similar movement in Belgium against the union with Holland which had been established in 1815. There was certainly far less cause, to say the least, for armed revolt in Belgium than in France. The King of the Netherlands was far from being an infatuated tyrant like Charles X. The country had prospered greatly under his rule, and, in fact, in some respects it was too good, rather than too bad, for the Belgians. The scrupulous impartiality observed in reference to all religious matters offended the Ultramontane priesthood, who have always had an influence in Belgium greater almost than in any other part of Europe. Though they had not the shadow of a pretext for asserting that their own religion was interfered with in any way, they could not endure that all creeds should enjoy equal toleration. The King had certainly shown too much favour for the northern portion of his dominions: but it is, at the least, very questionable whether the Belgians had any grievances to complain of sufficient to justify insurrection; and, in fact, some of the most well-founded of them—as, for instance, the compulsory official use of the Dutch language—had been removed before the outbreak of the revolt. The rising was at first a mere street riot, of no very creditable origin. "It amounted only to disorder and pillage, nothing political, and was not directed by a



single person of note." It was only the insanity of the civil and military authorities at Brussels which permitted the movement to go on almost unchecked till it gained control of the capital. And, again, when a body of troops had been brought up amply sufficient to regain possession of Brussels if they had been properly directed, affairs were so mismanaged that a repulse was sustained. By this time the Dutch Government was willing to consent to an administrative separation between the two countries, such as exists between Norway and Sweden. An arrangement of this character would have been no doubt the best solution of the problem, and many of the most enlightened men in Belgium were strongly in favour of it, but the faction which had now got the upper hand in that country, and was in all probability secretly encouraged by France, would hear of nothing but the entire exclusion of the Orange family.

In such a state of affairs the interference of foreign Powers on one side or the other was certainly much to be deprecated, and the English Government acted wisely in announcing their determination to pursue a policy of strict non-intervention. Lord Grey, at this time, was in perfect agreement with his political opponents as to the duty of England in this matter. "In the questions," he wrote, "between the King and the people in the Netherlands I do hope no other Power will interfere. . . . I shall certainly be opposed to any interference beyond good advice and mediation." It would have been well if he had always adhered to the same opinion, which reads rather strangely in the light of his subsequent conduct.

The political state of England had now undergone a considerable change. At the general election which took place in consequence of the death of George IV. the overwhelming Tory majority which for half a century had existed in the Commons was greatly reduced. The question of parliamentary reform was everywhere to the front, and, in most popular constituencies, the reforming candidates carried the day. The supporters of the Wellington Ministry for some time persisted foolishly in denying their losses at the elections, but they were undeceived at no long interval after the opening of Parliament. On November 15, 1830, the Ministry were defeated in the House of Commons, on a motion for an inquiry into the Civil List, by 233 to 204. Lord Grey announces the result of the division to the Princess in the following words:—"You desired me to send you anything piquant. What do you think of this?" The Government resigned in consequence of their defeat, and Earl Grey was commissioned by the King to form a new Administration. The Princess was greatly gratified at the news. "You can imagine," she wrote, "how delighted I am, my dear lord. Honour paid to you is as dear to me as if it were paid to myself, and you have the most sincere good wishes of my affectionate friendship."

Lord Grey's position was not an easy one. "I feel appalled,"

he said, "at the difficulties by which I am surrounded." The formation of the new Cabinet was not unattended with troubles and complications, and there were serious rocks ahead in connection with the measure for the reform of the representation, which must be its first work. Whether a Bill which would satisfy the reforming sentiment of the country could be carried through the Commons appeared extremely problematic. Ireland, too, as usual, was a source of anxiety. The tithe question there was beginning to assume serious proportions. Lord Grey, it must with regret be confessed, had no notion of applying his reforming principles to the sister-isle. He had no idea but stern repression of the popular movement headed by O'Connell. It is curious to contrast his attitude on this matter with the expressions in his letters on the subject of the Polish insurrection, which broke out almost simultaneously with his accession to power. He is continually urging the desirability of the Russian Emperor making concessions to the Poles, while he himself would not hear of making terms with O'Connell. The Princess was more logical. She saw that the question in the two countries was fundamentally the same, "Courage and promptitude," she wrote, "are what are required in Ireland as well as in Poland; and force to back them, too, if necessary." Lord Grey quite agreed, as regards Ireland, with his correspondent's view. "The vigour and resolution shown by Lord Anglesey [the new Lord Lieutenant] will, I hope, soon teach, if they have not already taught, Mr. O'Connell that he has to deal with a Government which will not shrink from its duty." In reference to Poland, however, his tone was somewhat different. He clearly shared to some extent the popular sympathy with the Polish cause which was generally diffused in England, though he hints this but delicately, for fear of wounding his correspondent's feelings. "I cannot help repeating," he wrote, "as a sincere friend to Russia and the peace of Europe, my anxious wish that means should be found of terminating these unhappy occurrences in such a manner as to prevent the excitement of the general feeling of Europe against you. Above all, let me earnestly entreat you to suggest in time how dangerous it might be, in the event of a prompt repression of the insurrection in Poland, to incorporate that kingdom with Russia." This was very good and sound advice, but Lord Grey might have considered that it was applicable a little nearer home. Only thirty years before, England had dealt with Ireland precisely as he deprecated Russia's dealing with Poland. After the suppression of an insurrection which had certainly as much provocation as the Poles could plead, amply sufficient as the latter was, the Constitution of Ireland had been fraudulently subverted, and the kingdom had been incorporated with England against the will of its inhabitants. And yet Lord Grey had none but the harshest

words for the men who dared to complain of this injustice, even though they stopped very far short of taking up arms, like the Poles.

The Princess had certainly reason to complain of his inconsistency in this matter. On one occasion a rupture of friendship was again threatened in consequence of some words of Lord Grey's having been misreported, which greatly offended the Princess. "It is quite true," she wrote, "that my feelings to you yesterday were not what they have been for many past years. But you cannot be surprised when I tell you that I heard of the exclamation with which you concluded the account you gave to a certain diplomatist of what we had done before Warsaw. And the exclamation was, this: 'All is ended; and it is most unfortunate.' I no longer recognise the friend; still less do I recognise the statesman. In fact, I do not know what to think, and probably I had better 'keep silence.'" In reply Lord Grey absolutely contradicted the story. "I don't know who your diplomatist may have been, but he possesses at least one of the qualities which are attached to that race. There is not one word of truth in the exclamation which is said to have escaped me. I have never concealed from you, however, that I feel a good deal of compassion for these poor Poles. But it has never influenced the conduct which my public duty prescribed to me. I am not a little vexed at your so easily believing this absurd story, and at your being so ready to withdraw the kindness which I had hoped did not depend altogether on our political agreement." Cordiality was restored by this explanation. "Your note," replied the Princess, "made me feel happy again, and I thank you for the good it did me."

The Princess watched with interest the progress of the Reform struggle, and her personal friendship for Lord Grey was strong enough to make her desire the success of the Bill, though it could hardly have been quite in harmony with her general views on government. "I have got over my alarm," she writes; "there are so many good points in the Bill which we discover on examination. It is strong and bold; and I certainly believe it to be a salutary measure."

Her attitude in regard to English politics generally she thus describes:—"People would have to be very clever even to know whether I am Whig or Tory. I only display one colour; that is yours. I am Grey, and I defy them to convict me of anything else."

The Polish insurrection was finally suppressed in September 1831, and several of the leaders of the movement fled to England. One of the principal of these refugees was Prince Czartoryski, who had been the head of the revolutionary Government in Poland. Lord Grey received him at a private dinner, which very unreasonably

gave great offence to the Princess and her husband. She wrote in the following terms on the matter :—" My dear lord, this man, whom you, the Prime Minister of England, have just received with every token of friendship and consideration which you would show to a foreigner of the highest distinction, is a State criminal convicted of high treason against his Sovereign, a Sovereign who is the friend and ally of England. Your commiseration for Prince Czartoryski is most humane. But, in showing him more than your pity, you have lost sight of this, namely—that a statesman is responsible to the public for his several acts; that it is neither sympathy nor affection that ought to dictate his line of conduct, and consequently that the reception you have given to Prince Czartoryski might well be regarded as an insult to an ally such as is Russia. ' When Lord Grey is Premier of England, Lord Grey as a private person ceases to exist. Your actions now are those of England."

Lord Grey replied in very proper terms to this somewhat dictatorial letter. " I believe it is the first time that a foreign Minister has ever assumed a right of questioning the head of the Government as to the persons he may invite to dinner, and the justice of such a pretension, you may be assured, I never will acknowledge. When Prince Czartoryski came to this country, I saw in him no longer a person in a situation of authority opposing a friendly Government—though, if I had, I do not know that it would have made it necessary for me not to show him a common civility—but an unfortunate refugee, deprived of all he had, without having done anything to lower his moral character in my estimation, and entitled, both as a person I had long known and on account of his misfortunes, to my personal kindness and attention. And this is magnified into a hostile proceeding, the first that Russia has received from England during the long course of nineteen years." Some further correspondence followed, in which both parties held firmly to their respective positions, and finally the incident terminated with the following words from the Princess :—" I am not in the slightest degree convinced by any single argument contained in your letter. I feel myself quite capable of refuting each and all of them, but I call to mind, and shall now turn to account, what my old governess told me when I quarrelled with my brothers and sisters : ' The least at fault ought to bring this discussion to a close.' " You must not take offence at this comparison, nor at the way I apply it."

The Belgian question was all this time dragging its tedious length along, and Lord Grey had unfortunately wandered far from the just and sound principle of non-intervention which he had laid down at the commencement of the troubles. An administrative separation of the Netherlands, with the King's son, the Prince of Orange, as ruler of the southern portion, would have been a reasonable compromise between the conflicting interests, and there is every reason

to believe that there was a very large party in Belgium favourable to such a settlement, though the reins of government had been seized by bitter adversaries of the Orange family, who suppressed all opposition to their will with little scruple. While most violent and unmeasured in their abuse of the Dutch, they proved themselves unable to put an army in the field capable of facing the latter, though, considering that the population of Belgium was largely in excess of that of Holland, there ought to have been no difficulty in its securing its independence for itself if it was so ardently desired by the whole body of the population.

There is every reason to believe that, if foreign Powers had abstained from interfering, matters would have speedily adjusted themselves and the Prince of Orange would have been accepted by the majority of the Belgians. Public opinion in England was decidedly in favour of such a solution, and Lord Grey himself was at first inclined in this direction. Why he departed from this position is not sufficiently clear. He allowed himself evidently to be too easily led away by the artful representations of the French Government, which was resolved, for its own purposes, on completely excluding the House of Orange and effecting an entire disruption of the Netherlands. The motives of France in this matter no one will have any difficulty in conjecturing. A rumour was spread abroad, no doubt from a French source, that Holland had proposed to France a partition of Belgium. The story was obviously absurd, and, had it been true, it is very unlikely that France would have revealed it to England; but Lord Grey evidently attached credit to it, and allowed it materially to influence his policy.

He threw himself completely into the arms of France, and was almost angry with the Princess for expressing a well-founded distrust of French objects. There can be little doubt that she was tolerably correct in her views of the real aims of Louis-Philippe's Government. "What you wrote to me yesterday confirms all my old suspicions with regard to France. She would *not* wish to see the affairs of Belgium settled. She would like matters to drag on until she finds herself in a position to take Belgium as her prey. And all the apparent disinterestedness of M. de Talleyrand has no other end in view but to obtain Belgium as a bequest to France. This will be his last political will and testament. He will restore what he once caused her to lose, and will thus end his career at peace with his compatriots and, to the eyes of Europe, in the odour of sanctity." Lord Grey, however, was not to be convinced. "I must say," he wrote in reply, "that I think the Government of France has acted with good faith and honour." He was too easily convinced of the utter weakness of the Orange party in Belgium, though, if England had continued to lend them merely a moral support, there is good reason for thinking they might have prevailed.

At all events there was no ground whatever for employing any other kind of interference than peaceful mediation. French policy, however, gained the day, and the joint efforts of England and France led to the signature of a treaty, to which all the Great Powers but Russia were persuaded to give their adhesion, which separated Belgium entirely from Holland, defined the frontiers of the new State in a manner very unfavourable to the Dutch, and imposed conditions on the latter relative to the public debt contracted by the whole Netherlands which they, with good reason, regarded as unfair to them. When the King of Holland refused to consent to the treaty Lord Grey was excessively indignant, and completely forgot his former ideas as to the undesirability of foreign interference between the contending parties. "If the Dutch bombard Antwerp," he said (*i.e.*, if they simply exercised the ordinary rights of a belligerent in a struggle in which less than a year before Lord Grey had said that other Powers had no title to interfere), "I will not leave a Dutch ship on the sea!" Such violent language with reference to a people who had done us no wrong whatever can only be pronounced reprehensible in the highest degree.

And these menacing words were destined later on to be translated into actions. When the Dutch still refused to obey the orders of England and France, and evacuate positions which they held in Belgium, the two Powers resorted to active measures of coercion. An embargo was laid on Dutch vessels in English ports, a fleet was sent to blockade the coast of Holland, and a French army was despatched to besiege the citadel of Antwerp. These violent measures were taken without any declaration of war, and it is difficult to see how the conduct of the English Government can be distinguished in principle from actual piracy. The manner in which Lord Grey exults over the damage inflicted on the property of a nation with which England was nominally at peace is not very creditable to him. "I hear," so he boasts, "that the merchants of Rotterdam and Amsterdam are beginning to feel that the blockade is no joke. They had forgotten that we were well practised in this during the last war, and thought that at this season of the year we could do little. They now find that hardly a Dutch ship has got in, and that there is now in English ports, sent in by the British cruisers alone, exclusive of what has been detained by the French, property to the amount of more than half a million of our money. This will form a good deposit for the indemnity which their conduct may make it necessary to demand of them."

Thus did England, under a Reforming Ministry, behave to her old ally, who had done her no wrong, "whose antecedents and present conduct," to quote Princess Lieven, "might well have commanded her respect." And all this was done in the supposed interests of a people who probably had no real grievances of any importance, and

who, if they had, ought to have been quite strong enough to redress them for themselves.

On the ground of justice, the conduct of Lord Grey's Government to Holland must emphatically be condemned; still more is it assailable on the side of expediency. By setting up a new kingdom too weak to stand alone, and by guaranteeing its neutrality, England rendered herself liable to be involved at any moment in a serious continental war. The ulterior motives of France are plain enough, and England allowed herself to be made the cat's-paw of her crafty ally. Holland and Belgium together would have formed a State which ambitious neighbours would think twice before attacking; but each of them, separately, is obviously too feeble to resist an attack from a stronger Power.

The concluding chapters of the published correspondence will in one respect be disappointing to the reader. They contain hardly any information about English politics during the two years of the first Reformed Parliament. No fresh light is thrown, as might have been expected, on the dissensions in the Cabinet which terminated in Lord Grey's entire withdrawal from public life. Intimate as were the terms on which he stood with the Princess, he evidently did not choose to enter on these matters in his letters to her. This may partly be explained by the fact that he had a private conversation with her on the occasion of his resignation, which, of course, is not reported, and when he seems to have entered more freely into the causes of what had taken place than he could do in writing. He says, with reference to the event: "My life for the last eight months has been one of such unhappiness as nobody can imagine, and, as far as I am personally concerned, I am rejoiced at having escaped from so painful and so thankless a situation. But I feel, deeply feel, for the difficulties of the King and the country; my only comfort is that they are owing to no fault of mine."

His four years' tenure of office had certainly been productive of considerable benefits to the country; probably no previous Administration had done so much in such a short space of time for the cause of progress and reform. But, while we give all credit to the Grey Ministry for the good work they did, we must not forget the two great blots on their career—their treatment of Ireland and of Holland.

Almost simultaneously with Lord Grey's retirement, Princess Lieven's husband was recalled from the Russian embassy, and she had to leave England. She thus writes to Lord Grey on the event:—"I can hardly write, I feel so sick at heart. It is you who are principally in my thoughts in all the regret I feel at leaving England, that I love so well. My heart will always remain faithful in its friendship towards you, however far separated we may be in the future."

At this point the present volumes terminate, but a third is pro-

miséd, containing the correspondence down to 1841. In some respects what is yet to come can hardly be of equal importance to what has already been given to the world, as Lord Grey was no longer a leading figure in English public life after 1834. The very fact, however, of his having given up all ideas of office may have induced him to write with greater freedom on many matters, and what he wrote is nearly always worth reading, whether we agree with it or not. Readers of the two first volumes will await the concluding one with interest.



# “THE COMPLEAT GENTLEMAN”

## TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—It is customary with the Critics, small and great—and there are, by the very nature of things, more of small than of great—it hath long been their custom, say, even in writing of the book of one who may be confessedly greater than themselves, to depress and depose “their author,” as he is forsooth called, into a smaller type of print, while they expand their own lesser views of him a greater, in fair leaded characters.

Such is by no means my intention in regard to *The Compleat Gentleman* of Henry Peacham, “M<sup>r</sup> of Arts, sometime of Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge,” of which “the second impression much enlarged” was imprinted at London for Francis Constable, and were “to bee sold at his shoope in pauls Church yeard at y<sup>e</sup> crane, Anno 1627.”

These are therefore to desire your excellent printer to reduce the remarks of your humble servant to command into brevier, and to reserve his clearest small pica for the always genuine and often entertaining Peacham, whose object, as to the noble youth of his day, was the “fashioning him absolute in the most necessary and commendable qualities concerning minde or bodie that may be required in a noble gentleman.”

His treatise, which assumes a new interest now that Defoe’s *Compleat English Gentleman* is published for the first time,<sup>1</sup> was dedicated to “the truly noble and most hopefull M<sup>r</sup> William Howard, third & youngest sonne to the right honorable Thomas Earle of Arundell and Surrey, Earle Marshall of England &c.”; and as the reader cometh it over, he is drawn more perhaps than need be toward the phrases and ideas of the time: wherefore is my Signature one of Peacham’s time also.

HYNIALLE.

Peacham quite naturally first launched forth into the praise of his subject. “the noble gentleman” aforesaid.

The Lyon we say is king of beasts; the eagle chief of birds; the whale and whirle-poole among fishes; Jupiters ouke the forrests king;

and so a noble gentleman takes precedence of all other beings.

The fruit and use of nobility is, first: noble or gentlemen ought to bee preferred in fees, honours, offices, and other dignities of command and government, before the common people.

[Though indeed the word be double-barrelled, he doth not here mean the merchant’s credit, but that which is in these degenerate days so shaken (by cross examination, and otherwise).]

We ought to give eredit to a noble or gentleman before any other of the inferiour sort. He must not be arrested, or pleaded against upon cosenage. Wee must attend him and come to his house, and not he to ours.

This was the abstract theoricke, but when we came to the hard and concrete practical experience of the paragon, it was, alas! far otherwise:

Hereby I onely give to know that there is nothing more deplorable than the breeding in generall of our gentlemen; none any more

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Dr. Karl Buelbring. London: Nutt. 1890.

miserable than 'one of them if he fall into misery in a strange country. . . . Yet, M. William Howard, at the least let us recover you from the tyrannie of these ignorant times, and from the common education; which is to weare the best cloatthes; eate, sleepe, drinke much; and to know nothing.

\* This was as much if not more the fault of the "ill and ignorant schoolmasters" than of the gentleman.

I knew one who in Winter would ordinarily in a cold morning whip his Boyes over, for no other purpose then to get himselfe a heat. Another beat them for swearing; and all the while swears himselfe with horrible oathes: he would forgive any fault saving that.

We shall meet again with these friends of Peacham's youth, when he treats of the Arts. He was very fond of instilling military ardour into his pupils, and indeed his title-page announced - though he was not as good as its promise - "a description of the order of a Maine Battaille or Pitched Field, eight severall wayes." The book did not contain this, but gave somewhat of drill, including the thirty-four postures of the musquet, and this maxim for an officer's behaviour towards his soldiers:

Strike no man that erreth of ignorance, nor for every negligence; but if hee be obstinate, then use discreet correction.

Which seems to be just that for which we of late years blame the modern German officer. So warlike indeed is peaceful Peacham, that the so colourless and absorbing science of the mathematics is chiefly recommended for combative reasons. *Geometrie* should be learned by the compleat gentleman,

for by means hereof are found out the formes and draughts [method of drawing] of all engines of Warre; as Exosters, Sambukes, Catapultes, Testudos, Scorpions &c., Petardes. . . . Lastly our Kitchin Jackes; even the wheele-barrow. Again,

he goes on, in terms that must have delighted my uncle Toby and Corporal Trim, should you follow the warres (as who knowes the bent of his fate) you cannot without Geometry fortifie your selfe; take the advantage of hill or levell; sight; order your Battallia in square, triangle, crosse (which forme the Prince of Orange hath now late taken up), crescent-wise (and many other formes Ionius sheweth); levell and plant your ordnance; undermine; raise your halfe Moones, Bulwarkes, Casamates, Rampires, Rauesins [ravelins.] So that I cannot see how a gentleman may be accomplished without Geometrie.

Nor will the gentle Peacham, ever powder-blackened and bloodthirsty in print, suffer hunting man or hunted beast to take pleasure in the chase for its own sake. The warlike spirit must even swallow up all that

'There is no exercise that enableth the bodie more for the warre than *Hunting*; by teaching you to endure heate, cold, hunger, thirst; to rise early, watch late, lie and fare badly. And Eusebius is of opinion that wilde beasts were of purpose created by God that men by chasing and encountering them might be fitted and enabled for warlike exercises. Hereupon Alexander, Cyrus, and the old kings of Persia employed themselves exceeding much herein; not to purchase

[He doth not here mean the sordid merchant's word, for whom our English "buy" is

not fine enough ; nor yet the ways of those who do their shooting at the poulterer's *qui font la chasse au marché*, as our neighbours have it.]

not to purchase venison and purvey for the belly, but to maintaine their strength and, preserve their health, by increasing and stirring up the naturall heate within, which sloth and sitting still wasts and decaies ; to harden the bodies by labour against the enemy, and withall to search out the nature of wilde beasts, which knowne, they might leave the same recorded to their posteritie.

See how greatly noble they of old were held forth to be, and how little they bethought them either of a big bag or of the late Mr. Matthew Arnold's diatribes against "the barbarians."

The skill and art of *Swimming* is also very requisite in every noble and gentleman, especially if he looketh for employment in the warres ; for hereby (besides the preserving of his own life upon infinite occasions) he may manie waies annoy his ennemie.

The shooting of his day, Peacham had to separate very widely from hunting, for a reason that will appear a few lines further down.

*Shooting* also is a very healthfull and commendable recreation for a gentleman ; neither do I know any other comparable unto it for stirring every part of the body ; for it openeth the breast and pipes, exerciseth the armes and feet, with less violence then running, leaping, &c. . . . But for the further excellence I referre you to that excellent booke of M. Ascham's intituled *Tocophilus*, wherein you shall finde whatsoever is requisite to be knowne of a compleate archer,

and which everyone may now profitably read, these many years, in Mr. Arber's generous reprints.

I would draw especial attention to the benefit which it is here boasted that archery effects upon the lungs or bellows, and the pipes or bronchial tubes. Elsewhere Peacham recommends Singing for the same reason :

Besides, the exercise of *Singing* openeth the breast and pipes ; it is an ennemy to melancholy and deiection of the mind, which St. Chrysostom truly calleth The Divels Bath.

And indeed I perceived with delight the other day that, among our neighbours, a current writer, M. Philippe Daryl,<sup>1</sup> tells them, upon the subject of gymnastics, to shut their school-doors to "the sport," which brings betting and English vices in its train ; but that "drawing a long breath, systematically repeated in the open air, will produce a general and very marked development of the muscular masses." If you do this, at the same time shutting the lips and breathing through the nose, it is all that is requisite ; for "the essential organ which physical education should keep in view is not the muscle but the lung." This explains why so many big French boys may now any day be seen walking two and two with uniform caps, like prisoners at recreation, about St. Thomas à Becket his city. We may not pause to see whether M. Daryl has confused the plural and the singular of that perfidious noun *sport*, but must return to Peacham, who had no such confusion in his mind ; allowing that

*Leaping* is an exercise very commendable and healthfull for the body, especially if you use it in the morning, as we read Alexander and Epaminondas did. Upon a full stomach, or to bedward, it is very dangerous, and in no wise to be exercised.

The learning of geography, although grandly called *Cosmographie*, is urged in a far more trivial spirit than are the sports of the field ; and indeed the grave Peacham faintly ventures himself over the confines of the jocose :

<sup>1</sup> In *Le Temps*, Feb. 16, 1890.

I have seene French cards to play withall; the foure suites changed into maps of severall countries of the foure parts of the world, and exactly coloured. For their numbers, the figures 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, and so forth, set over the heads. For the kings and queenes, the pourtraies of their kings and queenes in their severall countrey habits; for the knaves, their peasants or slaves. Which ingenious device cannot bee but a great furtherance to a young capacitie, and some comfort to the infortunate gamester; when that hee hath lost in money, he shall have dealt him in land or wit.

But the arts of painting, music, and poetry, absorb all that is left from war of Peacham's educational fervour. On page after page doth he dwell upon the delights of their pursuit, and upon the merits of their great geniuses; recommending his pupils to all his favourites, most of whom have long since perished out of the memory of even bygone and bygoing generations. In music,

for delicious aire and sweet invention in madrigals, Luca Marenzio excelleth all other whatsoever. Of stature and complexion hee was a little and blacke man; he was organist in the pope's chappell at Rome a good while; afterward hee went into Poland, being in displeasure with the pope for overmuch familiarity with a kinswoman of his,

[whether this "his" belongeth to the Pope or no, may not now without infinite pains of research be defined. I hope it doth, for both their sakes, Marenzio's and the Pope's.]

(whom the queene of Poland sent for, by Luca Marenzio, afterward; she being one of the rarest women in Europe for her voyce and the lute); but returning, he found the affection of the Pope so estranged from him that hereupon he tooke a conceipt and died.

A quaint obscurest ending, told in a fit obscurity of words. And then, in going off to Painting, Peacham confideth to us some of the sufferings of his all too ambitious youth.

*Painting* is a quality I love (I confesse) and admire in others, because ever naturall from a child I have been addicted to the practise hereof. Yet when I was young I have beene cruellly beaten by ill and ignorant schoolemasters, when I have beene taking in white and black the countenance of some one or other,

[Chiefly in black, O Peacham; and here I think there lurketh hid atween the lines, for him who knows to read, some grotesque proboscis, with binocles athwart, of an ill and ignorant schoolemaster. *Item*: his swish.]

which I could do at thirteene and fourteene yeares of age. Yet could they never beate it out of me. I remember one master I had (and yet living not farre from S. Albanes) took me one time drawing out with my pen that peare-tree and boyes throwing at it, at the end of the Latin grammar; which he perceiving, in a rage strooke me with the great end of the rodde, and rent my paper, swearing it was the onely way to teach me to rob orchards; besides, that I was placed with him to be made a scholler and not a painter—which I was very likely to doe! whē I well remember he construed unto me the beginning of the first Ode in Horace: *Edite*, set ye forth; *Mæcenas*, the sports; *ataris regibus*, of our ancient kings!

For a bold touch, variety of posture, curious and true shaddow, imitate Goltzius. His prints are commonly to be had in Popes-head-alley. Himselfe was living, at my last being in the Low Countries, at Harlū; but by reason of the losse of one of his eyes he hath given over a Hinge

[I think the printer hath here played false to Peacham, who wrote "etchings" (Dutch: etsen).]

in copper, and altogether exerciseth his pencill in oyle.

But let the noble gentleman be ever so well accomplit, the difficulty remained of finding him any fit calling other than War; for,

touching mechanicall arts and artists, whosoever *labour* for their livelihood and gaine have no share at all in nobilitie or gentry: as painters, stage-playērs, tumblers, ordinary fiddlers, inne-keepers, fencers, iuglers, dancers, mountebancks, bearewards and the like (except the custome of the place determine the contrary). The reason is because their bodies are spent with labour and travaile.

It is passing strange that after all Peacham's praise of their art, painters should here be classed with the "rogues and idle persons" whom parson Harrison had catalogued just fifty years earlier, in his *Description of England*, as "all proctors that go up and downe with counterfeit licences; cooshiers and such as gad about the countrie using unlawfull games; practisers of physiognomie and palm-strie; tellers of fortunes, fencers, plaiers, minstrels, iuglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretended schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others."

But classes and masses were closer together and more intermixed in these days; as we should allow the owner of a piercing eye to tell us in the words: "the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe."

For all that, even mercantile business could scarce be allowed to come between a fair wind and the complete gentleman's nobility, because

The exercise of *Merchandise* hath been (I confesse) accounted base, and much derogating from nobilitie . . . St. Chrysostome gathereth that merchants hardly and seldome please God. Aristotle, speaking of merchants and mechanickes, saith the kind of life is base and contrary to vertue.

But I cannot (by the leave of so reverend judgements) but account the honest merchant among the number of benefactors to his countrey; while he exposeth as well his life as goods to the hazzard of infinite dangers. Sometimes for medicinall drugges and preservatives of our lives in extremitie of sicknesse; another, for our food or cloathing in times of scarcitie and wants; haply for usefull nessaries for our vocations and callings; or lastly for those *sensus et animi oblectamenta* which the almightie providence hath, purposely for our solace and recreation and for no other end else, created: as apes, parrots, peacockes, canarie, and all singing birds.

Honest Peacham here perchance giveth us a view something too sanguine of the screaming macaw; and we must hurry him on to the profession of medicine, as to which he differeth wide as all heaven from this end of a century.

Touching *Physicians*, though the profession by some hath beene thought servile and base, yet it is an art nothing servile and base, but noble and free. I heere intend no common chyrurgians, mountebancks, unlettered empericks, and women doctors (of whom, for the

most part, there is more danger then of the worst disease it selfe), whose practice is infamous, mecanique, and base.

In point of fact it would seem that what Peacham mainly intended his gentleman to do was, failing the circumstance of glorious war, to devote himself to his arts and his books. Then would he infallibly take up with Poetry, as to which hear Peacham :

The *Poet*, as that laurel Maia dreamed of, is made by miracle from his mother's wombe ; and, like the diamond, only polished and pointed of himselfe ; disdaining the file and midwifery of forraine helpe.

And experience daily affordeth us many excellent yong and growing wits, as well from the plow as pallace, endowed naturally with this divine and heavenly gift ; yet not knowing (if you should aske the question) whether a metaphor be flesh or fish.

If bare saying "Poetrie is an heavenly gift" be too weake a proppre to uphold her credite with those buzzardly poore ones who, having their feathers moulted, can creepe no farther than their own puddle, able onely to envie this Imperiall Eagle for sight and flight—let them, if they can, looke backe to all antiquitie ; and they shall finde all learning, by divine instinct, to breath from her bosome.

Of Latine poets of our times, in the iudgement of Beza and the best learned, Buchanan is esteemed the chiefe ; who albeit in his person behaviour and fashion he was rough-hewen slovenly and rude ; seldome caring for a better outside than a rugge-gowne girt close about him ; yet his inside and conceipt in poesie was most rich.

In the time of our late Queen Elizabeth, which was truly a golden age ; for such a world of refined wits and excellent spirits is produced, whose like are hardly to be hoped for in any succeeding age ; Above others, who honoured poesie with their pennes and practise (to omit her Maiestie, who had a singular gift herein) were Edward Earle of Oxford, the Lord Buckhurst, Henry Lord Paget, our phoenix the noble Sir Philip Sidney, M. Edward Dyer, M. Edmund Spenser, M. Samuel Daniel ; with sundry others whom (together with those admirable wits yet living and so well knowne). not out of envie but to avoid tediousnesse, I overpasse. Thus much of Poetrie.

And not much of Will Shakespeare, lost to the ken of Peacham, and of his noble and gentle friends, among the other "rogues and idle persons," with the "fencers, minstrels, and stage-players."

Besides poetry, the gentle mind could recreate and improve itself, without derogating, upon prose reading also ; and for that purpose the choice of a reading-room was important :

To avoide the inconvenience of moathes and moldinesse, let your study be placed, and your windowes open if it may be, toward the East ; for where it looketh South or West, the aire being ever subject to moisture, moathes are bred and darkishnesse encreased. Whereby your maps and pictures will quickly become pale ; loosing

their life and colours, or, rotting upon their cloath or paper, decay past all helpe and recoverie.

Then, as to the contents of your library,

There is no booke so bad, even *Sir Bevis* himselfe, *Owleglass*, or Nashes herring, but some commodity may be gotten by it. . . . And ere you begin a booke, forget not to read the Epistle, for commonly they are best laboured and penned, and the best peece of them. For as in a garment, whatsoever the stuffe be, the owner (for the most part) affecteth a costly and extraordinary facing,—so is it with our common authors. If they have any wit at all they set it, like velvet, before; though the back (like a bankrupt's doublet) be but of poldavie or buckram.

Nathelless were you to

make choice of those authors in prose who speake the best and purest English, I would commend unto you (though from more antiquitie) the *Life of Richard the third* written by Sir Thomas Moore; the *Arcadia* of the noble Sir Philip Sidney, whom Du Bartas makes one of the foure columnes of our language; the *Essayes*, the late published *Life of Henrie the seaventh*, and other peeces; of the excellent master of eloquence my Lord of St. Albanes, who possesseth not only eloquence but all good learning, as hereditarie both by father and mother.

Some of our present day "pretensed schollers, iugglers, and coosiners using" false ciphers and other "unlawfull games," may be pleased at this mention of Bacon, while Shakespeare is ignored; but I would have them to note that Peacham was a St. Alban's scholar, as above. He goes on:

You have then M. Hooker his *Politic; Henrie the fourth* well written by [Ah, no! only by] Sir Iohn Hayward; that first part of our *English Kings* by M. Samuel Daniel. There are many others. I know; but these will tast you best, as proceeding from no vulgar iudgements. The last Earle of Northampton in his ordinary stile of writing was not to be mended.

Thus were you to acquire a perfect style in writing; such, say, as that of excellent Peacham himselfe, and

not that same ampullous and scenical pompe, with emptie furniture of phrase, wherewith the stage and our pettie poeticke pamphlets sound so big.

This dig at the rant of Marlowe's school, which our divine William also too often reeled off for the groundlings, although he gibbeted it in Pistol, is noteworthy.

I have known even excellent schollers so defective this way that to have heard them discourse privately at a table, you would have thought you had heard Loy talking to his pigges, or Iohn de Indagine declaiming in the praise of wild geese.

Thus was your "stile" to extend to your conversation; you were not to be puffed up about your perfections either; but . . .

in your discourse be free and affable, giving entertainment in a sweete and liberall manner, and with a cheerfull courtesie; seasoning

your talke at the table, among grave and serious discourses, with conceits of wit and pleasant invention : as ingenious epigrammes, emblemes, anagrammes, merry tales, wittie questions and answers, mistakings. As : A melancholy gentleman sitting one day at table (where I was) started up upon the suddaine and, meaning to say "I must go buy a dagger," by transposition of the letters said : "Sir, I must go dye a beggar!"

But here, upon a "peece" of his excellent good wit, which was never a bad rule for an exit, we must take leave of Peacham, or let him, the rather, take leave of us in his own words, which (as indeed we began) address themselves mainly to the Critics :

If thou shalt find herein anything that may content—at the least not distaste—thee, I shall be glad, and encouraged to a more serious peece. If neither, but, out of a malignant humour, disdain what I have done, I care not. I have pleased my selfe, and long since learned Envie, together with her sister Ignorance, to harbour onely in the basest and most degenerate breast.

I take leave, from my house at Hogsdon by London, May 30.

Who is and shall be ever yours,

HENRY PEACHAM.



## INDIAN MAGISTRATES AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

IN Lord Reay's parting speech as Governor of Bombay a serious charge against the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India is implied. According to the *Times'* correspondent, Lord Reay "said that during his five years' period of office his object had been to carry out strictly the principles of her Majesty's proclamation, which was the Magna Charta of the humblest labourer no less than of the noblest chief in the land, and that when what he considered a grave departure from those principles was ordered from England, he at once tendered his resignation." The order to which Lord Reay referred directed that certain Indian magistrates who had given evidence at the Crawford Inquiry be dismissed the service, notwithstanding that an indemnity had been granted them by the Bombay Government guaranteeing immunity from official or departmental punishment. This order, in Lord Reay's opinion, was a violation of the Queen's proclamation. It was undoubtedly an astounding breach of faith, for which neither the Secretary of State, nor the Viceroy has shown reasonable grounds of justification. Before, however, discussing this let us briefly state the facts and environing circumstances of the case out of which has arisen the breach of faith.

In 1879 Sir Richard Temple, in that year Governor of Bombay, appointed to the Commissionership of the Southern Division Mr. Arthur Crawford. This post is one of three principal offices in the Bombay Civil Service, and the highest to which a civilian in the executive line may ordinarily expect to rise. In authority a Commissioner of Division ranks only second to the Governor in Council. Indeed, all the divisional powers of government centre in the Commissionership. The holder for the time being is practically an autocrat, controlling a vast system of local government, and influencing the promotion, dismissal, or transference of the uncovenanted officers his subordinates. Among these are the Indian magistrates, graded according to service and seniority. Theoretically these magistrates are responsible to the High Court, but actually they are very much at the mercy of the Commissioner. He can transfer them to distant stations, their advancement from a lower to a higher grade depends a good deal upon his pleasure, and their

desire consequently is to stand well with him. Obviously in the Commissioner one would look for a man of unimpeachable integrity.

Mr. Crawford's promotion surprised everybody who knew him. His embarrassments had been matters of notoriety for ten years. It was known in the principal bazaars that agents he employed were constantly raising money. It was known that he was reckless in his private dealings, and comments injurious to his official character were openly made. And some years before, for "grave irregularities" as Municipal Commissioner of Bombay he incurred the expressed displeasure of Government. There is a minute in which Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, the Governor at that time of the Presidency, records the sense of relief he felt on hearing that Mr. Crawford had left suddenly for Europe. The latter's departure spared his Excellency the pain of dismissing from the service an exceedingly able but a singularly imprudent civilian.

An arrangement with Mr. Crawford's creditors was subsequently effected, and after remaining out of the service three years he applied for employment. His "fine presence and charming manners" won over Sir Philip Wodehouse, and later, Sir Richard Temple. The former, however, appears to have regarded Mr. Crawford's return with some misgivings. For he wrote that it would be preferable if Mr. Crawford would complete his term of service in Bengal. But nothing came of this. The Bengal Government either could not or would not employ him. So it came about that Sir Philip Wodehouse, being unable to resist Mr. Crawford's charming importunities, re-admitted him to the service of the Presidency of Bombay as Collector of Kolaba. In that and the district of Ratnagiri, to which he was shortly afterwards transferred, his irregular distribution of patronage became an open scandal. It was the talk of the bazaars. It was notorious that he was deeply involved, and as notorious that creditors of his influenced his conduct. True he was energetic and able. His capacity was undoubtedly great, and to that and his long standing in the service his friends continually pointed. Nevertheless it was a surprise, as much perhaps to his friends and his creditors as it was to the public at large, when it was announced that the control of the Southern Division had been placed in his hands.

As Commissioner the patronage in Mr. Crawford's hands was immense. He controlled the appointments of the Indian magistrates in all the four grades. The police inspectors, treasurers, superintendents, clerks, and other officials came under his influence. In a division there are six districts, in each of which there are from seven to ten talukas. A taluka is not unlike a small English county with from seventy to one hundred villages within its borders. From this it may be inferred that the whole executive administration which Mr. Crawford controlled was vast and searching, and that his opportunities for either well-doing or ill-doing were abundant.

Before long rumours of corrupt practices in the Southern Division were flying about. It was known that the Commissioner was employing agents to raise loans for him; and at the inquiry subsequently held at Bombay, Mr. Crawford admitted that he had borrowed recklessly. "I borrowed," he said, "whenever I could get a loan, whether I had any immediate necessity or not." One of his agents, a native called Hanmantrao, turned the loan-raising into blackmailing. The Indian magistrates having savings or friends with means, were subjected to pressure by Hanmantrao. Their appointments or promotions were withheld if they refused or were unable to accommodate the Commissioner. And by suspending some on trifling pretexts, and transferring others to districts far away from their own people, scruples were removed and money was found. It was now an open secret in the bazaars of Poona and Belgaum that the Commissioner's patronage was the lever with which Hanmantrao was raising loans. The scandal was commented upon in a native paper. In the Poona *Vaihbava*, the editor charged the Government with corruption. "From the lowest officers in the public service to the highest every one is corrupt," he wrote. "If the lower officers are asked 'Why do you practise corruption?' they reply, 'Because our rulers do the same.' . . . Some European officers have regularly opened shops to sell Government posts." This was levelled at Mr. Commissioner Crawford, and copies of the paper were sent to Sir James Fergusson, who at that time was Governor of Bombay. The editor of the *Vaihbava* imagined that the Governor would order an inquiry to be held, but his Excellency did nothing of the kind. What he ordered was that the editor be taken in hand by one of the superior officers of the division, and as he was unable to produce evidence in support of the charge of corruption, an insincere apology was wrung from him. The truth is, that though the bazaars were reeking with the scandals the Commissioner's conduct was causing, no witnesses could be induced to come forward and give evidence against him. His power was immense and far-reaching, and he had arrived at that stage of indebtedness when his continuance in office was prayed for by his creditors. Moreover, he had troops of followers. His hospitality was lavish, and those who had not as yet enjoyed his favours were unwilling that they should be deprived of an equality of opportunity by disclosures likely to shorten his lease of power.

That the apology of the editor of the *Vaihbava* was insincere may be inferred from the fact that in the following year the attacks were renewed, and that neither retraction nor apology was demanded by the Governor or the Commissioner. Nor could the former have very well interfered again, for Mr. Crawford found it necessary to make another arrangement with his creditors. And this was sanctioned by the Governor without a word of inquiry as to how the previous arrangement had been carried out. The scandal, however, of an official of high rank being a reckless borrower and

the principal in shady transactions, could not be entirely ignored, and Mr. Crawford was removed from the Southern Division. Had he been removed from the service his opportunities would have been usefully curtailed, but the infatuation of the Governor was such that Mr. Crawford's removal was only to another division. He was placed in control of the Central Division, and at a time when, as admitted afterwards by himself in evidence, he had actually no idea how much money he owed to his creditors. No doubt he was transferred in the belief that given a fresh start he would abandon his notorious practices; but if he ever gave any promises to that effect they proved illusory, for his borrowings were continued as before recklessly, and the scandals arising therefrom became worse as his service lengthened. The people believed that he had got on the blind side of the Government, and as this impression gained ground they became more and more afraid of resisting his demands.

If they held subordinate offices it was made perfectly clear to them that they must pay or go. The Commissioner's agents let no misunderstanding exist as to that; and yet Mr. Crawford's friends and the *Times'* correspondent label these subordinates, in particular the Indian magistrates, corrupt. The truth is they were the victims rather than the feeders of a corrupt system. That they paid Hanmantrao money is true enough; but it was because they believed that in no other way could they save themselves from injustice. As to this Lord Herschell, who was in India at the time of the inquiry, formed a very decided opinion, and in the House of Lords, in August last year, he gave expression to it. The following is the passage (*Indian Hansard*, page 576):

"In the circumstances, the nature of acts done, was not a buying of offices; and I do not believe they bought their offices; they obtained their positions in the ordinary way, subject to the ordinary conditions, and they would have obtained them if they had never given one rupee to Hanmantrao. They believed that if they had not done it they would have suffered unjustly. It was a *levying of blackmail and not a buying of offices*. Money was extorted from them, and they paid it in the hope that the payment would save them from injustice. That was the true character of the acts."

At length such was the pitch to which the Commissioner's proceedings were carried that the Bombay Government could no longer be in doubt as to their nature, or as to the consequences of further delay. Accordingly, a secret inquiry was held, and Mr. Crawford was suspended from duty. Having remitted large sums through the French bank to Europe, he made preparations for flight. He wrote two letters addressed to his brother, who was expected to arrive at his bungalow the same night; then, disguising himself, he disappeared. When the letters were opened, in one was found a defence against the charges of corruption, and in the other an intimation that it was the Commissioner's intention to drown himself

at Holkar's Bridge and "a request that his wife would pray for him." It was not, however, believed that he would commit suicide, and police officers were posted at the Poona and Kirkee Stations. Their suspicions were soon confirmed. The detective at the Poona Station, in watching the departure of the early morning train, saw Mr. Crawford disguised as a tramp. "He was wearing," the detective reported, "an old long coat, tennis shoes, a wide-awake slouched over his face, and a false grey beard, and with a muffler round his neck." Not knowing that his movements were watched, Mr. Crawford took a third-class ticket, and in a third-class compartment he arrived at Bombay. He then entered a rough sailors' house near the dock, and wrote the following letter :

"Victoria Hotel, July 18.

"To the Purser on board P. & O. Steamer *Teheran*.

"DEAR SIR,—

"I have just come down from Jabalpor very ill—ordered for a sea voyage. I want to go to Columbo, and perhaps further, in the *Teheran*. Will you kindly let me know by the bearer when the steamer leaves the dock, and if I may come aboard at once and pay for my ticket on board? I am a complete stranger to Bombay, and feel too ill after the long railway journey to go out to the office, which I am told is at some distance.

"Kindly let me know how much the *second* class passage to Columbo will be.

"Pardon a sick man's troubling you so much.

"Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

"JAMES COMPTON.

"I am at the little 'Victoria Hotel,' close to the dock. I should be very grateful if I were allowed to come on board at once."

Mr. Crawford's arrest and release on bail followed. Lord Reay had succeeded Sir James Fergusson, and the Bombay Government determined to uproot the appalling system of corruption found prevailing in the Southern and Central Divisions. With that in view an inquiry was ordered. Practically this was Mr. Crawford's trial, and as the accused he appeared. But it will be scarcely credited that he confidently looked for an acquittal. He had plucked up spirit. It was one thing he knew ordering, or even holding, an inquiry, and quite another thing producing evidence against him. He had been thirty-four years in the service. During ten of these he had been at the head of a great office. He had powerful friends in India and England, and in the previous year, while Hanmantrao was levying blackmail on his account, he had been raised to the dignity of a Companion in a distinguished Order. All this was discussed in the Indian bazaars. Mr. Crawford's friends were busy there. They asked what could be got by appearing against the Commissioner? And they answered this themselves by declaring

that it was not Mr. Crawford who had been corrupt, but the officials, the Indian magistrates, the inspectors, the treasurers and others who had bought their appointments and promotions. And what, it was asked, would be the consequences to these public servants if they appeared in court and their secrets were wrung from them? To the Indian mind it seemed highly probable that they would be thrown into prison. Such payments as they had been making, though of the nature of blackmail, were not so described in the Penal Code. They were there called bribes, and the giving of bribes was a grave offence.

In a confidential note the Inspector-General of Police pointed out that the idea was spreading "that whatever show Government might make it was, after all, a Government of Englishmen, and they would never proceed to extremities against one of their own class; the inquiry would inevitably recoil on the heads of informers and witnesses." Need it surprise any one, therefore, that Mr. Crawford's subordinates refused to come forward? He knew that they would refuse, and that it would be impossible without their evidence to sustain any charge of corruption against him. It was upon this his confidence of acquittal rested. Then there was this other consideration which his subordinates could not altogether overlook. His acquittal would mean restoration to power in one or other of the divisions, and the career of any magistrate would be extinguished if he had given evidence against Mr. Crawford. Mr. J. A. Baines, of the Bombay Civil Service, points out that "the whole career of a Revenue officer, from head barkum upwards—that is, from a salary of forty rupees to that of eight hundred rupees or over—can be made or marred by the Commissioner alone, without risk of interference from either a collector or from Government." Mr. Crawford would be again in this position if no evidence of corruption were forthcoming.

And for some time the evidence wanted was withheld. The Government were placed in a position of great embarrassment. They knew that corruption was rife, and that the Commissioner's conduct had given rise to public scandals. They felt that at all costs an end must be put to these scandals, and a danger to the State removed, but without the evidence of Mr. Crawford's subordinates they could do nothing. At length they decided to authorise the Inspector-General of Police to offer indemnity in the following terms:—

"Mr. Ommanney is empowered to promise immunity from prosecution to any person giving evidence, and in cases of payments for promotion, or to obtain or avoid transfers, may guarantee immunity from official or departmental punishment or loss, subject to the stipulation that the evidence given is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

This was in June 1888. It is worth while bearing this in mind,

for it was not until the 7th of February 1889 that the Secretary of State gave any intimation of the course he intended to take with regard to the guarantee. And this is all the more remarkable in that the guarantee was publicly reaffirmed by the Advocate-General of the Bombay Government while the inquiry was being held. This step had been rendered necessary by the efforts made by the Commissioner's friends to intimidate witnesses. An intimation was conveyed to the latter that, if they appeared at the inquiry and made self-incriminating statements, they would render themselves liable to be prosecuted. They were told that the guarantee was worthless and would be repudiated by the Government. The Advocate-General then declared "that there was no foundation whatever for the statement concerning repudiation by Government of Ommannay's guarantee." Upon this assurance the witnesses appeared in Court and disclosed the nature and terms of the transactions with Mr. Crawford.

The evidence given at the inquiry need not be entered upon at any length here. The disclosures satisfied the Commission that Mr. Crawford was responsible for placing Hanmantrao in a position "in which he could improperly obtain money"; also that Mr. Crawford, at the date of his suspension, was on the road to ruin, but they refused to believe the witnesses on the charges of corruption, preferring Mr. Crawford's bare denial on oath. On the other hand, the Bombay Government, to whom the Commission reported, and who were the real judges in the case, found Mr. Crawford "guilty of almost all the charges of corruption." The Secretary of State adopted the opinion of the Commission, that the charges of corruption had not been established, but he ordered Mr. Crawford's dismissal. So that, notwithstanding the variation of opinion, the object of the inquiry, the removal of an evil influence from the public service, was attained. And attained through the evidence of the indemnified witnesses. "Public morality," says Sir Raymond West in his official minute on the case, "is under a great obligation to these men, who, in the face of obloquy, personal danger, and humiliation, have aided in unveiling a nefarious and destructive system of corruption."

Well, in what way did public morality, represented by the Secretary of State, discharge this obligation? Were the indemnified witnesses honoured? Not a bit of it. Their suspension from duty was ordered from England. The guarantee was repudiated by the Secretary of State. He described the witnesses as corrupt officials, and, finally, a number of them were dismissed. They were given a sum of money, and an Indemnity Act has been passed affording them protection against civil suits and prosecution; but what the Government were pledged to give them was withheld, and it was this breach of faith which determined Lord Reay to tender his resignation. He and his Government were placed in a painful and

humiliating position. They had entered into a public engagement, and this they were obliged to break. Their Advocate-General had reaffirmed the engagement, and, trusting to British honour, Mr. Crawford's victims made a clean breast of it. They had then to be told that what they had relied upon was worthless, that what the Bombay Government had done was illegal, and that in consequence of this illegality the witnesses, who had nothing whatever to do with the giving of the guarantee, were to be punished.

Even if the witnesses had been actually corrupt, it is inconceivable that repudiation could have been justified, but corrupt they were not. The sums they admitted having given to Mr. Crawford's agents had been extorted from them. "It needs," said Lord Herschell in the House of Lords, "a very strong man to withstand the extortion and blackmailing to which these men were subject, and if the circumstances could be repeated in this country, I am not quite sure that there would not be officials in this country found to yield to the temptation to which these native officials yielded." With one exception the witnesses were never known to have taken bribes. The European collectors, the police authorities, and the law officers of the Bombay Government assert that they know of nothing against them. Hanmantrao put a pistol to their heads, and because they forked out their money the Secretary of State labels them corrupt. Need it be wondered at that the people throughout Western India are indignant, and that they are moving against what they declare, and what every reasonable man will allow, is gross injustice.

Nor are British officials of high rank in the Indian service behind hand with remonstrances. The senior member of the Bombay service, Mr. W. H. Probert, declares that "the officers of Government are filled with doubt, dismay, and shame; the people with distrust and contempt." He urges that confidence can only be re-established "by observing the guarantee given by the Bombay Government in its entirety. Thus a certain number of honest men would be preserved from unmerited disgrace, and one of the principal grounds of public discontent removed." Another official, Mr. A. Keyser, now Commissioner of the Southern Division, begs leave to retire, so deeply does he feel the injustice done to the Indian magistrates. Mr. I. G. Moore, a member of the Legislative Council, points out that "the natives of India now doubt the good faith and superior morality of the British Government, their confidence has been rudely shaken, and we hear on all sides—'How shall we ever again believe in the promises of Government?'" Yet to all remonstrance Viscount Cross has turned a deaf ear.

RONALD SMITH.



## HOME AFFAIRS.

THE period which lies between the Easter and the Whitsuntide recess is necessarily a crucial one for any Government. It is then that the broad lines of legislation, which have been sketched in the Queen's Speech, and more broadly explained on the introduction of Bills, are brought to the test of decision. If the Government is strong in the confidence of the people, and its measures are good, the second-reading debates, and divisions if any, register a series of telling victories which are the presage of successful work in the close and prolonged tussles of committee in the midsummer, and a satisfactory winding up of the Session at or about the time when the moors, the streams, or the sea, invite wearied senators to scenes of changed excitement, or to a milder repose. If, on the other hand, the Ministry is beginning to be found out, if it has lost, or is losing touch with the constituencies, if its existence is beginning to be precarious, or it has lost confidence in itself, signs of coming trouble manifest themselves in reduced majorities, in a block of business, and awkward and irritating *contretemps*, and every manner of Parliamentary friction, and deterioration of discipline. A bye-election, fairly fought out at such a time when the legislative proposals of the Ministry are fully before the country, is perhaps more than the contests of the recess a fair indication of the general current of public opinion. The political omens of the month in the House of Commons, and in the country, continue unfavourable to Lord Salisbury's Government. The composite majority which, at the beginning of the Parliament, stood as high as 116, has dwindled to 80 on the second reading of the Irish Land Purchase Bill, and to 70 on the Local Taxation Bill. The divisions on these measures—regarded as critical for the Government—have been marked by conspicuous defections or declared and strenuous opposition on the part of staunch Conservatives or Liberal Unionist while others, of both sorts, have voted under the pressure of party allegiance for measures of which they have expressed strong disapproval or have manifested deep distrust in debate. Not less suggestive of coming difficulty have been the divisions, taken on what are known as private members' nights when the Government have stood on the defensive against important proposals which the Opposition are bringing into the region of practical politics. Dr. Cameron's motion in favour of Disestablishment in Scotland was defeated in a rarely full house by the narrow majority of 38. When a few

nights later, Mr. R. T. Reid proposed a resolution repugnant to every Conservative instinct, to empower local authorities to buy land compulsorily within or in the immediate neighbourhood of their jurisdiction, the Government, which opposed the idea as revolutionary and dangerous, was saved from defeat by a majority of only eleven. Following upon these moral defeats, on a recent Wednesday the Government, through deplorable lack of foresight and organisation on the part of their Whips, were actually beaten in the lobbies by the Irish Nationalists, almost unaided, and reduced to a state of such helplessness, that they shirked a further division, and accepted a decision of the House of Commons, on a point which touched vitally the principal measure of the Session, though with no intention of respecting it, rather than expose their weakness further, by marching once more through the Coventry of the division lobby. Three bye-elections have occurred. Two of them were in Ireland, and although, it is the constant boast of the champions of coercion-cum-corruption that by resolute Government, and by money bribes under the guise of ameliorative legislation, such as land purchase and arterial drainage, that they have liberated the Irish peasant from the terrorism of the National League, and opened his eyes to the advantages of a close alimentary connection with the British Treasury, the Government did not venture themselves, or induce their grateful clients to put a candidate into the field against Mr. Parnell's nominees. The third bye-election was at Bristol, where the Liberal Home Rule candidate was elected by a majority over his Tory opponent, exceeding the majority not merely of 1886, but of 1885, even under the conspicuous disadvantage of a regrettable split in the Liberal ranks which carried off 606 Liberal votes in support of a Home Rule working-man candidate.

In these circumstances it is not wonderful that we hear less of the rumours current a month ago of a probable dissolution in the autumn in the full tide of Tory popularity following upon a skilfully conceived Prosperity Budget. Veteran Parliamentary hands such as Lord Granville, and shrewd observers of electoral signs, in close touch with popular constituencies, noting among other things the activity which is being shown at electioneering headquarters, such as Manchester, do indeed consider it necessary to warn their own friends to be in readiness for an event which otherwise may come upon them suddenly and find them at some disadvantage. There is, however, no evidence apparent of any eagerness on the part of the Government supporters to meet the constituencies, or of confidence in the public verdict if appealed to. If, indeed, statements made in quarters usually well-informed may be accepted, the same difficulties which more and more frequently worry Mr. Akers-Douglas and his colleagues in keeping a House and preparing for a division, attend them in arranging the preliminaries of electoral conflict. An unusual proportion of Conservative members are, it is said, tired of the

wear and tear of Parliamentary life, or in Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's phrase at Norwich, are sick of close attendance on its debates, and have no intention of incurring the cost and running the risks of the fierce contests with their more earnest and more aggressive political opponents, flushed and encouraged by such successes as those of Bristol, are preparing for them. Mr. Goschen, indeed, has recently declared, although on grounds entirely different from those here suggested, and more consonant with the promptings of his still sanguine mind, that any one who talks of an event so uncalled for as a dissolution must be a lunatic. And indeed, in view of the risks of throwing away a still considerable majority by an appeal to the country at the present moment, it may be admitted that Mr. Goschen herein speaks in a political sense the words of worldly wisdom.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, although naturally in love with his own Budget proposals, was not long in finding out that, from an electioneering point of view, the hopes built upon a Prosperity surplus are quite illusory. There is little gratitude in politics and less in finance. The sops distributed all round to please everybody, made no one profoundly or effusively thankful. Speaking at a Guildhall banquet while the recollection of his glowing exposition of the plethoric increase of the national income was still fresh, Mr. Goschen gave a humorous account of the abuse—conveyed in multitudinous letters, sometimes more terse than polite—heaped upon him on account of the manner in which he had distributed his unappreciated favours. Putting the best face upon the matter, he quoted instances of grateful widows and other persons of narrow income, who really anticipate substantial benefit from even a slight reduction in the price of tea and cake, and a limitation of the house duty. In Committee on the Budget resolutions, though it is not usual on such occasion to make confusion by hostile divisions or unnecessary delays, the criticism passed on Mr. Goschen's scheme was unusually severe. Sir William Harcourt neatly summed up the unfavourable verdict of a questioning public, by the declaration that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, making too many bites at too many cherries, had attempted too much and accomplished too little. Mr. Picton's contention that it would have been better to make a clean sweep of the tea duties, and thus achieve the double advantage of conferring a tangible relief upon the consumer, and save cost in the collection of revenue found very general support on the Liberal side of the House, and we believe in the country. Mr. Goschen's reply to this suggestion was not a happy one. He contended that a measure of relief so general would be attended by the particular disadvantage that the Treasury would thereby lose all hold on working-men, who neither drink rum nor smoke tobacco, forgetting alike how little the hard-working total abstainer costs the country and how much he contributes in the way of rates to the support in workhouses, in gaols and asylums, of those who have used exciseable liquors in excess.

and how much richer and more taxable a people becomes when the outlay on life's necessities has been reduced to the lowest possible minimum by the removal of all avoidable imposts alike on production or consumption.

The debate on the second reading of the Irish Land Purchase Bill took an unexpected turn at the commencement in the hands of Mr. Parnell. The Chief Secretary for Ireland having proposed the motion without a speech, reserving his right to deal with criticisms in reply at a later stage, the Irish leader at once moved the rejection of the measure. He hailed the proposal to facilitate purchase on a rent reduced by 20 per cent. as a tardy official acknowledgment of the justice of his long contention that rents have been, and are exorbitant, for which he has been bitterly assailed as dishonest and a leveller. But this penitential confession of error was insufficient to appease him in the absence of fruits brought forth meet for repentance. He criticised the provisions of the Bill unsparingly, alike from the point of view of the Irish peasant, who finds in it no certainty of relief, and the British taxpayer, who obtains under it no adequate security against the risks he is invited to undertake. Interest, however, was quickly diverted from Mr. Parnell's criticism of the Bill to the alternative proposal he benevolently submitted for the consideration of the Government. This, in brief, was that the money which it was intended to advance as a purchase fund should be appropriated as a loan on easy terms to Irish landlords, conditionally on their consent to reduce their rents by 30 per cent., for the purpose of clearing off their incumbrances. Mr. Parnell calculated that under this scheme the landlord, though reducing his rents by 30 instead of 20 per cent., would still be an immediate gainer to the extent of 14 per cent., in respect that he would obtain possession of the whole instead of only four-fifths of the Government advance, and would be freed at once from the pressure of insuring interest on his mortgage debts. We give Mr. Parnell's calculations without professing to test them by analysis. On the side of the British taxpayer he suggested there would remain the advantage that the landlord would still remain the rent-collector and administrator of the estate—thus avoiding the odium attaching to State evictions in the case of the tenant's default—while the land, improved by a hopeful and prosperous tenantry, sitting under easy rents, would remain as an indefeasible security. Among the most attentive listeners to Mr. Parnell's alternative scheme was Mr. Gladstone, and curiosity was piqued to know how far the Liberal leader had been taken into his confidence, or approved his suggestions. All mystery on the point was cleared up by the speech of the right hon. gentleman on the next night of the debate. It was then made manifest that the new loan scheme for dealing with encumbered estates in Ireland was as much a surprise to Mr. Gladstone as to everybody else. He admitted his interest in it, and complimented the Irish leader

on the chivalrous nature of his volunteered offer to help the Government. At the same time he confessed himself puzzled by some of the details which perhaps he had imperfectly apprehended, and preferred to bestow his attention more exclusively upon the actual proposals put before the House on the responsibility of the Government. These accordingly he submitted to a searching examination, with the result of pronouncing upon them in the end an unreserved and emphatic condemnation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who followed Mr. Gladstone, showed no similar unwillingness to divert attention from the real issue before the House, and threw out a seductive though guarded invitation to the Irish leader to formulate his proposal in clauses, to be submitted to the friendly consideration of the Government, with a view to their adoption as a supplement to Mr. Balfour's extension of Lord Ashbourne's Act.

At a subsequent stage of the debate Mr. Chamberlain also expressed a friendly interest in Mr. Parnell's suggestions, and indeed professed his readiness to support them on the lines of Mr. Goschen's invitation, that is to say, as concurrent with the purchase scheme. There is no doubt that in view of Mr. Parnell's independent and solitary action in reserving his suggestions for the House of Commons without giving a hint of them to the Liberal leaders, and the readiness with which they were accepted on the Treasury Bench and by Mr. Chamberlain, an uncomfortable feeling, which however has proved only temporary in its effects, was produced among many Liberals who have identified themselves with the constitutional aims and objects of the Irish Nationalist party. Mutual confidence, however, was speedily restored by the decided refusal of Mr. Parnell himself to enter into any negotiations with the Government under the conditions suggested by Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Parnell's scheme was put forward publicly as an alternative to the Government proposals for the frank consideration of both parties, and with a view to the settlement of the Irish land question on the footing of retaining the landlords in the country. Its essentially conservative character pleased some of the Irish landlords, who being Irishmen, have no wish to expatriate themselves, or to be expatriated under the Government scheme. The fact that it was proposed in evident good faith by Mr. Parnell, and cordially supported even by the extreme men of his party, has done something at least to restore kindly feeling between Irish Liberals and Irish Conservatives, and to allay the fears that disturb the minds of unwilling Home Rule converts in England, that in a Dublin Parliament the contention between the gentry and the humbler commoners would be like that of the Kilkenny cats. It was soon made plain enough that Mr. Parnell was too much of a tactician to commit the error of endangering his own proposals, which are for future use in a Home Rule Parliament, by yoking them as a concurrent and subordinate scheme with the proposals of the Government, which his

knowledge of the country prompts him to believe are doomed to failure. The Irish members generally condemned the provisions of the Government Bill, and Mr. Dillon, while subjecting its proposals to a cool analysis, made it also plain enough that any measure of the kind proposed by a Coercion Government, and conveying no administrative power to the constitutional representatives of the people, could be regarded by Irishmen of spirit and independence in no other light than that of an insulting farce.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech on the second reading was a very able one. It has been described by competent critics as the best debating effort he has ever made, and its success was all the greater that it was delivered under a fire of unfriendly interruptions, few of which were left unnoticed, and without the aid of any notes whatever, while the direct flow of the argument was never for a moment deflected. The leader of the Radical Unionists posed as an independent but friendly critic of the Bill—his candour being at times, if anything, more conspicuous than his friendship. The main point he made was that such a Bill, to be successful, to be fair, to be constitutional even, should be accompanied by a measure of local self-government at least as generous and as comprehensive as that which was passed last year for Scotland, or the year before for England; and that County Councils and District Councils hereafter to be created, should be entrusted frankly and completely with the administration of the Purchase Scheme. In that way, he was assured, the Purchase Scheme would work smoothly and safely, although he guarded himself by saying that he entertained no doubt of the safety or practicability of Mr. Balfour's proposals standing alone, or of the adequacy of the security which the British taxpayer possesses against pawning the Imperial credit. Without winning any restoration of confidence among the English Liberals or Irish Nationalists by declarations of this kind, in full consistency with the ideas of which he was once an advanced advocate, Mr. Chamberlain managed by their promulgation to create considerable consternation in the Conservative ranks. Sir Walter Barttelot, most bluff and straightforward of Conservatives, was almost pathetic in his entreaties to the Government that they should have nothing to do with the invitation to confer local self-government on Ireland, all oblivious, apparently, of the fact that the thing was definitely promised for the present Session of Parliament in the Queen's Speech, and dutifully approved in the Address to the Throne, of which, of course, he was a loyal supporter. The *Standard* next morning took Mr. Chamberlain roundly to task, putting in substance the question, "Call you this backing of your friends?" and the *Times*, consistently enough with its deep distrust of Irish probity and Irish capacity, ridiculed the idea that Irishmen could be safely entrusted with responsibility of any kind. The flutter caused by Mr. Chamberlain's speech among the Conservatives and other Unionists who distrust the Irish was uncalled for, and very soon

allayed. Mr. Chamberlain reserves to himself, as his price for the support of the Government, the right to describe them on occasion as in his heart he may still regard, as he certainly once regarded them, in a party capacity—that is to say, as exceedingly foolish and short-sighted persons. But for that reason, perhaps, it is all the more required that on critical occasions his friendly ægis should be cast over them to protect them from the consequences of their blunders. In a speech delivered to the Oxford Liberal Unionists within a week or two, he reiterated and emphasised his opinion that Mr. Balfour is acting stupidly in postponing the Local Government scheme for Ireland—in which he still seems to believe—and is even more foolish in the arguments he offers in defence of that course. But at the same time, Mr. Chamberlain will do nothing to “embarrass the Government.” The end of the debate, which was prolonged, greatly to the annoyance of Mr. Smith, several days after he thought it should have finished, was that the Bill was read a second time on the 1st of May by a majority of 348 to 268, and Parliament has not even had time to return to the subject. One Conservative, Captain Selwyn, and one Liberal Unionist, Mr. Caldwell, voted against the Bill. Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Charles Lewis, Mr. Jennings, and Mr. Macartney marked their disapproval of it by refusing to vote, though for different reasons—Lord Randolph Churchill having the courage of his opinions as to the necessity of Local Self-Government as an accompaniment, which Mr. Chamberlain was content to profess, and Sir Charles Lewis because he believes the Bill to be a step towards the extension to his constituents of the right to manage their own local affairs. These indications of a mutinous spirit seem more than likely to be manifested in a manner more pronounced and dangerous when the Bill reaches Committee after the Whitsuntide holidays.

The debate and division on the second reading of the Local Taxation Bill, popularly known as the Licensed Victuallers Compensation Bill, or, as Mr. Gladstone dubbed it at Norwich, the Publicans' Endowment Bill, have been still more ominous for the Government. It is the purpose of this measure, which is a supplement to the Imperial Budget Bill, to apportion £1,300,000, the estimated yield of the extra spirit and beer duties imposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to a variety of public purposes, some of which rouse no opposition, or are accepted as useful reforms. A sum of £450,000 is to be devoted in England to the ingenious purpose of greasing the wheels of licensing reform. This proposal, of which Mr. Goschen is the reputed author, had not been long before the country before it was recognised that underlying it was a veiled attempt to revive the compensation proposals embodied in the Local Government Bill, as first introduced by Mr. Ritchie two years ago, and which raised such a storm of indignation that they were quickly withdrawn, lest the entire Bill and the Government which fathered it should be imperilled. As described in the Budget speech, this latest scheme

wore a specious look which deceived the very elect. Good Liberals welcomed with satisfaction, and still cordially approve, a proviso necessary as a preliminary to all licensing reform, that no new licences shall be issued except under some conditions of a special character, as, for example, an abnormal growth of population, in a new locality, or an undeniable demand for the public convenience at a railway refreshment room. The powers of licensing magistrates to withhold the renewal of licences were avowedly left intact, and these were supplemented by new powers conferred upon County Councils, to (as it was presumed) extinguish or suppress licensed houses at their pleasure. An examination of the printed Bill, however, revealed the cloven hoof of compensation under the decent cloak with which Mr. Goschen had veiled an insidious proposal. It became apparent that the power of disestablishing individual publicans of a specially obnoxious type, at the discretion of the County Council, was to be obtained at the expense of pensioning the publicans disestablished, and endowing all the rest. The United Kingdom Alliance, and most of the temperance associations, were speedily up in arms, and members on both sides of the House were inundated with petitions, letters, and telegrams, urging them at any cost to put forth all their strength against the compensation clauses. It is said that never in Parliamentary history was the limited staff attached to the little post-office in the members' lobby so overworked as in the first week of May, in consequence of this sudden influx of members' correspondence. Deputations from the provinces began to haunt the lobbies and corridors, and badgered members, finding themselves waylaid by their constituents, whose indignation could hardly be allayed even for a night by orders for the Speaker's or strangers' gallery, which soon became difficult to obtain, began to doubt whether at the price Parliamentary life was worth living. The occurrence of the May meetings at the height of the excitement lent added force to the eager and combative spirit of the deputations. The organisation of the temperance forces, however, was not so complete as it was two years ago. The Church of England Temperance Society, or, at all events, an influential and self-assertive section of it, adopted a temporising policy, and put forth feelers in the direction of compromise, which strengthened the hands of the Government, and confirmed the feeble knees of its supporters. Sir William Houldsworth and Mr. T. W. Russell, both great advocates of temperance, who fought on the side of Sir Wilfrid Lawson two years ago, from being the aggrieved and angry assailants, became the avowed champions of the Government. Mr. Caine, however, remained true to his policy of "No surrender," and put forth all his energy in organising an effective public opinion against Mr. Goschen's proposals. He issued fresh pamphlets and leaflets, showing, by telling illustration of the difference in value between licensed and unlicensed properties, how, even at ten years' purchase,



the Government scheme would raise a solid wall of two hundred million sovereigns between the prohibitionists and the ultimate extinction of the liquor traffic.

While the excitement was reaching its height, Lord Randolph Churchill obtained an opportunity, on a Tuesday evening, of introducing his Licensing Bill, which he explained in an earnest and masterly speech. He proposed not merely to confer upon County Councils the power to extinguish licences, but he delighted the United Kingdom Alliance by adopting the permissive prohibitory plan, under which two-thirds of the ratepayers of a given parish or district may veto all licences, irrespective of the action of the County Councils. He did not deal at all in his Bill with the subject of compensation, leaving that thorny subject to the Government, but made friends with "the trade" mammon, by the candid declaration that extinction of licences without compensation would be flat robbery. While every one admired the ability and apparent earnestness with which Lord Randolph Churchill performed in his new rôle, the reception given to his proposals was doubtful. Sir Wilfrid Lawson welcomed him as the most promising member of the Band of Hope, while warning him that he still required much training in the way he should go as regards compensation. The President of the Local Government Board described his Bill as a masterpiece of construction, and marvellously like his own and Mr. Goschen's measure, excepting as regards the popular veto, of which the entirely disapproved.

Meanwhile the Government, perhaps conscious of the rising storm outside, endeavoured rather injudiciously to "rush" the resolutions in regard to the additional beer and spirit duties through the House at a Friday afternoon sitting, but were stopped by Mr. Morley and Sir William Harcourt, who insisted that the proposals to impose the new duties should be discussed with relation to the purpose to which the product was to be devoted, so that the clauses should be postponed until the Local Taxation Bill appropriating the money should be advanced a stage. The debate on the Bill was opened by Mr. Caine in a speech of great power, in which he declared that much as he desired as a Unionist to sustain the Government, the Government must take its chance if it chose to saddle the ratepayers with the duty of providing for publicans whose prosperity in business has in many cases been attended, as an inevitable consequence, by the impoverishment and moral degeneration of their most regular customers. The debate on Mr. Caine's hostile amendment to the Bill was very protracted, but very unequal, being at times lively and at times dull. In the end, Mr. Caine's amendment, which was supported with marvellous eloquence by Mr. Gladstone, was defeated by a majority of 70 only. Lord Randolph Churchill on this occasion voted in the Government lobby. But two members of the party—curiously enough an ultra-Protestant of Ulster, Mr. de Cobain,

and an English Catholic, Mr. de Lisle—voted against the Government, and with them five Liberal Unionists—four of them, viz., Mr. Finlay, Mr. Corbett, Mr. Caldwell, and Mr. Hugh Elliott, being Scotchmen. The numbers were hardly made known before there was a rush of members to the clerk's table to put in notices of instructions and amendments in committee. Lord Randolph Churchill was among the first with an instruction to the effect of limiting the scale of compensation to ten years as a maximum, and annually diminishing by a year, till at the last the highest scale of compensation will be equal to only one year's purchase, and after that nothing at all.

Outside the sphere of first-class Government measures, the most important Parliamentary event of the month has been the division on the subject of Disestablishment in Scotland. Dr. Cameron's motion which came on at the fag end of a Friday, of which the Government had seized the afternoon for Supply on other business in arrear, was discussed with a brevity out of keeping with its importance. The division was remarkable in respect that in a House of Commons where the Government can still command a majority of 70 or 80 on critical occasions, this declaratory motion, after debate in a fuller House than has ever before mustered to consider it, was within 38 votes of being carried. Although the Scotch Conservatives had whipped up every available man, and voted in greater strength than ever before, the vote of the Scotch members in favour of the measure was also greater. On this occasion, though Lord Hartington spoke in support of the Government and in defence of the Scottish Establishment, Mr. Chamberlain went into the lobby against him. A speech from Lord Hartington was indeed called for by the situation, but not exactly such a speech as he delivered. In 1877, Lord Hartington, then acting as leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, visited Scotland with a view to organise and stimulate his friends, and under the wise promptings of the late Mr. W. P. Adam, declared that when a majority of the people of Scotland, or even of the Liberals of Scotland were in favour of Disestablishment, the English Liberals would be prepared to give them effective support irrespective of any other consideration, meaning thereby any reference to the aspect of Church questions in England. The fact that Lord Hartington broke breath on the subject for the first time in the House of Commons only to violate this pledge, has made an end of any lingering influence he may have possessed among Scottish Liberals. His argument that the question of Disestablishment was not set before the country at the general election, is, so far as Scotland is concerned, flagrantly and notoriously in opposition to fact, since there has not been a general election or a bye-election north of the Tweed for twenty years, in which the Tories have not made Disestablishment a crowning test. The only conspicuous instance in which a constituency of Scottish Liberals has accepted a candidate who

declared definitely against Disestablishment, is that of South Edinburgh, which, mainly out of regard to Mr. Gladstone, gave a seat to Mr. Childers, and in the recent division, Mr. Childers did not vote. But of course the most important point of the debate, and more significant even than the figures in the division, was the fact that Mr. Gladstone, putting aside his well-known objection to what he calls abstract resolutions, which some of his supporters consider has often been carried to the verge of political prudery, spoke strongly in favour of Dr. Cameron's resolution. The subject occupied the attention of the House of Commons for only three hours, but what occurred makes it certain that one of the earliest achievements of the next Liberal Parliament will be the levelling down of the Presbyterian Establishment and the substitution of a perfect religious equality among all Presbyterian denominations.

Another notable event was the second reading by a triumphant majority of the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, which Mr. Lea, one of the two remaining Ulster Liberal Unionists still finding a place in the House, took over from the hands of the late Mr. Biggar. The measure is something more than a Sunday Closing Bill, since under it a new feature of great importance is introduced—viz., the compulsory closing of all licensed houses at nine o'clock on Saturday evening—a greater assurance, perhaps, for increased Sunday sobriety than even Sunday closing itself. The Bill obtained considerable support on the Government side, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Attorney-General for Ireland, Mr. Smith, and others, swelling the majority of 242 in its favour, although it contains no provision to compensate the licensed victualler for diminished opportunities of gain. Seven members of the Ministry voted in the minority of 78 against the Bill. It was refreshing in the debate to hear an Ulster Unionist like Mr. Lea speak in warm commendation of the services rendered to the cause of temperance in Ireland by Archbishop Croke and Mr. Davitt, and almost startling to hear them described by such lips as Irish patriots. The licensing question, it is well known, is one of the few on which the Irish Nationalist party is divided in opinion, a minority being more or less directly interested in or in sympathy with the claims of the trade. One of the number, Mr. Peter MacDonald, led the opposition to the Bill. Being angry at the countenance given to it by members of a Government whose exchequer has profited confessedly by the increased consumption of excisable liquors, of which rum was chosen by Mr. Goschen as a typical illustration, Mr. MacDonald suggested that the party should drop its old fighting motto of "Beer and the Bible," in favour of "Rum and Righteousness."

The Bill to legalise marriage with a deceased wife's sister has been read a second time by the decisive majority of 67. The practical argument in favour of this measure increases every year, with the increasing number of women and children who lie under dis-

ability, in consequence of a law of prohibition which the majority of the people have ceased to hold in respect. If there is any subject on which Parliament in its present lymphatic stage is at all in earnest, it is that tardy justice should be at last done to many women, who have become wives that they might act as mothers to a dead sister's children, and to children born in honourable marriage, who are nevertheless, branded with a hateful name, and curtailed of their civil rights. Mr. Herbert Gardner's Bill, together with Mr. Lea's Irish Sunday Closing Measure, have a fair prospect of becoming law in the course of the present Session, if the House of Lords should not unwisely prove obstructive. A minor measure of electoral reform proposed by the Government to secure the suffrage to soldiers and sailors, serving abroad, who might otherwise be qualified as electors, was extended in its passage through one of its stages, so as to apply to sailors of the mercantile marine.

Ireland continues to manifest exemplary order under circumstances of continued provocation. The evictions have been completed on the Ponsonby estates, which is now cleared, and New Tipperary is being so built up as to promise to throw Mr. Smith Barry's deserted property in the old town into the shade. Mr. Crosbie, of the *Corke Examiner*, a journalist respected throughout the United Kingdom, has been fined £50 for reporting a meeting, and another Irish journalist has been sent to prison for nine months on account of some unfavourable criticism passed upon certain bailiffs who conducted themselves badly at an eviction. A note of the recent Irish elections deserves to be recorded. Four members have recently been elected by Catholic constituencies—two are Protestants. Two elections have occurred within the month. The new members for East Galway and for Mid-Tipperary have both suffered imprisonment under the Coercion law. It can hardly be pleasant to Mr. Balfour, as he looks across the floor of the House of Commons, to see himself confronted with a growing array of the victims of his system, honoured now by the Irish people with their confidence, largely because they have had the courage to defy him, and elevated to an equal rank with him under the constitution as members of the first legislative body in the world. And if anything would convince Unionists of the unreality of the terrors they have conjured up regarding the future of Protestant Ulster under Home Rule, it ought to be the fact that as vacancy after vacancy occurs in Catholic Ireland, there comes into the House of Commons another and another Protestant member, named by the Protestant leader of the Home Rule party, and cordially approved by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church.

Mr. Stanley is the hero of the London season. The most brilliant social event of the month has been the immense gathering which assembled in the Albert Hall to witness the presentation to him and the companions of his African pilgrimage of the medals

presented by the Geographical Society. No such representative gathering has taken place in England, and no sight more impressive witnessed, since the Queen, six or seven years ago, opened, in the same place, the famous Indian and Colonial Exhibition. The Prince of Wales, at the request of the President, Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, presented a special gold medal to the explorer, conferred *honoris causa*, Mr. Stanley being already, as the hero of previous achievements, the possessor of the Society's most coveted distinctions. Princes and Princesses of the blood were as numerously represented as if the occasion had been a royal wedding, and perhaps more interesting was the array of bronzed veterans of travel, with Sir Samuel Baker at their head, who gathered to offer their meed of applause to one who is their acknowledged king. Since then, Mr. Stanley has been fêted to satiety. His speeches, always graphic and spirit-stirring and often eloquent, have opened up the most appetising glimpses of the great book he has now brought to the eve of publication. The announcement of his approaching marriage with Miss Dorothy Tennant adds the last touch to a situation romantic beyond precedent in the history of an adventurer—using the epithet in its best and highest sense. A great missionary enthusiasm for Africa, combined with a shrewd commercial spirit, is the note of Mr. Stanley's speeches—his sanguine anticipations of a great future for the continent of his adoption being, however, dashed by a pessimistic feeling—not unnatural to the explorer; but probably unjust to Her Majesty's Government, and essentially uncalled for as regards her people—that England is only too likely to cast aside the splendid chances he has opened up for her.

Mr. Gladstone's political pilgrimage to East Anglia, and the powerful speeches he delivered at Norwich and Lowestoft, furnish fresh proof alike of his evergreen buoyancy of spirit and of his never-failing popularity. His progress through the Eastern counties was but a repetition in little of the Midlothian campaigns twelve and ten years ago, and of more recent excursions in the Black Country and in Devonshire, and a new demonstration that his magic influence with the people is, if possible, increasing. The speeches are full of combativeness, and inspired by the sure hope of speedy victory. Their educational value directed to this end can hardly be exaggerated. The mutual admiration dinner of disaffected walking gentlemen and disappointed supers at the Crystal Palace will not stand for a moment by comparison.

## CO-OPERATION IN ENGLAND IN 1889.

### ERRATA

Page 533, line 1, for "Mr. W. Holyoake" read "Mr. G. J. Holyoake"

Page 533, line 28, for "twice as if an outsider" read "twice as much as it an outsider."

Page 533, line 31, for "a dividend in the pound" read "a dividend of one shilling in the pound."

Page 533, line 31, for "1870" read "1875."











